THE WORKS OF FRANCIS OSBORN, Esq;

Divine. } { Historical.
Moral. } { Political.

In Four several TRACTS.

Viz.

1. *Advice to a Son*, in two Parts.
2. *Political Reflections on the Government of the* Turks, &c.
3. *Memoires on Q.* ELIZABETH *and K.* JAMES.
4. *A Miscellany of Essays, Paradoxes, Problematical Discourses, Letters, Characters,* &c.

The Eighth Edition.

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ADVICE TO A SON.

OR,

Directions for your better Conduct through the various and most important Encounters of this Life.

Under these General Heads.

1. *Studies*, &c.
2. *Love and Marriage.*
3. *Travel.*
4. *Government.*
5. *Religion.*

Conclusion.

By FRANCIS OSBORN, Esquire.

The First Part.

LONDON,
Printed in the Year, 1673.

TO THE

READER.

SUCH as make it their buſineſs, with the Spider, to ſuck out the Crudities and Corruptions in Books, are unlikely to fail of Matter here; yet may come far ſhort of the Credit and Good might accrue to themſelves and others, did they pore leſs on what is really amiſs, and more on that not yet brought under a perfect Knowledge (unpoſſible to be taken up pure by thoſe that begin but now to ſcramble for it:) New Opinions, though perhaps untrue, rather gaining than loſing Repute by Oppoſition. This breeds matter of wonder, why ſo ma-

ny ſhould hazard their Fame, by running and yelping after thoſe prodigious Wits of this laſt Laſt Age, B D H, &c. *Men not unable with* Abner, *to ſilence theſe ſwifter Writers with the Butt-end of their Quills; and ſo richly endowed from Nature, as they are able to Traffick upon their ſingle ſtock, without obliging the credit of ancient Authors; who, for ought I know, were of poorer Parts, and might learn of them, were they in being. This is ſaid to honour thoſe that can take their paſtime in the Depths of Reaſon; and not to ſhroud my poor Intereſt under theirs, whoſe Books deſerve better Coverings than can be picked out of the choiceſt of my Papers; or theirs that have the impudence to traduce them. It cannot be denied, but that, in imitation of Sea-men, I may perhaps by deſign have caſt out ſome empty ſtuff, to find play for the Whale-mouthed gapers after Levity; leſt they ſhould ſpoil the Voyage, which for the good of Poſterity, I have ſo long made, beyond thoſe Pillars, the liberty of theſe*

times

times hath afforded Wiſdom a larger Paſſport to travel, than was ever able formerly to be obtained, when the World kept her fettered in an implicite Obedience, by the threefold cord of Cuſtom, Education and Ignorance.

The Reaſon why the Authors name is affixed to this Edition, is given by himſelf in another Piece in this Book.

TO HIS SON.

Son.

I Have forborn to ſet *your Name* on the Forehead of theſe Aphoriſms, not that I am aſhamed either of *Them* or *You*; but for ſuch like Reaſons.

Firſt, Becauſe ſome *Truths*, I here indeavour to make legible, the Tyranny of *Cuſtom* and *Policy* labours to conceal, as deſtructive to the Project of *Government*; and therefore unlikely to paſs by wiſe men, without *a formal reproof*; who have been long ſince taught by unerring Experience, that *Ignorance draws with the leaſt reluctancy in the yoke of Obedience*; being of ſo ſheepiſh a Nature, as ſhe is *no bodies Foe but her own.*

Next, to ſpare you the trouble of arming your Reaſon, in way of defence, upon every Alarm they may receive from the *Cenſures* of wiſer or weaker Judgments: For not carrying the marks of your particular Intereſt, you may ſtand, as it were, unſeen, behind the Curtain of Indifferency, and hear, without bluſhing, the Opinions of others, if Chance or your Will ſhould pleaſe to make them the object of their Diſcourſe.

Amongſt

Amongſt whom, if any accuſe them, as too *cheap* and obvious; they are unadviſed Queſtioners of their own Charter, in caſe they ſhould be *Fathers*: who were *never denied* yet *the freedom to teach their Children to manage an Hobby-horſe*, without offering violence to Gravity or Diſcretion.

Neither do we ſo ordinarily fall through the unevenneſs or difficulty of the *Way*, as careleſſneſs and Ignorance in the *Journals of former Experience*: This makes it the greateſt demonſtration of *Paternal Affection*, with the Pelican, to diſſect my ſelf before you, and by ripping up mine own Bowels, to let you ſee where *the defects of Humanity* reſide; which are not only the occaſions of many Diſeaſes, but of moſt of the Misfortunes accompanying this Life.

And though in paſſing through ſo much weakneſs, They are rendred more deficient, than conſidered in their own Nature, in truth they are: Yet being the beſt I am able to afford you, They cannot but be looked upon (by you) for as lively a Monument of my Love, as if they bare the Magiſterial Impreſs of a Work of *Solomons*.

And in regard of *Time*, none can be more opportune than this, in which men carry breaſts of Steel againſt thoſe of their own Profeſſion (ſome niceties excepted) under the imperious pretence of Religion.

If any blinded with ignorance, or miſled by a more candid Nature, ſhould engage for the *ſufficiency* of Theſe, or any thing elſe I have writ, that may perhaps hereafter be made publick: I am conſcious of too many flaws in my ſelf, to be ſwelled beyond my natural proportion.

Your ſake alone produced Them, that during the little time I have to live, you might turn to my Judgment, upon all occaſions, without trouble; and converſe with me being dead without Fear.

There is no great difference between good days and evil when paſt; yet if thus fortified by the *Advice* of a *Father*, no leſs than the *Prayers* of an incomparable indulgent *Mother*, you ſhould break out into *Extravagancies*, preſuming on the Opinion of your own Judgment, and the mediation of our Love, (though it would be the ſevereſt Curſe remaining in the cuſtody of Fortune, yet unlaid upon me:) I doubt not but to receive more Comfort from a Patience able to bear it, than you ſhall from a Repentance ſufficient to blot it out.

But it is neither Delight in me, nor Charity unto you, by Jealouſie to antedate *Crimes never yet committed*; I deſire you therefore to take *theſe Admonitions* as *marks to ſail by*, *not* for *preſages of Shipwrack*.

For

For any *Faults* eſcaped here, through haſte, or other infirmity, I hope your Love will be large enough to cover them; not expoſing out of Oſtentation or Idleneſs, *your Fathers ſhame*: whereby not only what is perfect may prove uſeful, but the very miſtakes and Blots obtain as great a Deſign, by exerciſing your Wit and Induſtry in their *Emendation*; which I expect you ſhould faithfully perform in relation to Theſe, or any thing elſe you find, may traduce the Credit, or ſtain the Memory of

Your loving Father, &c.

ADVICE

ADVICE TO A SON.

I. *Studies*, &c.

1. THough I can never pay enough to *your Grandfathers* Memory, for his tender care in my *Education*, yet I muſt obſerve in it this Miſtake; That by keeping me at *home*, where I was one of *my young Maſters*, I loſt the advantage of my moſt docile time. For not undergoing the ſame Diſcipline, I muſt needs come ſhort of their experience, that are bred up in *Free Schools*; who, by plotting to rob an Orchard, *&c.* run through all the Subtilties required in taking of a Town: being made, by uſe, familiar to *Secreſie*, and *Compliance with opportunity*; Qualities never after to be attained at cheaper rates than the hazard of all: whereas theſe ſee the danger of Truſting others, and the rocks they fall upon, by a too obſtinate adhering to their own imprudent reſolutions: and all this, under no higher penalty than a Whipping: And 'tis poſſible this Indulgence of my Father might be the cauſe I afforded him ſo poor a Return for all his Coſt.

But though *Children* attain to an exacter *knowledge*,

ledge, both of *themſelves* and the *world*, in *Free* and opulous *Schools*, than under a more ſolitary Erudition; yet I think the *charity* of our *Foreſathers* in nothing ſo much miſtaken, as in the vaſt ſums they imployed in theſe (more ſeeming than real) *pious uſes*; which now much redounds to the prejudice of the *Plough*, and the more beneficial *Manufactures* of our Nation: The Sons of the *Meru* lying ſo long under this *lazy Courſe*, that they are rendered ever after reſty to Labour and Travel: which fills the Common-wealth with *Thieves* and *Beggers*; no way to be prevented, but by garbling out of them all Boys of an incapacity, and retaining none that make not more than an ordinary demonſtration of an extraordinary propenſity to Learning: ſince through the contrary Practice, we lye under the Curſe *Jeroboam* brought upon *Iſrael*: For by making *the meaneſt of the People*, both for Parts and Birth, and ſo of the leaſt credit, *Prieſts*, Religion is now fallen into contempt.

2. As your Education hath been befriended by a *Foundation*, ſo you may endeavour the Requital, if God makes you able: However let not the contrary afflict you; ſince it is obſerved by ſome, That his *name who burnt the Temple of Diana, out-laſted theirs that built it*; a fortune God grant may never fall upon our *Univerſities*. Nevertheleſs, if *Zeal* over-heated in the narrow hearts of men ignorant and covetous, ſhould dry up the *Fountains of Learning*, by appropriating their *Revenues*, and demoliſhing thoſe *Monuments* (to the fame of which foreign Nations reſort in Pilgrimages, for to offer up honour and admiration to theſe Shrines, never empty of glorious Spirits, and return more loaden with Satisfaction, than they could poſſibly bring Prejudice) yet ſhe ſhould pull down no more, than ſhe had

had formerly raiſed, when incited, by a contrary affection, to Charity and Knowledge: therefore, a provocation not ſtrong enough to diſtemper a wiſe mans patience; who may eaſily obſerve, in his own or precedent books of Experience, as great Maps of *Devaſtation*: For, if *one Age* did not *level*, *what another* had *erected*, Variety were loſt, and no means left to render the preſent or future Generations famous or infamous. However ſuch, as by diſobliging Learning and good Wits, frown upon their Painters, cannot expect, their Pictures ſhould be conveyed true or fair to Poſterity.

3. Let not an over-paſſionate proſecution of Learning draw you from making an honeſt *improvement of your Eſtate*; as ſuch do, who are better read in the Bigneſs of the whole Earth, than that little Spot, left them by their Friends, for their ſupport.

4. A *mixt Education ſuits Imployment beſt*: *Scholars* and *Citizens*, by a too long plodding in the ſame track, have their experience ſeldom dilated beyond the Circle of a narrow Profeſſion; of which they carry ſo apparent marks, as bewray in all places, by their *Words* and *Geſtures*, the *Ped* and *Company* they were brought up in: ſo that all ways of Preferment are ſtopped againſt them, through others prejudice, or their own natural inſufficiency; it being ordinary, in their Practice, to miſtake a wilful *Inſolency* for a reſolute *Confidence*, and *Pride* for *Gravity*: The ſhortneſs of the *Tedder*, their long reſtraint confin'd them to, not affording convenient room to take a decent meaſure of *virtue* and *vice*. So by uſing others as they were dealt with themſelves, repute is loſt when they come to command: It being juſtified in Hiſtory, that *Slaves*, after they have forgot all fear of the *Sword*, cannot ſhake off the terrour of the *Whip*. Therefore

few

few not freely educated, can wear decently the habit of a *Court*, or behave themselves in such a mediocrity, as shall not discover too much Idolatry towards those in a superiour orb, or disdain in relation to such, as Fortune rather than Merit hath possibly placed below them.

5. I have observed in *Collegiate Discipline*, That all the *Reverence* to *Superiors*, learned in the Hall or Chappel, is lost in the *irreverent discourse* you have of them in your Chambers: by this, you leave *the principal business of Youth* neglected, which is, *to be perfect in Patience and Obedience*: Habits no where so exactly learned, as in the *foundations* of the *Jesuits*, could they be fetcht thence without prejudice to Religion or Freedom.

6. If a more profitable imployment pull you not too soon from the University, make some inspection into *Physick*; which *will add to your welcome wherever you come*: it being usual, especially for Ladies, to yield no less reverence to their Physicians, than their Confessours: Neither doth the refusal of Fees abate your profit proportionably to the advancement it brings to your Credit: The intricacy of the Study is not great, after an exact knowledge in *Anatomy* and *Drugs* is attained; not hard, by reason of the late helps. Yet I advise you This, under such Caution, as *not to imagine the Diseases you read of, inherent in your self*; as some melancholick young men do, that make their first Expetiments upon their own Bodies, to their perpetual detriment: Therefore you may *live* By, *not* Upon *Physick*.

7. Do not prosecute beyond a superficial knowledge, any *Learning* that moves upon no stronger leggs, than the tottering basis of *conjecture* is able to afford it: For though you may please your self in your own conceit, it will not be so easie to satisfie

others

others: The capacity of the ignorant lying as much below such Speculations, as the more knowing are above them: there remaining to all, in things dubious, a power to reject, or admit what opinions they please. Therefore no *Study* is worth a mans whole employment, that comes not accompanied with *Profit*, or such unanswerable *Reasons*, as are able to silence all future debate; Not to be found out of the List of the *Mathematicks*, the Queen of Truth, that imposeth nothing upon her Subjects, but what she proves due to belief by infallible demonstration: The only knowledge we can on earth gain, likely to attend us to Heaven. As for *other human Learning*, so much of it as is not hewed out of this rock, is nothing but Lumber and Forms, owned for the majesty and employment only of *Academies*, and of little better use than to find Discourse by the fires sides. Yet though it cannot be denyed, that *Number* and *Measure*, were all the Journey-men God had during his six days labour; my memory reacheth the time, when the Generality of People thought her most useful *branches*, *spells*, and her *Professors*, *Limbs of the Devil*; converting the Honour of *Oxford*, due for her (though at that time slender) proficiency in *this Study*, to her shame: Not a few of our then foolish *Gentry*, refusing to send their Sons thither, lest they should be smutted with the *Black Art*, a term found out by a no less dark *Ignorance*, the only enemy to this Angelical knowledge. Nor is this a prodigie in the circulation of Time, as might easily be instanced, did discretion allow the same liberty to the dissecters of the present age, as she doth for those past: Neither can you make application of any example better, than of this, to disswade you from affording an immoderate proportion of Benevolence, or Malignity in relation to any thing, others condemn or approve.

8. Huge *Volumes*, like the Oxe roasted whole at *Bartholomew Fair*, may proclaim plenty of Labour and Invention, but afford less of what is delicate, savory and well concocted, than *smaller Pieces*: This makes me think, that though, upon occasion, you may come to the Table and examine the Bill of Fare, set down by such *Authors*; yet it cannot but lessen ingenuity, still to fall aboard with them; *Humane sufficiency being too narrow, to inform with the pure Soul of Reason, such vast Bodies.*

9. As the Grave hides the Faults of *Physick*, so no less than Mistakes, Opinion and contrary applications are known to have inriched the Art withall; so many *old books*, by like advantages rather than desert, have crawled up to an esteem above *new*: It being the business of better heads perhaps than ever their writers owned, to put a glorious and significant *gloss* upon the meanest conceit or improbable opinion of *Antiquity*: Whereas *Modern Authors* are brought by *Criticks* to a strict account for the smallest semblance of a mistake. If you consider this seriously, it will learn you more moderation, if not wisdom.

10. Be conversant in the *Speeches*, *Declarations* and *Transactions* occasioned by the *late Wars*: out of which more natural and *useful knowledge* may be sucked, than is ordinary to be found in the mouldy Records of Antiquity.

When I consider, with what contradiction *Reports* arrived at us, during our late civil Wars: I can give the less encouragement to the reading of *History*: *Romances*, never acted, being born purer from Sophistication than Actions reported to be done, by which posterity hereafter, (no less than Antiquity heretofore) is likely to be led into a false, or at best, but a contingent belief. *Cæsar*, though in this happy, that he had a Pen able to grave into neat language what his Sword had first more roughly cut out, may in my judgement, abuse his Reader:

For

For he, that for the honour of his own Wit, doth make people *ſpeak better*, than can be ſuppoſed men ſo barbarouſly bred were able, may poſſibly report they *fought worſe*, than really they did. Of a like value are the *Orations* of *Thucidides*, *Livy*, *Tacitus*, and moſt other Hiſtorians: which doth not a little prejudice the truth of all the reſt.

Were it worthy or capable to receive ſo much illumination from one never made welcom by it, I ſhould tell the World (as I do you) *There is as little reaſon to believe, Men know certainly all they* write, *as to think they* write *all they* Imagine: and as this cannot be admitted without danger, ſo the other, though it may in ſhame be denyed, is altogether as true.

11. A *few books* well ſtudied, and throughly digeſted, nouriſh the underſtanding more, than hundreds but gargled in the mouth, as ordinary Students uſe: And of theſe *Choice* muſt be had anſwerable to the *Profeſſion* you intend: For a States-man, *French Authors* are beſt, as moſt fruitful in *Negotiations* and *Memoires*, left by publick Miniſters, and by their Secretaries publiſhed after their deaths: Out of which you may be able to unfold the Riddles of all States: None making more faithful reports of things done in all nations, than *Embaſſadours*; who cannot want the *beſt intelligence*, becauſe their Princes Penſioners unload in their boſoms, all they can diſcover. And here by way of prevention, let me inform you, that ſome of our late *Embaſſadors* (which I could name) impaired our affairs, by *treating with foreign Princes in the Language of the Place*: by which they did not only deſcend below their Maſters dignity, but their own diſcretion: betraying for want of words of gravity, the intrinſick part of their Employment: and going beyond their *Commiſſion*, oftner by conceſſion, than confining themſelves within it, or to it; *the true Rule for a Miniſter of State*, not hard to be gained by a re-

ſolute conteſt: which if made by an Interpreter, be like a medium, may intercept the ſhame of any impertinent ſpeech, which cagerneſs or indiſcretion may let ſlip: Neither is it a ſmall advantage to gain ſo much time for deliberation, what is fit farther to urge: It being beſides, too much an honouring of their Tongue and undervaluing your own, to profeſs your ſelf a Maſter therein, eſpecially ſince they ſcorn to learn yours. And to ſhew this is not grounded on my ſingle Judgement, I have often been informed, that the firſt and wiſeſt *Earl of Pembroke*, did return an Anſwer to the Spaniſh Embaſſador, in *Welch*, for which I have heard him highly commended.

12. It is an Aphoriſm in Phyſick, That *unwholeſome Airs*, becauſe perpetually ſuck'd into the lungs, *do diſtemper health more than courſer Diet*, uſed but at ſet times: The like may be ſaid of *Company*, which if *good*, is *a better Refiner of the ſpirits, than ordinary Books.*

13. Propoſe not them for patterns, who make all places *rattle*, where they come, with *Latine and Greek*; For *the more you ſeem to have borrowed from books, the poorer you proclaim your natural Parts*, which only can properly be called yours.

14. Follow not the tedious practice of ſuch as ſeek *Wiſdom* only in *Learning*: not attainable but by *Experience* and *natural Parts*. *Much Reading*, like a too great repletion, ſtopping up, through a concourſe of diverſe, ſometimes contrary, Opinions, the Acceſs of a nearer, newer and quicker *Invention* of your own. And for *Quotations*, they reſemble *Sugar in wine*, marring the natural taſt of the liquor, if it be good; if bad, that of it ſelf: ſuch *patches* rather making the *rent* ſeem greater, by an interruption of the ſtile, than leſs, if not ſo neatly applyed as to fall in without *drawing*: Nor is any *Thief* in this kind ſufferable, who comes not off, like a *Lacedemonian*, without diſcovery.

15. Spend

15. Spend no time in reading, much leſs writing *Strong lines*: which *like tough meat, aſk more pains and time in chewing, than can be recompenſed by all the nouriſhment they bring.*

16. *Books ſtately writ* debaſe your ſtile; the like may be truly objected to *weak Preachers*, and *ignorant Company*. Pens Improving, like childrens legs, proportionally to their *Exerciſe* (ſo as I have ſeen ſome ſtand amazed at the Length of their own reach, when they came to be extended by Employment;) This appeared in the late King *Charles*, who, after his more imperious deſtiny, had placed him under the Tutorage of an unavoidable neceſſity, attained a *Pen* more Majeſtical, than the *Crown* he loſt. And, though *King James* had ſuch an over-eſteem of his own *Learning*, that he Imagined all who deſerved in that kind, robbed the Monument he ſought to build to his Fame: the Foundation of which he fondly conceited to have laid in the Opinion of the World by his Printed *Books*, believing they would be valued by impartial Poſterity, at the ſame rate his Flatterers ſet them up to in his life time; Yet in this he was ſo far exceeded by *his Son*, that all that come after may learn, *Experience is a better Tutor than* Buchanan.

17. The way to *Elegancy of ſtile*, is to employ your Pen upon every Errand; and the more trivial and dry it is, the more Brains muſt be allowed for Sauce: Thus by checking all ordinary Invention, your Reaſon will attain to ſuch an habit, as not to dare to preſent you but with what is excellent: and if void of Affectation, it matters not how mean the ſubject is: There being the ſame Exactneſs obſerved, by good Architects, in the ſtructure of the Kitchin, as the Parlour.

18. When buſineſs or Complement calls you to *write Letters*, Conſider what is fit to be ſaid, were the Party preſent, and ſet down That.

19. Avoid *Words* or *Phrases* likely to be learned in base company: leſt you fall into the Error, the late Archbiſhop *Laud* did: who though no ill ſpeaker, yet blunted his repute by ſaying in the Star-chamber, *Men entred the Council as a Tinker and his Bitch do an Alehouſe.* But this may eaſily be declined by thoſe who read for their imitation *the incomparable lines of the Late King*, written in a ſtile as free from affectation as levity.

20. The ſmall reckoning I have ſeen made (eſpecially in their life time) of excellent *Wits*, bids me adviſe you, that if you find any delight in *writing* to go on: But, in hope to pleaſe or ſatisfie others, I would not black the end of a quill: For long experience hath taught me, That *Builders* always, and *Writers* for the moſt part, *ſpend their money and time in the purchaſe of Reproof and Cenſure* from envious Contemporaries, or ſelf conceited Poſterity. He that gets the good word of his Reader, hath nothing elſe to look for, nor ask: Therefore if you would happily attain your end, Imitate an active Gentleman, I knew, who paſſing by ſuch as threw the *Bar*, would take it up and pitch it as far as he was able, the firſt time, and ſo leave them: Now few could out throw him; and ſuch as did, came ſhort in credit: Becauſe it was the general Opinion, that he who without untruſſing, or making ſuch a preparation as the Clowns uſe to do, could at the firſt go ſo far, muſt needs with another aſſay or two, have outgone them all; though in truth he could not. Thus had he not only his own ſtrength, but the Peoples, which lies in Opinion, to advance him.

21. Be not frequent in *Poetry*, how excellent ſoever your vein is, but make it *rather your Recreation, than Buſineſs*: Becauſe, though it ſwels you in your own opinion, it may render you leſs in that of wiſer men, who are not ignorant, how great a maſs of Vanity, for the moſt part coucheth under this Quality, Proclaiming their

their *Heads, like Ships of use only for pleasure, and so richer in Trimming, than Lading.*

It is incident to many, but as it were natural with Poets, to *think others take the like pleasure in hearing, as they do in reading their own inventions.* Not considering, that the generality of ears are commonly stopped with prejudice of Ignorance: Neither can the *Understandings* of men, any more than their *Tasts*, be wooed to find a like savour in all things; one approving what others condemn, upon no weightier an account, than the single score of their own Opinions. Yet some, like infirm people, make it the chief part of their entertainment, *to shew strangers their gouty Limbs*; in which they do not seldom become more unhappy, than those really diseased, who by such boldness do sometimes hear of a *Remedy*, whereas the others render themselves incurable: For though neat *Wits*, like fair *Ladies*, may take a Pleasure in making communicable the Beauty of their Parts: yet they both appear most grateful, when they are obtained with struggling and blushing.

22. The art of *Musick* is so unable to refund for the Time and Cost required to be perfect therein, as I cannot think it worth any serious endeavour: The owner of that Quality being still obliged to the trouble of calculating the difference between the morose humour of a rigid Refuser, and the cheap and prostituted levity and forwardness of a mercenary Fidler. Denial being as often taken for Pride, as a too ready compliance falls under the notion of Ostentation: Those so qualified seldom knowing when it is time to begin, or give over: especially *Women*, who do, not rarely decline in modesty, proportionably to the progress they make in *Musick*: such (if handsom) being *Traps baited at both Ends*, and catch strangers as often as their Husbands, no less tired with the one than the other.

23. Wear your *Cloaths neat*, exceeding rather than coming short of others of like fortune; a Charge born out by Acceptance where ever you come: Therefore *ſpare all other ways rather than prove defective in this.*

24. Never *buy* but *with ready money*; and be drawn rather to fix where you find things *Cheap* and *Good*, than for *Friendſhip* or *Acquaintance*, who are apt to take it unkindly, if you will not be cheated. For if you get nothing elſe by going from one Shop to another, you ſhall gain Experience.

25. Next to Cloaths, a *good Horſe* becomes a Gentleman; in whom can be no great loſs, after you have got the *skill to chooſe him*; which once attained, you may keep your ſelf from being cozened, and pleaſure your friend: The greateſt danger is *Haſt*: I never lov'd to fix on one *Fat*, for then I ſaw him at the beſt, without hope of improvement; If you have fallen on *a bargain not for your turn*, make the Market your Chapman, rather than a Friend.

26. *Gallop* not through a *Town*, for fear of hurting your ſelf or others: Beſides the undecency of it; which may give cauſe to ſuch as ſee you, to think you Horſe, or Brains, none of your own.

27. *Wreſtling* and *Vaulting* have ever been looked upon by me, as more uſeful than *Fencing*, being often outdar'd by Reſolution, becauſe of the vaſt difference between a Foyn and a Sword, an Houſe and a Field.

28. *Swimming* may ſave a man, in caſe of neceſſity; though it loſeth many, when practiſed in wantonneſs, by increaſing their confidence; Therefore, for Pleaſure exceed not your depth; and *in ſeeking to ſave another, beware of drowning your ſelf.*

29. Though *Machiavel* ſets down *Hunting* and *Hawking* in the Bill of Advice he preſcribes to a Prince, as not only the wholſomeſt and cheapeſt Diverſions, both in relation to himſelf and his people, but the beſt

Tutors

Tutors to Horſemanſhip, Stratagems and Sitdations on which he may have after occaſion to place an Army. Yet theſe are ſo much in the diſpoſition of Chance (the moſt delightful part being wholly managed according to the ſenſe of the creature) that by ſuch croſs accidents, as do not ſeldom intervene, ſtorms of Choler are often raiſed, in which many humours flaſh out, that in a greater ſerenity prudence would undoubtedly conceal: ſo as I could name ſome, reputed owners of an habit of Policy, more ruffled, and farther put out of their bias, by a ſmall rub lying in the way of their pleaſure, than a greater could cauſe in that of their Profit. And as ſimilter events in theſe Paſtimes deject a man below the ordinary level of diſcretion, ſo a happy ſucceſs doth as often winde him up to ſuch a jovial pin, that he becomes a familiar Companion to thoſe who can inform his judgement in little, but what ſignifies nothing, and whom in a more reſerved temper he would think it tedious to hear: yet cannot after ſhake off their acquaintance, without incurring the cenſure of Pride or Inconſtancy. Neither am I led to this opinion by any particular diſaffection, but out of the greater reverence I bear to the wiſdom of Sir *Philip Sidney*, who ſaid, that *Next Hunting he liked Hawking worſt*. However though he may have fallen into as hyperbolical an extream, yet who can put too great a ſcorn upon their folly, that to bring home a raskal *Deer*, or a few rotten *Coneys*, ſubmit their Lives to the will or paſſion of ſuch as may take them, under a penalty no leſs ſlight, than there is diſcretion ſhewed in expoſing them.

30. Such as are betrayed, by their eaſie nature, to be ordinary *Security* for their Friends, leave ſo little to themſelves, as their Liberty remains ever after arbitrary at the will of others. Experience having recorded many (whom their Fathers had left elbow-room enough) that by *Suretiſhip* have expired in a Dungeon. But if you

you cannot avoid this Labyrinth, enter no farther than the thread of your own ſtock will reach; the obſervation of which will, at worſt, enable you to bail your ſelf.

Let not the *Titles of Conſanguinity* betray you into a prejudicial Truſt: No blood being apter to raiſe a Fever, or cauſe a Conſumption ſooner in your poor Eſtate, than that which is neareſt your own; as I have moſt unhappily found, and your good Grandfather preſaged, though God was pleaſed to leave it in none of our powers to prevent: Nothing being truer in all *Solomon*'s Obſervations, than that *A good Friend is nearer than an unnatural Brother.*

31. He that *lends upon publick Faith is Security for his own money*; and can blame none more than himſelf, if never paid: Common Debts, like common Lands, lying ever moſt neglected.

32. Honeſty treats with the World upon ſuch vaſt diſadvantage, that a *Pen is* often *as uſeful to defend you as a Sword*, by making *Writing* the witneſs of your *Contracts*: For where Profit appears, it doth commonly cancell the Bands of Friendſhip, Religion, and the memory of any thing that can produce no other Regiſter, than what is Verbal.

33. In a caſe of importance, hear the *Reaſons of Others* pleaded, but be ſure not to be ſo implicitely led by their judgements, as to neglect a greater of your *Own*: As *Charles* of *England* did, to the loſs of his Crown. For as the ordinary Saying is, *Count money after your Father*; So the ſame Prudence adviſeth, to meaſure the Ends of all Counſels; though uttered by never ſo intimate a Friend.

34. Beware nevertheleſs of thinking your ſelf Wiſer or greater than you are. *Pride* brake the Angels in Heaven, and ſpoils all heads we find crackt here; for ſuch as obſerve thoſe in *Bedlam*, ſhall perceive their Fancies to beat moſt upon miſtakes in Honour, or Love. The way

way to avoid it is, duly to consider, how *many* are *above you in Parts*, yet *below you in Condition*: And that all men are ignorant in so many things; as may justly humble them, though sufficiently knowing to bar out despair.

Shun *Pride* and *Baseness*; as Tutors to contempt, the first of Others, the latter of your self: A haughty Carriage putting as well a mean esteem on what is praise worthy in you, as an high Excise on that appears amiss, *every one* being *more inquisitive after the blemishes, than the Beauties of a Proud Person*; whereas the Humble Soul passeth the strictest Guards with more faults, like the fair mouth'd Traveller, without scorn, or searching.

Though it be common with the King of Heaven, to *Punish the wicked and Reward the good*; yet we find him said to *Resist* no vice, but *Pride*, nor *Exalt* other vertue, than *Humility*: *That* being the only Sin we read of, ever brake into his Court, unwashed by forgiveness; where she became the first precedent of Gods lessening his Family, and the Foundress of Hell. Nor are his Vicegerents upon Earth more auspicious to a *lofty look*, for any affection they do naturally bear to it, or its owners: though sometimes they dissemble their dislike, out of the use they make of such good Parts, as have the ill fortune to be so accompanied. This vice being taken as intrusion upon *Majesty*, the only birth-right of Princes. Therefore (dear Son) let not the apprehension of your merit lead you up to this pinnacle, from whence many have fallen, to their utter ruine. Nothing you find about you being your own, but scraps stollen from Books, and begged, or rather dearly bought of Experience: This proves the vanity of Pride, that though she is able to boast of no more than she hath received: (the Hive being possibly altered, but not the Honey) Yet she is ravished so with the conceit of what she hath (a contemplation befitting only the Lord of all things) as to neglect a supply of what is wanting: which, justly summed up, amounts

amounts to more than the abilities of any one man are able to reach.

35. King *James* used to say of a Person in high place about him, that *he* ever *trembled at his approach, it minded him so of his Patronage.* Truth is: a *supercilious aspect* might be more suitable to the Court of *Spain*, where men seem wiser than they are, than that of *England*, where they for the most part were wiser, than at the first sight they appeared to be: No Princes delighting to see *Anxiety* painted before them, when free from perturbation themselves: no more than a *joyful* countenance, when their affairs or humour calls for a contrary aspect: to which a Courtier is bound in wisdom to suite his *Gestures*, who are more generally pleased with a *Sanguine complexion*, than such as own a *dismal and melancholy look*. But *Kings* are Heteroclites, and so far from being comprized under general Rules, that it is not possible sometimes for Prudence her self to decline their Malignity, or find a temperament suitable unto them: only this I leave you as an Experimented Aphorism, that at all times, but especially when good or bad *news* is expected, such as *whisper*, make any *sudden noise*, or *approach hastily* to the Throne, put them in disfavy, either deluding their Hopes, or anticipating their Fears. In a word, the best way to keep you in esteem with great ones, is, to observe such a mannerly circumspection, as your *accesses* may be neither terrible, nor tedious.

36. To *whisper* with another, in company of your betters, is *uncivil*, and the more eminent the person is, the greater suspicion it raiseth, who owns an interest in the exposition of all things done or said in his presence by meaner men. Nor is it safe to pour a *secret* publickly into the ear of a *Prince*, at the suit of a less weighty occasion, than that of an unavoidable necessity: such *Intimacy* alarming not only the suspicion of Enemies, but the envy of Friends; since every one, his eyes chance to glance

glance upon during your discourse, imagines himself the subject treated about: The pride, a *Secretary* of State took in this (seeming, but not seldom destructive) Honour, did in my time so perplex the *Minion*, as he procured his ejection, without affording any other reason, than his *whispering with the King*, in his presence; taken then for an high presumption, however it may seem now the forms of Honour are altered.

37. When you *Speak* to any (especially of Quality) *look them full in the Face*; other Gestures bewraying want of Breeding, Confidence, or Honesty; *Dejected eyes* confessing, to most judgements, guilt, or folly.

38. *Impudence* is *no Vertue, yet able to beggar them all*; being for the most part in good plight, when the rest starve; and capable of carrying her followers up to the highest Perferments; found as useful in a Court, as Armour in a Camp. *Scotchmen* have ever made good the truth of this, who will go further with a shilling, than an *English man* can ordinarily pass for a crown.

39. I do not find you guilty of *Coveteousness*, neither can I say more of it, but that *like a Candle, ill made, it smothers the splendor of an happy Fortune in its own grease.*

Yet *live* so *frugally*, if possible, as to reserve something, may inable you to grapple with any future contingency. And *provide in youth*, since *Fortune* hath this proper with other common Mistresses, that she *deserts Age*, especially *in the company of Want.*

But I need not use other perswasions unto you concerning *Thrift*, than what the straitness of your own Fortune points you to; more contracted by others Covetousness than my Prodigality.

40. 'Tis generally said of the *Fox*, that he supplants the *Badger*, and nestles himself in his Den; What may be pure nature in him, wise *Seneca* adviseth for the highest Prudence, rather to purchase a *House* ready *built*, than endure the tedious and troublesom expectation and

and *Charge* attending the moſt diligent and able *Contriver*: who cannot find ſo much pleaſure in ſeeing his Idea's brought into form, as he ſhall meet diſcontent from the miſtakes of his Commands, Greatneſs of the Expence, and Idleneſs of the Workmen; who the better to draw men into this Labyrinth, make things appear more cheap and eaſie, than any Undertaker of ſuch a task ever yet found; Knowing, if once ingaged, the ſpurs of Shame and neceſſity will drive him on; when the *Buyer* may take or leave, having a world to chuſe in, and the choiceſt conveniences at anothers Coſt, without participating of their diſgrace, for ſuch faults as curioſity may find, and he himſelf might have fallen into, had he been Operator: ſince nothing was ever yet ſo exactly contrived, but better information, or a new diſcovery of a more commodious *Faſhion* or *Situation* did arraign of Defect. Which altogether, proves it the beſt advice, rather to endure the abſurdities of others *gratis*, than to be at the coſt to commit greater your ſelf.

Keep no more *Servants* than you have full employment for; And if you find a good one, look upon him under no ſeverer aſpect than that of an *humble Friend*: the difference between ſuch an one and his Maſter reſiding rather in Fortune than nature. Therefore do not put the worſt conſtructions upon any thing he doth well, or miſtakes. Thus by proportioning your carriage to thoſe below, you will the better bring your mind to a ſafe and eaſie deportment to ſuch as Fate hath ſet above you. To conclude, ſervants are ever ſharers with their Maſters in Proſperity, and not ſeldom an occaſion of their deſtruction in bad times, by fomenting Jealouſie from without, or Treachery within.

41. Leave your *Bed* upon the firſt deſertion of Sleep: It being ill for the Eyes to read lying, and worſe for the Mind to be idle: ſince the Head, during that lazineſs, is commonly a cage for unclean thoughts. 42. It

42. It is no where wholsom, to *Eat* so long as you are able; especially in *England*, where Meat, apteſt to inveagle the ſtomach to an over-repletion, comes laſt: But in caſe you tranſgreſs at one meal, let no perſwaſion tempt you to a ſecond repaſt, till by a fierce hunger you find your ſelf quite diſcharged of the former Exceſs. An exact obſervance of this hath under God, made me reach Theſe Times, and may, through his mercy, preſerve you for better. I have heard that the *Indians*, by the great moderation they uſe, are well able to digeſt raw fleſh; thought by ſome of more natural, if not eaſie concoction, than what is dry-roaſted.

Drink not being *Hot*, unleſs Sack, *&c.* ſuch droughts reſiding rather in the Palate and Throat, than ſtomach; and ſo eaſer quenched by Gargles, Liquouriſh, a Cherry, or *Tobacco*; the uſe of which I neither perſwade nor prohibit, having taken it my ſelf ſince ſixteen, without any extraordinary marks of good or ill; but cannot approve noſing, or ſwallowing it down; as many to my knowledge have done, not long-liv'd.

43. Nothing really acceptable to the Guſto of Humanity, but Prudence may experiment without *Detection* or waking the clamorous Multitude, (gratified in all opportunities they have to accuſe others, though far more guilty themſelves:) a Temper not poſſibly to be attained by the lovers of *Drink*, which *will not only render my reaſons, but your own uſeleſs.*

Let no incivility in the adminiſtration of an Officer provoke you to a contempt of the Authority he acts by: many being quick in memory, who, out of ſcorn to be catechized by a *Conſtable*, have ſumm'd up their days at the end of a Watchmans's Bill: who being armed with Law, ought not in reaſon to be reſiſted; ſince, if you are no Maleſactor, he attends for your preſervation. Nor is there a capacity of finding Honour by night about thoſe, that can lay claim themſelves to none by

by day-light; and through whom a small drop of Silver will carry you more safe than a Sword. Therefore since this folly is the birth-right of *Drink*, I would have only Dinners assigned for friendship; in hope that such as begin then, though they out sit the Sun, will be delivered of the fury of the distemper before the *Watch* be set.

Were *Drink* capable of Counsel, I should advise, if unfortunately overtaken by such a *Distemper, not to remove from the place you received it in*; by which some part of the Shame may be avoided, and more of the Danger, attending the irregular motions of this giddy Spirit.

Drink, during the operation of the Distemper, will act all the Humours habitual in *Madmen*: Amongst both which I have seen some very Zealous and devout, who, the fit once over, remained no less Profane. This proves, *Godliness capable of being feigned*, and may raise an use of Circumspection, in relation to such as profess more than is suitable to humane frailty.

44. He that always regulates his *Diet* by the strict Rules of Physick, makes his life no less uncomfortable to himself than unsociable unto others: The like doth he that useth palpable *Plots* in trivial things: who is made by this so suspected in Commerce, as none will approach him unarmed with the like weapons: For though *Wisdom may purchase reverence*, and attention; *Subtilty* (distinguished from it only by a sly Carriage) *raiseth always Suspicion*: Wherefore, *the Closeness of the Heart, in matters of Consequence, is best secured by an openness of things of less Moment.*

45. Experience hath found it no less Shame than Danger, in being the *Chief at a merry Assignation*: Since what is of evil savour falls most to their mess at the upper end of the Table; but good to the meanest, who have the impudence to scramble up any things that suit to their advantage, as readily as they can have Oaths to decline what may redound to their loss.

Beware

Beware what *Company* you keep, since *Example prevails more than Precept*, though by the Erudition dropping from these Tutors, we imbibe all the tinctures of Vertue and Vice: This renders it little less than impossible for Nature to hold out any long Siege against the batteries of Custom and Opportunity.

46. Let your *Wit* rather serve you for a Buckler to defend your self, by a handsom Reply, than a Sword to wound others, though with never so facetious a *Reproach*, Remembring that a *Word cuts deeper than a sharper weapon*, and the wound it makes is longer in curing: A blow proceeding but from a light motion of the Hand agitated by passion, whereas a disgraceful Speech is the result of a low and base esteem setled of the Party in your Heart.

47. *Much wisdom* resides in the *Proverbs* of all Nations, and therefore fit to be taken notice of: of which number this is common amongst us, *Play with me, but hurt me not*: It being past peradventure, that more *Duels* arise from Jest than Earnest, and between Friends, than Enemies: serious Injuries seldom happening but upon premeditation, which affords Reason some, though perhaps no full Audience; whereas this extemporary Spirit conjured up by shame and smart, harkens to nothing but the rash advice of a present Revenge.

48. If an *Injury* be of so rank a Nature, as to extort (in point of Honour) an *unsavory word* (never suitable to the mouth of a Gentleman) Sword men advise, to second it with a Blow by way of prevention, lest he striking first (which cannot but be expected) you should be cast behind hand. But this their Decree not being confirmed by *Act of Parliament*, I cannot find it suitable with Prudence or Religion, to make the Sword Umpire of your own Life and anothers; no less than the Law, upon no more serious an occasion, than the

vindication of your Fame, loſt or gain'd, by this bruſh valour, in the opinion of none that are either wiſe or pious: It being out of the reach of queſtion, that a *Quarrel* is not to be ſcrued up to ſuch a height of Indiſcretion, without arraigning one or both parties of Madneſs: Eſpecially ſince formal *Duels* are but a late invention of the Devils, never heard of, in relation to private Injuries; among the Romans the *Gladiatori* fighting for their Pleaſure, as the *Horatii* and *Curatii* for the ſafety of the People. It cannot be denied, but that Story lays before us many kill'd for private revenge, but never accompanied with ſo ridiculous a Formality, as the ſending of *Challenges*, which renders *the Dead a Greater Murderer, than he is that kills him*, as being without doubt the Author of his own Death. This makes me altogether believe, that ſuch wild Man-hood had its original from *Romances*, in which the Gyant is deſigned for death, and the Knight to marry the Lady, whoſe Honour he hath preſerved; not ſo gently treated by the *Engliſh Law*, where if his legs or friends be not the better, he is hang'd, and his Eſtate confiſcated, to the perpetual detriment of his Family: beſides the ſting of Conſcience, and a natural fear, like that of *Cains*, attending Blood, by which the remainder of life is made tedious and miſerable to ſuch unfortunate men, who ſeem in all honeſt Company to ſmell too ſtrong of Blood, to be taken into any intimate Relation.

49. *Proſecute* not a *Coward* too far, leſt you make him turn valiant to your diſadvantage: it being impoſſible for any ſtanding even in the worlds opinion, to gain glory by the moſt he can have of thoſe that lie under ſuch a repute: beſides, *Valour is rather the Product of Cuſtom, than Nature*, and often found, where leaſt expected; do not therefore waken it to your prejudice, as I have known many, that would ſtill be *Inſulting*, and could not ſee when they were well.

50. *Speak*

50. *Speak disgracefully* of none at *Ordinaries*, or publick *Meetings*: leſt ſome Kinſman, or Friend being there ſhould force you to a baſe Recantation, or ingage you in a more indiſcreet Quarrel: This renders all Free Diſcourſe dangerous at Meetings of mixed Companies.

51. Carry no *Dogs* to *Court*, or any publick Place, to avoid conteſts with ſuch as may ſpurn, or indeavour to take them up: The ſame may be ſaid of *Boys* not wiſe or ſtrong enough to decline or revenge affronts, whoſe Complaints do not ſeldom ingage their Maſters; as I knew one of Quality killed in the defence of his *Page*: The like danger attends ſuch as are ſo indiſcreet, as to man *Whores* in the ſtreet, in which every one pretends to have an intereſt for his money, and therefore unwilling to ſee them monopolized, eſpecially when they have got a pot in their pate.

52. *Reveal* not the pranks of anothers *Love*, how ſerious or ridiculous ſoever you find them, it being unlikely the mirth ſhould compenſe the danger: By this you ſhall purchaſe your ſelf a *retentive faculty*, and ſell your Friend a ſtronger confidence of your *ſecrecy*; hanging on him the lock of a perpetual Obligation, of which you may ever be keeper of the Key, either out of Love or Fear: yet many other Faults are not more dangerous to commit, than know without detecting.

53. Be not *Trumpet* of your own *Charity*, or *Vices*; for by the one you diſoblige the Receiver, as well as loſe your Reward; and by the other, you alarm the Cenſures of men: moſt being condemned through the evidence they give againſt themſelves by their *words* and *geſtures*.

54. If it be *Levity* and *Oſtentation*, to boaſt when you do well, in what Claſs of Folly muſt they be ranked, that *brag of the favours of Women*? rendring themſelves, by this, no leſs frail than they: it being *more ſhame*

for a Man to be leakie and incontinent at the Mouth, than for a woman to ſcatter her favours.

55. To make *love* to *married women* doth not only multiply the Sin, but the danger: neither can you, if queſtion'd by her husband, uſe, with hope of victory, any ſharper Weapon, than *Repentance, ſheathed in a modeſt excuſe.*

56. Fly, with *Joſeph*, the *Embraces of great Ladies*; leſt you loſe your liberty, and ſee your legs rot in the ſtocks of the *Phyſician*: they being often Unwholeſom, ever ſo unreaſonable, as to exact a conſtancy from you, themſelves intend not to obſerve: perverting ſo far the curſe of God, as to make *your deſires ſubjeſt to theirs.*

57. Uſher not *women* to *Masks*, *Plays*, or other ſuch *publick Spectacles* to which you have not an eaſie acceſs for Money or Favour: ſuch places being apter to create injury, than afford an handſom opportunity for revenge: Beſides, if thoſe you carry be old and deformed, they diſparage you; if young and handſome, themſelves.

II. Love and Marriage.

To the Reader, concerning the following Discourse of *Love*, and *Marriage*.

THis had not appeared, being a result of more juvenile years, but that I feared, if let alone, it might hereafter creep abroad from under a false impression, and one more scandalous to that Sex, than becomes my Complexion or Obligation. Therefore, to vindicate me from the no less inhumane than unnatural imputation of a Women-hater, I do here protest, with a reference to their Charity and my own most serious Affections, That if the Party advised had been a Daughter, my Ink must have cast blacker, than the rich grain of their Angelical Beauty is capable to be aspersed by. It being observable, That such Idolaters as made She-Deities the object of their worship, were, by all, celebrated for most Learning, Wisdom and Civility. Nevertheless, though Women be Cordials when desire is past, and Juleps while the heat continues, yet since it is ordinary, for Dablers in Beauty to mistake Poyson for Physick (such feminine Boxes not always bearing Drugs suitable to their Inscriptions, but being often painted with more perfections, than they carry in them) I hope this Discourse may the better be excused, having the Example of Solomon to justifie the harshness of my Expressions, no less than his

Follies to warrant the neceſſity of the Caution; leſt my Son ſhould mire himſelf and his hopes in the purſuit of ſuch fooliſh flames, *as have tempted the ſtrongeſt, wiſeſt and moſt religious out of the ways of Peace. I ſhall foreſtall the Reader with no further Compliment, than* That he would forbear to condemn or praiſe beyond Reaſon; *leſt he ſhould appear too ſevere towards my Levity, or Indulgent to his own Morofity in relation to Beauty.*

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1. *LOVE,*

1. LOVE, like a Burning-glaſs, contracts the dilated lines of Luſt, and fixeth them upon one object; beſtowed by our fellow Creatures, (the exacter Obſervers of the Dictates of Nature) promiſcuouſly, without partiality in affection, on every diſtinct Female of their reſpective *ſpecies*; whereas Man, being reſtrained to a particular Choice, by the ſeverity of Law, Cuſtom and his own more ſtupendious Folly; out of a jealouſie to be robb'd of a preſent deſire, is ſo hurried away with the firſt apparition of an imaginary Beauty, (ſuppoſed by his Fancy, groſly abuſed by her ſervants the Senſes, corrupted and ſuborn'd through an implacable appetite, which Nature for her own end of continuance, ſtirs up in all to this fleſhly Conjunction) that no Reaſon can for the preſent be audible, but what pleadeth in favour of this ſoft paſſion; which makes a deeper or leſſer impreſs, proportionable to the temper of the Heart it meets with; cauſing Madneſs in ſome, Folly in all: placing, like ſtupid Idolaters, Divinity in a ſilly Creature, ſet by the inſtitutes of nature in a far inferiour Claſs of perfection to that which makes it his buſineſs to worſhip and adore it; Imagining as falſe felicities in the Fruition, as they apprehend miſeries in the Loſs: when all they deſire is but the fruit of that Tree, the kernel of that apple, which firſt deſtroyed us all, fair to ſight, but of fatal and dreadful conſequence to the taſter; rendring Him ſubject to ſlavery, that was born free: and ſuffering Her to command, who ought in righter reaſon to ſerve and obey.

2. To cure *Youth* wholly of this Deſire, were as uneaſie a task, as to diveſt it of Humanity: Therefore I

expect you should be tossed in this Storm, but would not have you shipwrack't, by contracting your self to the Ocean, unless, with the Duke of *Venice*, you might yearly repeat the Ceremony to as great an advantage.

3. For if ever *Marriages* were on all sides happy (which is no Schism to doubt of) experience never found them among such, as had no other healing, but what they received from the flames of *Love*; which cannot hold without Jealousie, nor break without Repentance, and must needs render their sleep unquiet, that have one of these *Cadds* or Familiars still knocking over their pillow.

4. Those *Vertues*, *Graces*, and *reciprocal Defects*, bewitched Affection expected to meet and enjoy, Fruition and Experience will find absent, and nothing left but a painted Box, which Children and Time will empty of Delight; leaving Diseases behind, or, at best, incurable Antiquity.

5. Therefore I charge you, (as you will answer the contrary another day to your own Discretion, and upon the penalty of a bitter, (though vain) Repentance) not to truck for, or entertain commerce upon the credit of *Marriage*, with a solitary, that is, an *unendowed Beauty* (which if really intended, you question your own Judgement; if otherwise, the Honesty of you both:) From whence I have known such sad consequents to result, as have made some (wise enough to presage the mischief of the event so far concede to the tears and misery of the Party, as to cast themselves, out of meer pity and conscience, into the precipice of *Marriage*; burying their own fortunes and future felicity, only to satisfie the affection of another.

6. *Marriage*, like a Trap set for flies, may possibly be pointed, at the Entrance, with a little Voluptuousness, under which is contained a draught of deadly wine,

more

more pricking and tedious than the Paſſions it pretends to cure, leaving the Patient in little quieter condition in the morning, than him that hath over-night kill'd a man to gratifie his revenge.

Eve, by ſtumbling at the Serpents ſolicitations, caſt her Husband out of Paradiſe: nor are her Daughters ſurer of foot, being foundered by the heat of Luſt and Pride: and unable to bear the weight of ſo much of our Reputation, as Religion and Cuſtom hath loaded them withall; that an unbalaſted Behaviour, without other Leakage, is ſufficient to caſt away an Husbands Eſteem: Neither doth the penalty of a *Light Report* laid on the *Mother*, conclude there, but diffuſeth it ſelf, like a Leproſie, over *Poſterity*, being uncapable of any other cure, than length of time can deduce out of forgetfulneſs.

7. It were ſomething yet, if *Marriage* could *anſwer* the *expectation* of all ſhe boaſts the cure of, in the large Bill, our Mountebank Teachers proclaim in everyſtreet; which, upon trial, ſhe often comes ſo far ſhort of, as to ſatisfie none, but rather aggravates the ſins of Solitude, making ſimple *Fornication* to ſprout into *Adultery*. And if it happen that your *Wife* be *impotent* or *infected* (as not a few are) with one or more of thoſe loathſom *Diſeaſes* incident to weak feminine nature, which render her unſociable, you are poſted off, both by Lawyers and Divines, to the ſame patience, I do here more opportunely propoſe, before you are fallen under ſo miſchievous and expenſive a Conjunction.

8. If none of my perſwaſions, nor others woful Experience, daily met with in the world, can deter you from yoking your ſelf to anothers deſires, make not *a celebrated beauty* the object of your choice; unleſs you are ambitious of rendring your houſe as populous as a Confectioners ſhop; to which the gaudy Waſps, no leſs than the liquoriſh Flies, make it their buſineſs

to

to reſort, in hope of obtaining a lick at your Honey-pot: which though bound up with the ſtrongeſt obligations or reſolutions, and ſealed by never ſo many proteſtations, yet feminine veſſels are obnoxious to ſo many frailties, as they can hardly bear without breaking, the Pride and Content they naturally take in ſeeing themſelves adored; Neither can you, according to the *looſe cuſtom of England*, decently reſtrain Her from this Concourſe, without making demonſtration of Jealouſie towards her (by which you confeſs your ſelf a *Cuckhold* in your own imagination already, or Incivility to ſuch as come to viſit you; though it may be ſtrongly preſumed, Your ſake hath the leaſt ſhare in this Ceremony, however tied in manners to attend with patience, till his *Worſhip*, perhaps his *Lordſhip*, had pumped his wit dry, having no more Complements left but to take leave; Thus, with his Invention rebated, but not his Luſt, he returns home; where the old preſerver of baudry, his Kinſwoman, perceiving, by his dejected countenance, that he came ſhort of his deſires, and wanting a new gown, imbarks her ſelf for the employment; and to put the honeſter face upon ſo ugly a deſign, ſhe contracts a ſtraight alliance with your (yet poſſibly unconquered) Bedfellow, and under pretence of a Goſſipping, or perhaps a voyage to ſome Religious Exerciſe, hurries her away in his *Honour's* Coach to a Meeting houſe, where though ſhe be taken by Storm, is fairly ſent home with Bag and Baggage, being only plundered of what you are not likely to miſs; And finding it unſafe to complain, returns again upon her parole, or ſo often as her new Governour pleaſeth to ſummon her, ſheltering the Fault under Cuſtom, your unavoidable Fate, or perhaps Providence (which for their excuſe, ſome are wicked enough to plead) till her Forehead be as much hardened with Impudence, as yours is by Reproaches, *&c.* And yet he is the happier

pier owner, who hath a Wife wiſe enough to conceal the reall Horns of her husband, than ſhe, that being innocent, doth by her light carriage make the bale ſymptoms appear in the world's opinion: Oh remember this, when you are about to forget the Pleaſure and Safety, only to be found in a *Single Life*.

If you conſider *Beauty* alone, quite diſcharged from ſuch *Debentures*, as ſhe owes to the Arts of *Tire-women*, *Taylers*, *Shoomakers*, and perhaps *Painters*, you will find the Remains ſo inconſiderable, as ſcarce to deſerve your preſent thoughts, much leſs to be made the price of your perpetual Slavery: Be not then led, like a Child, by theſe gaudy *Butterflies*, amongſt the bryers and nettles of the world; ſince obtained, a little time and uſe will wear off their fading colours, leaving nothing in your poſſeſſion but a bald, drowſie *Moth*; which if good, will by accident, if bad, make it her buſineſs to diſcontent you.

9. The *Engliſh Laws* are compoſed ſo far in favour of *Wives*, as if our Anceſtors had ſent Women to their Parliaments, whilſt their Heads were a wool-gathering at home, allowing no *abuſing of Husbands* capital, nor *Marriage* diſſolvable, but in caſe of *Adultery*, not ſubject to proof but under the atteſts of two Witneſſes at one and the ſame time: Nor is non-cohabitation a ſufficient diſcharge from His keeping all ſuch Children, as her Luſt ſhall produce during his abode between the four *Engliſh Seas*; ſo as if his Wife be a *Strumpet*, he muſt baniſh himſelf, or deal his bread and cloaths to the ſpurious Iſſue of a Stranger; a thraldom, no wiſe man would ſell himſelf to for the faireſt inheritance, much leſs for trouble, vexation and want during Life. Whence it may be ſtrongly preſumed, that the hand of *Policy* (which firſt or laſt brings all things, expedient to humane ſociety, under the imperious notion of Religion) hung this padlock upon the liberty of men,

men, and after Custom had lost the Key, the *Church*, according to her wonted Subtilty, took upon her to protect it; delivering in her Charge to the people, that *single wedlock* was by divine right, making the contrary, in diverse places, Death, and where she proceeded with the greatest moderation, Excommunication: condemning thereby (besides four fifth parts of the world) the holy *Patriarchs*, who among their so frequent Dialogues held with their Maker, were never reproved for multiplying *Wives* and *Concubines*; reckoned to *David* as a Blessing, and to *Solomon* for a mark of Magnificence. Nevertheless the wily *Priests* are so tender of their own Conveniences, as to forbid all *Marriage* to themselves upon as heavy a punishment, as they do *Polygamy* unto others: Now if nothing capable of the name of Felicity was ever, by men or Angels, found to be denied to the *Priesthood*, may not Marriage be strongly suspected to be by them thought out of that list? though to render it more glib to the wider swallow of the long abused *Laity*, they have gilt it with the glorious Epithete of a *Sacrament*, which yet they loath to clog their own stomachs withall. However the patient submission to the Institution of *Marriage* is the more to be wondred at, since *Man* and *Woman* not being allowed of equal strength, are so far prevailed upon by *Policy*, as quietly to submit themselves to one *Yoke*.

10. Yet this may be said for it, that as men suffer themselves to be bound, when they are cut of the *stone* or any sharp Disease, being conscious of their want of Resolution or Constancy: From whence the wise Operator takes so great an advantage, as not to let them loose, till they have obtained their Cure: So the grave *Law* settles by this way our wild and wandering Affections, converting them to the publick benefit, perswading such as are willing to hear her, That *A Wife is a Medicine both for strong and weak*, quenching the fire of the

the one, no leſs than reſtoring the heat of the other: Being the true and ſhorter part of the *Tally*, without which man can render no juſt Account of his Life; thought too ſmooth and oily to climb Heaven, unleſs mingled with the vinegar of *Marriage*.

11. Nevertheleſs there is not in private perſons any other neceſſary conſtraint to this *Conjunction*, but what reſults from underſtandings ſo muffled for the preſent, that they cannot diſcern, that *Marriage* is a Clog faſtened to the neck of Liberty, by the jugling hand of *Policy*, that provides only for the general neceſſities of all in groſs, not the particular conveniences of ſingle perſons; who, by this, give ſtronger Security to the Common-wealth, than ſuits with Prudence or Liberty. And to ſuch as ask, How ſhould the world ſubſiſt, did all obſerve the like caution; It may be anſwered, As well as without Unthrifts, who by ſpending their eſtates profuſely, make way for wiſer men to be the more happy, and as it is impoſſible to find a dearth of the latter, though not compelled thereunto by any other Law, than the inſtigation of their own Folly; ſo doubt not but there will be enough found of the former, to ſtock the world, without putting ſo chargable an experiment on your own conveniency.

12. We brook nothing well, *Reſtraint* ties us to: Therefore ſome take more content in ſharing a *Miſtreſs* with others, than they can find in the ſole Fruition of a *Wife*: The reaſon is, *Strangers are taken for Dainties, Wives as Phyſick*. *Riches* and *Honour* were in the ſame predicament, but that they ſtill leave ſomething behind to be deſired, *Luſt* nothing, beyond the repetition of the ſame again, which after a few enjoyments grows tedious. Other Courſes weary us with *Change*, this with Continuance.

13. Ask your ſelf, what deſire you ever attained, that a long and often repeated *Fruition* did not render

render tedious, if not loathſom, though the thing wiſhed for remained in the perfection it was before enjoyment? And can your Reaſon promiſe you, to continue the ſame unto *Beauty*; ſo tranſitory, as it is in a manner loſt, before you can truly conſider, whether it belongs to Nature, or the Dreſs? therefore when diſcontented with your preſent condition, tumble towards any Change, rather than into that bottomleſs Pit, out of which no repentance can bayl you.

14. After that *Age*, *Wearineſs*, *Wiſdom* or *Buſineſs* hathdiſpoſſeſſed you of this dumb and deaf *amorous Spirit*, and concluded all deſires to *uxorious Vanities*, it is poſſible your *Wives* appetite may increaſe, and that Diſeaſe of *Luſt*, which your Youth cured before ſhe had leiſure to diſcover it, may then unſeaſonably interrupt your ſleep; calling for that, there ſhall be nothing in her, but importunity, to provoke you to; nor in you, but the deſire of quiet, and to conjure down the fierce Devil of *Jealouſie*, which haunts the houſes of Married folks, rendring them no leſs unhappy, diſmal and clamorous, than the Temple of *Moloch*, where ſuch Children and Servants, as you moſt delight in, ſhall paſs through the Fire of daily Contention.

15. Were it poſſible to aſſign to your Choice *the Vertues of your Mother* (which I confeſs are inferiour to none) and fancy a *Son*, with as rich Parts as imagination is able to endow a creature withal; yet a *Daughter* may come, that for want of good Behaviour, or care in Marriage, ſhall infuſe ſo much gall into your cup, as will be able to imbitter all the pleaſure taken in the reſt: Or if you ſhould eſcape this in regard of one, the leaſt deformity happening to any of the others, will cauſe more grief, than all the towardlineſs of the moſt perfect can out-talk.

16. Our Beldame *Eve*, to ſave her longing, ſold us all for an Apple; and ſtill as we fall into the ſame deſires,

ſires, *apprehending felicities in things we never tryed*, we are carryed away by her peeviſh *Daughters*, the true *Syrens* wiſe *Ulyſſes* ſtopt his ears againſt, who under pretence of pleaſure and Love, lead us into Dens and obſcure Holes of the Rocks, where we conſume our pretious Time and bury our Parts, (which, might enable us to deſpiſe or honour this world as beſt ſuited our complexions) feeding, all our lives, upon the dry bones of Want and Affliction, and like *Actæon*, torn by our Families; Nothing being more certain, than that a Married man changeth the ſhape of natural Freedom, and inrols himſelf among ſuch as are rendred Beaſts of burden under Reaſon of State; whereas thoſe unclog'd with this Yoke, if they like not the ſervice and diſcipline of their own, may the eaſier exchange it for that of any other Commonwealth.

17. Though nothing can wholly diſengage *Marriage* from ſuch *Inconveniences*, as may obſtruct felicity, yet they are beſt palliated under a *great Eſtate*; all other Arguments for it receiving commonly confutation from Time and Experience, or are evaporated by Fruition: *Birth* impoſing a neceſſity of Charge, as *Beauty* doth of Jealouſie, if not of a bad report; Innocency being often found too weak to guard it ſelf from the poyſon of tongues.

18. The true extent of *her Eſtate* therefore is firſt to be ſurveyed, before you entail your ſelf upon the Owner: And, in this common Fame is not to be truſted, which for the moſt part dilates a *Portion* or *Joynture* beyond its natural bounds, proving alſo not ſeldom litigious, and *that* found *given by Will*, queſtionable: by which Husbands are tied to a black Box, more miſerable than that of *Pandora*: there being in the Law hope of nothing but trouble and injuſtice. Neither do *Widows* ſeldom put their *Eſtates* out of their own reach, the better to cheat their Husbands, perverting

ting ſo far the courſe of nature, as to make him thraſh for a Penſion, who ought to command all. This requires *Love* to be uſhered into this undiſſolvable Nooſe, by Diſcretion, ſince it hath rarely fallen within the compaſs of Example, that both parties (if wiſe) ſhould be cordially pleaſed with their bargain: Therefore the Yoke of Marriage had need be lined with the richeſt ſtuff, and ſofteſt outward conveniencies, elſe it will gall your Neck and Heart, ſo, as you ſhall take little comfort in the Vertue, Beauty, Birth, &c. of her to whom you are coupled.

19. As the fertility of the enſuing year is gueſſed at, by the height of the river *Nilus*, ſo by the *greatneſs of a Wives Portion* may much of the future conjugal Happineſs be calculated: For, to ſay truth, *a poor Marriage*, like a Father's Theft or Treaſon, entails ſhame and miſery upon Poſterity, who receive little warmth from the Virtue, much leſs from the Beauty of their Mother.

The beſt of husbands are Servants, but he that takes a *Wife* wanting *Money*, is a ſlave to his affection, doing the baſeſt of Drudgeries without wages. Experience cries in the Streets that he who takes his *Maid* into the Marriage-bed, finds her no leſs imperious a Miſtreſs, than he that is coupled in the higheſt Link. For ſuch as bring nothing, eſteem themſelves ſlighted, if they command not all; whereas better Educations are apter to confeſs an Obligation, than thoſe baſely born.

20. Yet take one who thinks her ſelf rather *beneath* than above you in *Birth*: ſince *honourable Perſons*, as is reported of *Eagles Feathers*, in a *Bed*, conſume all not of the ſame plume: *Riches* were in a like predicament, in relation to *Pride*, but eaſier paſſed by, becauſe beſt able to bear the charges of her own Folly; whereas *Lean Honour* like *Pharoah's Kine*, devours the *Gentry* with whom they match, by multiplying the quantity of their Expences.

21. I confeſs *Vaſt Eſtates* are not ſo ſenſible of the inconveniences of *poor Marriages*: as having, beſides greater Diverſions, the ſtaff of Power to keep the lean Wolf from the door: *Want* being no leſs the original of moſt Sins, than the Mother of all Plagues: ſo as the depth of *Poverty* calling upon the bottomleſs pit of *Deſpair*, tempts the ill-bred *Son*, for want of better education to (change a life, he thinks cannot be made more wretched) to marry the Chamber-maid: by which the no leſs unadviſed *Daughter* learns to run away with the *Groom*: Do not the careful looks of all Fathers give evidence to the truth of that Saying, *Children are uncertain Comforts, but certain troubles.*

22 Therefore (*dear Son*) if you find your ſelf ſmitten with this poiſoned Dart, imitate His prudence, who choſe rather to caſt himſelf into the arms of the Sea, and Travel, than to let his Hopes and Parts wither in thoſe of a poor whining *Dido*: who is no more able to give you Caution, for the continuance of her own Affection, than you are of yours, or of her Beauty.

23. I have heard a *well-built woman* compared, in her motion, to a Ship under Sail; yet I would adviſe no wiſe man to be her owner, if her Fraught be nothing but what ſhe carries between Wind and Water.

A neat wench, like a fair Picture, may adorn a Room for a General Commerce, or like a painted Inn-poſt, may tempt you as a Stranger, to while away ſome ſcorching hours: but to hang her in your Heart, and turn Hoſt to a bare Holly buſh, is ſo high a Blaſphemy againſt Diſcretion, that it would not only exceed repentance, but pity and forgiveneſs, eſpecially in relation to you, who have had theſe Rocks marked out on all ſides, by the Advice or Splinters of an indulgent Father.

24. But if once you render your ſelf a pupil to whining *Love*, he will read you ſuch contrary Politicks, as ſhall perſwade you to make a League with Miſery, and embrace Beggery for a Friend: and after this you are capable of no higher honour, than to be regiſtred in one of his Martyrological Ballads, and ſung by Dairy-maids to a pitiful Tune.

25. To conclude, if you will needs be a Familiſt and Marry, Muſter not the *want of iſſue* among your greateſt affliction, as thoſe do, that Cry, *Give me Children or elſe my name dies*; the pooreſt way of immortalizing that can be, and as natural to a Cobler as a Prince, and not ſeldom out-reached by a Grave-ſtone: This proves them no fools that made their own choice, by *Adoption*, out of the maſs of humanity, not confining themſelves to ſuch as the doubtful chance of *Marriage* obliged them to: ſince wives do worſe than miſcarry, that go their full time of a Fool with a Boſſive birth; yet leſs uglineſs reſides in the greateſt perſonal Deformity, than in an ordinary Mulct of the mind: nor can there be a greater diſſemblance between one wiſe man and another, though ſtrangers in blood, than daily falls out betwixt them and their own Iſſue: ſo as it is rarely obſerved, that a prudent Father begets a like Son: in which, Nature proclaims, Things of moment not made for *Stallions*, and to bury their rich Talents in the tedious commerce and loathſom ſheets of a ſilly Woman. And if we conſult right Reaſon, not Opinion, more of our Blood runs in a Brother, than a Child; the Surer-ſide being always a ſtranger to the Family: The truth is, they are really no more ours, than the curles of our hair, or parings of your nails, carrying often ſuch Thoughts towards us, as we ſhould deteſt any for, but them: Made ours rather by Uſe than Nature, as appears in the reſt of Gods Creatures, who look no longer after their Young, than whilſt they are unable

to

to ſhift for themſelves; This alſo ſpeaks an immoderate Sorrow for their Loſs, as impertinent, as the like deſire to procure them: none being truly capable of Felicity, that ſituate it out of the extent of their own reach, or are over-paſſionately affected with other foreign miſery, than what doth purely belong to themſelves.

26. But if this ſavours too much of the *Stoick*, You may qualifie it as you pleaſe: For I doubt not, but the zeal your *Youth* doth yet retain towards the Creed and Practice of others (poſſibly not ſo well taught) may at preſent make much of *This* look like *Blaſphemy*: But when ſo many Winters have ſnowed on your Head, as on your Fathers, you will think it *Canonical, and fit to be read to Poſterity.*

To The VVomen Readers,

Concerning the foregoing Diſcourſe Of Love and Marriage.

THough the multitude, that crond of Errour and Miſtakes, like corn, hang their Ears, and ſanate their Judgements not according to the conſtant inſpell of Reaſon, but the mutable and ſenſleſs Inſpirations of Fools and Criticks, commonly their Nurſes, and according to whoſe Dialect this childiſh Monſter is taught to prate; yet I did not apprehend it ſo deaf to its own Intereſt, and the pitiful voice of woful Experience, as to imagine anything, looking like a Mate in the felicity of a Married man, *which becomes not a Beam in the more tender eye of a* Wife; *To whom the cruelty of a tyrannical cuſtom hath alloted the heavieſt, and moſt uneaſie end of the chain: Thought by me ſufficiently intimated in that* Epiſtle, *ſet on purpoſe (in the* former Editions*) before this Section of* Love *and* Marriage, *to ſtay the Reader from any miſpriſion, the drowſieſt Ignorance could lead him into, for want of that Counterpain relating to* Women, *looked upon, at that time, as impertinent to inſert, the Party I then laboured for to arm, being a* Son.

Therefore I hope I ſhall not need to implore all the Candor *attending your other* Excellencies, *whoſe ſmalleſt skirt will be ſufficient to cover me from the ſtrife of tongues, calling this a new-caught up Opinion, or, that I deteſt more, a baſe* Recantation; *by which I ſhould foully betray a heart no leſs ready to be your Foot-ſtool in Age, than it was one of your triumphant Chariots during Youth:*

This

This being merely intended to ſtay the looſe Rabble from dropping into any further prejudice of my Innocency, by an equal balancing the Accounts of Marriage; *ſeldom reaching the content of both, eſpecially where the* Groom *is wholly led in by* Love, *and the* Bride *hath nothing more permanent to accompany her, than* Beauty *and* Youth.

For if the Maſter *of the* Cabin *finds a* Bedfellow *with her Concomitance, not only troubleſom to ſtow, but an impediment inconſiſtent with his own ſafety, during ſuch a rough ſtorm of inteſtine* War, *as my Quill was toſſed in when firſt laden with this* Advice, *His* Mate *cannot in ordinary diſcretion, be imagined to lie eaſie, who, beſides* her *own particular grievances, hath his dangers alſo to affright her; And by burying the Regency of a* Miſtreſs *in the vaſſallage of* Marriage, *doth not only go leſs in the former eſteem her* Husband *had had of her, whilſt he lay under the ſtrongeſt incantation of an unſatisfied deſire, but ventures the forfeiture of that ancient Charter, by which* Free Beauty *is allowed a paſſport through all Nations where Civility or Honour commands: Rendring her ſelf in all diſtempered times (where ſingle ſhe might remain in a harmleſs Neutrality) obnoxious to an ill treatment from the contrary Party to that her owners fortune, folly or friendſhip hath contracted him to.*

Thus, like the Angels *ſent to the reſcue of Lot,* Women *do not only run the hazard of their own Contamination by* Marriage, *to draw men out of the ſins no leſs than puniſhments impending the barren and unnatural delights of ſolitude, but alter their ſhapes, and embaſe their celeſtial Beauties, when by diſcharging their* Husbands *of the venom of* Love, *they ſwell themſelves into the bulk and dangers of* Childbearing: *loſing their own* Name *and their* Families; *to perpetuate that of a meer* Stranger: *And beſides all this, they, in their higheſt*

ruff, can be look'd upon but as the best of Servants: *Having nothing* theirs *in a more proper sence, than a Child hath, whose father allows him to call any thing* His, *though without leave he may not dispose of the smallest part. Nor, in case of melancholly* Discontent, (*not seldom haunting every corner of their Family, which* Women *are tyed to cure, or keep company with*) *can they find such ready and safe Diversions, as the ways of* Men *are in all places strewed withall: who being freer from* Fear *or* Shame (*Shackles which mens own Law and Custom, not Nature or Justice hath cast in the way of the Wives felicity*) *they meet such content abroad, as is withheld from* your SEX *under the Key of Conscience, or covered from your desires by the veil of* Modesty, *or not impossibly laid beyond reach, for want of so easie steps of opportunity.*

Yet besides these visible disadvantages, Married Women *lye under a number that deserve the name of corroding* Plagues, *which the severity of their Modesty, by custom made natural, forbids them to reveal, and against whose tyrannical Jurisdiction they may be thought to rebell, that should endeavour to muster them up: For in a small time the* Patient *obtains his cure, and the* Physician *becomes afflicted with the same desires, fruition hath discharged the* Husband of; *who doth consider his own Remedy as a Drug easily matched, if not exceeded, by such as may be found under every hedge: laying it aside, like a perfum'd glove, with whose sweetness his senses are so fated by use, as he can apprehend little delight in it; Though Strangers, whose eyes are not blear'd by* Fruition, *look upon her as the* Sun, *which retains the same splendor she had at first, not being* Eclipsed *so much from any* Defect *of Nature in it self, as by the Clouds arising in the* Husbands *Fancy, from a daily commerce; Through which, though* his love *be diminished, the* Wives *is encreased, if not from affection, yet by an Imposition of Necessity;* men *being to be numbred among such* Diseases, *as are sometime continued with a lost*

train

train of inconveniencies, than parted withall. Whereas if that Sweet Sex *remained ſtill in the ſtate of Innocency, not contemplating any other perfections but their own, they might be adored for* beauty *during Youth, and reverenced for* virtue *in* Age; *And by putting this reſtraint upon the felicity of* men, *bring them to an honourable Compoſition, as the* Sabine Ladies *did the* Romans.

To conclude, If Men, *the moſt abſolute maſters of their Choice and Employment, find occaſion of* diſcontent, *under this* undiſſolvable conjunction, *who can value* Womans *diſadvantage, whoſe Actions, no leſs than their intrinſecal Deſires muſt be ſubject to, and wait the leiſure of their* Husbands?

ADVICE to a SON.

III. Travel.

1. SOme, to ſtarch a more ſerious face upon wanton, impertinent, and dear-bought Vanities, cry up *Travel*, as *the beſt accompliſher of Youth and Gentry*, though detected by Experience in the generality, for *the greateſt debaucher*: adding affectation to Folly, and Atheiſm to the curioſity of many not well principled by Education: Such Wanderers imitating thoſe Factors of *Solomon*, that together with Gold, returned Apes and Peacocks.

They, and only they, *advantage* themſelves by *Travel*, who, well fraught with the Experience of what their own Country affords, carry over with them large and thriving Talents, as thoſe Servants did, commended by our Saviour: For he that hath nothing to venture but poor, deſpicable and ſolitary Parts, may be ſo far from Improvement, as he hazards quite to loſe and bury them in the external *Levity* of *France*, *Pride* of *Spain*, and *Treachery of Italy*: Becauſe not being able to take acquaintance abroad of more Prudence, than he meets with in the Streets and other publick places, the Activity of his Legs and Arms may poſſibly be augmented, and he by tedious Complements, become more acceptable in the eyes of Silly Women, but uſeleſs, if not pernicious, to the Government of his own Country, in creating doubts and diſlikes by way of a partial Compariſon.

2. Yet

2. Yet ſince it *advanceth Opinion in the world*, without which Deſert is uſeful to none but it ſelf (Scholars and Travellers being cryed up for the higheſt Graduates in the moſt univerſal judgements) I am not much unwilling to give way to peregrine motion for a time; Provided it be in *Company of an Embaſſadour, or Perſon of Quality*; by whoſe power the Danger may be rebated, no leſs than your charge of Diet defrayed, inconſiderable in ſuch a Retinue, as Perſons of their Magnitude are forced to entertain.

3. Or if your Genius (tempted by profit) incline to the life of a *Merchant*, you have the Law of Nations, and Articles of a reciprocal Amity to protect you from other inconveniencies, than ſuch as Indiſcretion draws upon rath and unadviſed Strangers.

And thus man'd out, Your Experience may receive Lading at the firſt hand, when others, failing of the like Advantages, muſt take up that little they make, at the common Beam; yet pay more Cuſtom, and run greater hazards than the whole Return, when caſt up, is able to compenſe.

4. Or in caſe this Nation ſhould again break out into *Partialities*, it may not be ill prudence, to go where you may have the proſpect of the *War* with ſafety, who ever prevail: And for the Place, I ſay *France*, if you have a purſe: elſe ſome Town in the *Netherlands* or *Flanders*, that is wholeſom and ſafe; where *French* may be attained with little more difficulty than at *Paris*, neither are the Humors of the People ſo very remote from your own.

Now if it be your fortune, on any ſuch like Accounts, to leave your Native Country; Take theſe *Directions* from a *Father*, wearied (and therefore poſſibly made wiſer) by *Experience*.

5. Let not the Irreligion of any Place breed in you a neglect of *Divine Duties*; remembring, God heard the prayers

prayers of *Daniel* in *Babylon*, with the same Attention he gave to *David*'s in *Sion*.

6. Shun all *Disputes*, but *concerning Religion* especially; because that which commands in chief, though false and erroneous, will, like a Cock on's own dunghill, line her Arguments with force, and drive the Stranger out of the Pit with insignificant clamours. All Opinions, not made natural by complexion, or imperious Education, being equally ridiculous to those of contrary Tenets.

But where you find such Discourse unavoidably obtruded, mould your Arguments rather into *Queries*, than dogmatical Assertions; professing it *more the business of Travellers, to Learn than Teach*: This, besides the removal of Jealousies, will proclaim you Civil, and not bury the hope of a future Complyance: Muzling the mouths of the rigid Zelots (who think none worthy of Life, found out of the Train of their own Opinions) no less than engaging the more Moderate, rather to pity you, as one mis-led, than accuse you for wilful and contumacious: Observing herein *the prudence of our Saviour*, who prohibits the casting of Pearls before such, as are more likely to employ them to your Damage, than their own Edification: And therefore Silence ought not in reason to be reckon'd for a desertion of Truth, where it cannot be maintained, but to the prejudice of what the imperative Power hath declared so to be.

A *Sceptick humour*, as it is most suitable to any *man* out of Power, so especially if he Travels; less offence being taken at *Doubters*, than such as boldly undertake to Determine: There not always remaining a necessity, either in Religion or discretion, to give a *positive Answer*; as appears by *Christ*, who *did not seldom oppose one ambiguous Question against another no less dangerous to resolve*: Therefore you may be as well a

Murderer

Murderer as a Martyr, if you run unadviſedly into Ruine.

7. Keep your *Zeal* chain'd for a Guard to your conſcience, not letting it fly upon ſuch things as Cuſtom hath not made it familiar withal, (Remembring, that the *Saducees*, who denyed Angels and Spirits, are not regiſtred for ſuch implacable enemies to our Saviour, as the *Phariſees*, who confeſſed both:) the fury of which Paſſion hath tranſported ſome ſo far, as to ſtrike the *Euchariſt* out of the Prieſts hands, that carryed it, chooſing, like giddy *Phaetons*, to burn, rather than not manifeſt themſelves (unſeaſonably) the Children of God.

8. Do not imitate their follies, who conceit themſelves bound in honour to *aſſert* all *Cuſtoms* uſed in the Places they come from; which, beſides contraction of Quarrels, brands ſuch Sophiſters with the imputation of a partial Incivility: *Cuſtom* being of that inſinuating nature, as it can convert into the ſhape of comelineſs, Diet, Apparel, Geſtures, Opinions and Sins, that, to a Stranger, may appear moſt diſtaſtful, ugly, uncouth and unnatural: This renders a Defence of the Errors of your own Country as undecent, as the too lowd proclaiming of them is ſhameful and unworthy.

As it is neither mannerly nor ſafe to *diſcommend* any thing uſed abroad, ſo likewiſe is it diſadvantagious; for by *Commendation* you ſhall the better ſcrue out the true Opinion themſelves have of it, which upon your *Diſlike* will be concealed, or heightned, out of ſhame, or oſtentation.

9. Fall not into *Compariſons*; For what doth it concern the Advancement of Wiſdom, whether *London*, or *Paris*, *St. Marks* Church or *Paul's* be the faireſt. The like modeſty muſt be obſerved at your return home; leſt you ſhould ſeem to have loſt, in your travel through other Nations, the natural affection ſo juſtly due to your Own;

Own; which may raiſe ſuſpicion of a change, either in your Religion or Allegiance.

10. *Condemn* none with too much *ſeverity*, you find in never ſo palpable an *Error of Judgement or Manners*, (which for the moſt part are meerly reſpective to Time and Place) leſt you ſhould bait a Trap with a Precedent ſtrong enough one day, to catch your ſelf: All things, we ſtile *Sin*, lying in the bowels of men, as Metals do in the Earth, under an equal party, till *Policy*, for the benefit of Commerce, ſtamps them with the Image of the *Devil*, and on their Ranverſe *Puniſhment* and *Shame*: No more proper to them by nature, than for Gold or Silver to bear the Impreſs and ſuperſcription of a Prince, before it be coyned, and made currant, or prohibited by *Law*, the *Maſter of the Mint*, in relation to *Good* or *Evil*.

Though it may ſute no leſs with your years, than mine that adviſe you, to follow ſuch *faſhions in Apparel*, as are in uſe as well at home as abroad, thoſe being leaſt gazed on that go as moſt men do: yet it cannot be juſtified before the face of Diſcretion, or the Charity due to your own Country-men, to eſteem no *Doublet* well made, nor *Glove* worth wearing, that hath not paſſed the hands of a *French Taylor*, or retains not the *Scent* of a *Spaniſh perfumer*. A vanity found incident to *England*, and the people, our ordinary account reckons *Eaſt* of us: a ſtrong preſumption, the laſt arrived within the Pale of Civility, elſe they would be more confident of their own *Inventions*, had they not ſtill freſh in memory, from whence they derived the Arts of *Building*, *Cloaths*, *Behaviour*, &c. A Fancy, though fooliſh, yet eaſier excuſed, did it not aſcend to the more rare and uſeful *Endowments of the Mind*, ſo far as to put a miraculous eſtimation upon the *writings of ſtrangers*, and a baſe alloy on better of *their own*: Since, upon a ſtrict examination, the moiſt Heads of theſe colder Climates

Climates may be found to have dropped as pure Reason, as the nearer approach of the Sun was ever yet able to draw from the more tosted brains of *Spain*, *Italy*, or *France*. Therefore launch not too suddenly into a rough and deep *Censure* of such *Authors*, as you find go contrary to the high tide of Opinion for the present, lest compel'd to a retractation, you confess your self apt to be misled by the common prejudice daily found in the ways of desert: As such must needs be, that would have cashiered *Bacons Advancement of Learning*, as an Heretical and impertinent piece, but for an invincible strength of contrary Judgements that came to his rescue from beyond the seas: *English* men bearing a greater reverence to the *Votes*, and a less prejudice to the *Inventions* of *strangers*, than their own; else our *Authors* needed not to *travel* for repute, especially at that time when our *Pulpits*, no less than *Theaters*, condemned of Ignorance all the known world besides. For however it might be with us in the time of *Edward* the fourth, and notwithstanding the Character *Philip de Comines* gives of the bluntness of the *English Pens*, were then no hyperbole, yet now no Reader unmuffled by Malice or Ignorance, but must acknowledge that the late King did not only in that vanquish all near his rank, that almost ever went before him: But hath left many, though short of his parts, very well able to grapple with the choicest of other Princes Subjects.

11. If the wisdom of the *States of Holland* were warily observed (who give no other answer for the present, to any new Proposition, but *Peut-estre*, in English, *It may be so*: (by which they civilly evade a peremptory asserting or denying the validity of any Argument.) The Hell of the *Inquisition* would not be so replenished with the Souls of poor unadvised Christians: who, made giddy with an impertinent Zeal, and

and confident in the Promises of the treacherous Jesuites their Country men (that have ways enough to betray you, without discovering themselves) communicate to them *prohibited Books*, in hope to convert them (which I advise you by no means to carry with you:) This *Mr. Mole* found true in a tedious and sharp Captivity, reported to be betrayed by Sr. *T. M.* at the instigation of the Lord *E.* to whom he was assigned Tutor, by the Earl of *Ex.*

12. To the *Eucharist*, met in the Streets, (through which it is often born to the houses of the Sick,) Custom, no less than the Injunction of the Magistrate, obligeth all to kneel, or bow: The which if a Stranger neglects, he is liable to the Inquisitors: Now if it be an Idol, St. *Paul* saith *an Idol is nothing*: And if it renders the Meat offered unto it no ways distastful to a sound Conscience, how should it deprave me to be uncovered, as the rest are? It being palliated, if not absolutely decided this way, in the case of *Naaman*, and the Duke of *Saxony*; whom *Luther* permitted to assist the Emperour *Charles* the fifth at a Mass, only to preserve a temporal Dignity, covering it with the title of Civil Respect.

13. Pity, rather than spurn at those you see prostrate before a *Crucifix*: Considering we find it injoyned, by the Penner of the *Praelices of Piety* (too often printed, to carry the marks of any thing contrary to the genuine mind of that Protestant Church) that *all communicants, at the article of their receiving, should imagine the Posture of Christ upon the Cross.* And if so, doth it not leave room for a Query, who is the most mistaken, He that makes to himself a Representation in his Heart, or on the Wall? Yet this, with the rest, is layed before you only as an Advise, not a stumbling block, and occasion of offence.

14. Enter

14. Enter no farther into *Foreign Churches*, than the hand of your own Religion and Conſcience leads you; For, though the **Body of their *Worſhip*** do not take you, the higher expreſſions of *Zeal*, and *Auſterity* (in the preciſer ſort of Church men, and people, taken for the Soul of all Profeſſions) may ſeem to diſcover ſome defects in your own: And ſo, diſpleaſed on all ſides, you daſh upon the rock of Atheiſm; as ſuch do, that value the Merits and Sanctity of Chriſt, by His, who pretends to be his Vicar; and all moral Virtue by the ſcant Standard, they find it meaſured by at *Rome*, where they put out the eyes of the leſs adviſed with the duſt of Antiquity, which we ſeeming to want, are not ſo catching to thoſe, not wiſe enough to look behind the Curtain of *Formalities*.

Yet where Conſcience and Reaſon give you leave to *comply* (as poſſibly they may in many things) do it ingeniouſly, without compulſion or dint of an Argument; leſt, oppoſing a Truth upon the By, you give them cauſe to think you guilty of Falſhood in the Main.

15. Conſort with none who *Scoff* at their own *Religion*, but ſhun them as ſpies or Atheiſts: For Strangers honour them moſt, next to thoſe of their reſpective Tenents, that are modeſtly zealous in the obſervation of their own.

16. Eſchew *the company of* all *Engliſh* you find *in Orders*: For as they have imitated the lapſed Angels, in falling from their firſt ſtation, ſo they bear the like malevolence to all they deſpair of bringing into the ſame condemnation: being for the moſt part deſpicable, poor, and Melancholy; The Proteſtants eying them as Apoſtates, and the Catholicks as Fugitives and unprofitable devourers of the Natives bread. Thus young *Scholars*, becauſe not able to reach all they deſire at home, like Prodigals abandon the boſom of their

their Mother, unadvisedly casting themselves into that of want and reproach: Viscount *Mont*'s Brother being but a Porter to a Religious house, and many of the rest exposed to such hard and desperate Missions into the *Indies* and other remote Climates, as their lives are rendered no less tedious than uncertain.

17. Besides, he that beyond Sea frequents his own *Countrymen*, forgets *the principal part of his errand, Language*, and possibly the opportunity to get Experience how to manage his Expence: *Frugality* being of none so perfectly learned, as of the *Italian* and *Scot*; natural to the first, and as necessary to the latter. The English also are observed abroad more quarrelsom with their own Nation, than strangers, and therefore marked out as the most dangerous Companions.

18. An *Injury* in foreign air is cheaper passed over than revenged, the endeavour of which hath (not seldom) drawn on a greater: Besides, if Patience and Evasion be not learned by your Travel, the Bills you have taken up may perhaps be discharged, as to the Merchant, but quite lost in regard of any return of Profit to such inconsiderate men, as suffer themselves to be transported with their *Passions*: since he that is Master of them, shall act and speak reason, when others, destitute of that Moderation, appear mad, uttering nothing but noise.

19. *Play* is destructive and fatal to Estates every where, but to the Persons of Gamesters abroad, rendring them the Objects of Cheating and Quarrels: all By-standers being apt to attest to the prejudice of a Stranger.

20. He that desires quiet and to decline *Quarrels* (undertaken by Strangers upon irreparable disadvantages) must, above all, avoid giving or receiving *favours from Women*: There being none out of the List of common Whores, any way acceptable, to which some Ruffin

Ruffin (in *Italy* cal'd *Braves*, who will murder a man for a Crown) doth not pretend an interest, either as a Husband, a Kinsman, or a Servant: Neither are they safely conversed withall, in relation to health; Participating so far of the nature of Devils, that they are not only instrumental in the Sin, but many times also in the Punishment.

Make not the *Promise of Marriage* a Baud to your *Lust*, nor think her fruit worth owning, shall yield possession upon no more formal obligation: Presuming then if she can dispence with the Ceremony, by which Law only makes her yours, it is no less possible, that time and the wearisom repetition of the same embraces may upon as handsom a provocation, tempt her to change the Substance.

He that owns a *Whore* in a more peculiar sence, than a common Jakes, descends from the dignity of Reason; And yet I have known some so far transported as to marry such an one to the infamy of their Families, no less than their own future discontent; making *a mercenary Woman* Arbitrator and Guardian of their Issue: Contrary to the wiser practice of *Spain*, where none are admitted Judges of anothers interest, that have taken fees as Pleaders themselves, lest former use should convert them into Bribes: It being hard to forego a profitable custom, and as impossible to impropriate such cattel as to monopolize the Air; For the Bar of Honour being once leaped over by that Sex, there remains nothing certain to the owner, but the open fields of Shame and repentance.

21. If tempted by *an impatient Affection* to any thing, not without danger or difficulty attained, Catechize your self with this Question; What wish, Fortune or Labour ever presented you with, that, after a full Fruition, did not soon grow tedious, or, at best came not far short of what creaking Expectation had undertaken

dertaken it should perform? And let this contemplation moderate your desires, That all worldly profit or pleasure is correspondent to a like measure of anxiety and wearisomness: Therefore let no importunity warp you contrary to right reason and conveniency, ever arming your constancy against Flattery and impudence, strong assailants, especially marching under the tears and carresses of a handsome and seeming innocent *Woman*, from whom it is no dishonour to fly, and with whom there is no safety to treat, for fear, like blind *Sampson*, you grind out the remainder of your days, between want and Repentance, and be led in Triumph by her Friends, and those suborned to seduce you, more ready to sacrifice the Thanks to their own Nets, than to the easiness of your Nature, to which it is only due.

If any then be furiously *enamoured on you*, whose Fortune cannot correspond for the Troubles incident to Marriage, (which God knows are not a few) venture the loss of Her, rather than your self: it being one of the highest pieces of madness, to hang an indissolvable padlock upon your future hopes, only *to save a Wenches Longing*; with whose soft humour miscarriage is more suitable, than a Man's armed with so much advice: Therefore fly from such, as incurable Plagues, nothing being more catching to unbiassed nature, than a seeming violent Affection; which if not built upon a former promise, you may leave her justly to the melancholly Society of her own Folly; out of which it is all odds but she may happily recover, or imitate the voluptuous death of that Taylor reported to have whined away himself for the love of Queen *Elizabeth*.

22. Who travels *Italy*, handsom, young and beardless, may need as much caution and circumspection, to protect him from the *Lust of men*, as the Charms of Women: an impiety not to be credited by an honest

honeſt heart, did not the ruines of *Sodom*, calcin'd by this unnatural heat, remain ſtill to witneſs it. And as I have heard, they continue ſo enamoured this uncouth way of Luſt, (led by what imaginary delight I know not) that ſuch as Age and Weakneſs have ſet beyond the power of Acting, ſuffer themſelves to be Patients in that noyſom Beſtiality: maintaining to this end Emiſſaries abroad, to entice men of delicate complexions, to the houſes of theſe decrepit Lechers, under pretence of an aſſignation made by ſome Feminine beauty; And thus enſnared, the poor uncircumſpect young man cannot with conſcience do, or ſafety refuſe this baſe Office.

23. Where you never mean to return, extend your *Liberality* at firſt coming, as you ſee convenient, during your aboads; for what you give at parting is quite loſt.

24. Make no oſtentation of *carrying* any conſiderable Sum of *Money about you*; leſt you turn that to your deſtruction, which under God is a Strangers beſt preſervation: And *Remove* not from place to place, but with company you know: The not obſerving whereof is the cauſe, ſo many of our Countrymens graves were never known; having been buried in as much obſcurity as kill'd.

25. *Inns* are dangerous, and ſo are all *freſh Acquaintance*, eſpecially where you find their offer of friendſhip to outbid a Strangers deſert: The ſame may be ſaid of *ſervants*; not to be entertained upon ordinary commendations.

26. Next to experience, *Languages* are the richeſt lading of a Traveller: among which *French* is moſt uſeful, *Italian* and *Spaniſh* not being ſo fruitful in Learning (except for the Mathematicks and Romances) Their other Books being gelt by the Fathers of the Inquiſition.

27. He that is carried by his curiosity under the Jurisdiction of the *Turk*, or other *Mahumetan* Princes, shall be used (as they esteem him) like a dog; and so to be armed with a more invincible Patience, than commonly accompanies a man free-born: Insomuch as I heard a Kinsman say, who had been at *Jerusalem*, that the richest experience he brought from thence, could not in the least proportion recompence the trouble he met with, bringing home certain marks of the incivility of the people, for an uncertain discovery of the places fam'd for *Christ's* Death and Burial: And though he thought he merited by it (a conceit I know uncapable of place in your head) yet no reward could hire him to repeat again those weary steps: Therefore I advise you to believe rather what you may read in your Study, than go thither to disprove it.

28. I can say little of *Plantations*, having had no experience of them: But that he, which changeth his own Countrey, shall not, in my mind, do so well, to go farther from the Sun, or where he may not at least share in the *Government*.

Advice

ADVICE to a SON.

IV. Government.

1. CONtract not the common diſtemper, incident to vulgar brains, who ſtill imagine more eaſe from ſome *untried Government*, than that they lie under: not having paſſed the firſt Form of Experience, where we may learn, that *Tyranny is no leſs natural to power, than luſt to Youth.*

If happy for the preſent, 'tis no better than madneſs to endeavour a *Change*; if but indifferently Well, folly: For though a Veſſel may yield the more for tilting or ſtirring, it renders all in it unpleaſant to preſent uſe: The Die of *War* ſeldom turning to their advantage, that firſt caſt it: ſuch therefore as cannot make all well, diſcharge their conſcience in wiſhing it ſo; Government being the care of Providence, not mine. But if it be your Fortune to fall under ſuch *commotions*, imitate not the wild *Iriſh* or *Welch*, who during Eclipſes, run about beating kettles and pans, thinking their clamour and vexations available to the aſſiſtance of the higher Orbs, though they advance nothing but their own miſeries, being often maimed, but at beſt layed by, without reſpect or reward, ſo ſoon as the State is returned to it's former ſplendor: Common Souldiers reſembling Cocks, that fight for the benefit and

ambition of others, more than their own: This proves it the wholsomer counsel, to stay within doors, and avoid such malignant affects, as people attribute to the supposed distempers of the superiour Planets. But if forced to take a stream, let it be that which leads to the desires of the *Metropolis*, the chief City being for the most part preserved, who ever prevails, in a civil Commotion abounding in Money and Friends, the readiest Commodities to purchase quiet.

2. Be not the *pen or mouth of a multitude* congregated by the gingling of their Fetters; lest a pardon or Complyance knock them off, and leave you, as the Soul of that wicked and deformed Body, hanging in the Hell of the Law, or to the vengeance of an exasperated Power: But rather have Patience, and see the Tree sufficiently shaken, before you run to scramble for the fruit; least instead of profit and honour, you meet with a cudgel or a stone: And then (if possible) seem to fall in, rather out of compulsion, than design: Since the zeal of the Rabble is not so soon heated by the real Oppressions of their Rulers, but may be as easily cooled by the specious Promises and breach of Authority. Wherefore nurse not *Ambition* with *your own blood*, nor think the wind of Honour strong enough to blow away the reproachful sense of a shameful, if possibly that of a violent Death: for if *Solomons* Rule be true, that *A living Dogg is better than a Dead Lyon*, a Quick evasion cannot but be deemed more man-like, than a Buried valour.

3. A *Multitude* inflamed under a *religious* pretence, are at first as unsafely opposed, as joyned with; resembling Bears exasperated by the cry of their whelps, and do not seldom, if unextinguished by hope or delays, consume all before them, to the very thing they intend to preserve: *Zeal*, like the Rod of *Moses*, devouring all for Diabolical, that dares but appear before it in the same shape: The inconsiderate Rabble, with the

Swine

Swine in the Goſpel, being more furiouſly agitated by the diſcontented Spirits of others, than their own; who cannot be ſo happy in a Sea of Blood and devaſtation, the dire effects of war, as in peace, though invaded with ſome *Oppreſſion*; a Scab that breaks out oftentimes in the moſt wholſom conſtituted Bodys of States, and may with leſs ſmart be continued on, than picked off. And becauſe the Generality are uncapable, in regard of number, either of reward, or puniſhment, therefore not of uſe to the Ambition or ſafety of others, but for the preſent, like gun powder during the flaſh of their diſcontent, and as a Lock in a River, are only of force upon the firſt opening, to drive on the deſign of Innovation; looſing themſelves afterwards in a more univerſal dilatation, either out of wearineſs, or doubt of the conſequence.

4. The Example of *Brutus*, rather than *Cato*, is to be followed in *bad times*; it being ſafer to be patient, than active, or appear a Fool, than a Malcontent: An Evaſion not only juſtified in the perſon of *David*, and by the eloquence of *Paul* before his Heathen Judges, but our *Saviour* himſelf is not heard to inveigh againſt the preſent *Power*, though it had made the Head of the *Baptiſt* the Frolick to a Feaſt.

Own the *Power*, but not the *Faults* of the *Magiſtrate*; nor make *Law*, aſſigned for a buckler to defend your ſelf, a ſword to hurt others: leſt partiality ſhould allure you to paſs the ſentence of Approbation upon any thing unwarantable in its own nature. Neither let any Formalities uſed at a mimical Tribunal (as that was, ſet up in the caſe of *Naboth*) perſwade you to more than a paſſive compliance: Since ſuch may ſeem to make greater, rather than diminiſh the wages of their iniquity, that ſeek to cover Rapine with a Gown; which the Sword might patronize with more decency: And this obſerved, the people might cheaper receive

all their Injury at the first hand, which these Retailers of wickedness utter at more intolerable rates: The result of all is, *Ahab* might better have committed murther single, than render so many accessary, under the formal pretence of a Religious Fast, &c.

5. *Before you fix*, consult all the Objections Discretion is able to make; But *once resolved*, desert not your Party upon Access of a Fever, as many melancholly spirits did these wars: who, by their often and unseasonable flittings, wore themselves so out on both sides, as they were not worth owning, when success undertook for them, that they did turn in earnest: Irresolution rendring pardon more difficult from either faction, than it could have proved, had they remained constant to any: Divesting themselves of the ensigns of *Fidelity*, looked upon by all with the eyes of pity, and do often meet with Honour, seldom fail of Forgiveness, from a Noble enemy, who cannot but befriend Virtue, though he hath found it in arms against him. Yet if you perceive the post you have contracted, to totter, through undermining Treachery or weakness, you may purchase your preservation by all honest endeavours: For he that prolongs his life by the forfeiture of a *Trust* he has undertaken, husbands it worse, than if he buried it in the field of Honour: *Traitors* in all ages being equally detested on both sides.

6. *Submit* quietly *to any Power* Providence shall please to mount into the Saddle of Soveraignty, without enquiring into their Right *for Conscience sake*, or their Birth, in relation of Honour; Remembring, that not only *David*, but the most famous for success, did not only cut off others Lines, but were natural shepherds under the Cope of Heaven, before they attained to be metaphorically so under the Canopy of the Chair of State; which once possessed, clarifies the present Incumbent's Title from the greatest imputations

tations incident to Birth or Proceeding. And the many-headed Beaſt, the multitude, is ſeldom more, ſometimes leſs gall'd and vexed by the new, than the old Saddle or Riders: who, out of their greater experience of her brutiſh patience, are more apt to load her with the Trappings of Power, and the Furniture ſutable to a Throne; whoſe Inventory Pride increaſeth proportionable to continuance, and the preſumption they have of their own ability to keep the people from attempting their Remove. This may render it indifferent to a wiſe man, what Card is Trump: whoſe Game may poſſibly prove as fair under Clubs as Diamonds; neither ought he to be troubled whether his Fetters conſiſt of Many Links, or but One.

7. If Authority exacts an *Acknowledgement* from you, give it with all readineſs: It being the higheſt Frenzy to diſpute your Innocency with thoſe able to convert the greateſt into a fault: For, if it be no diſhonour to ſubmit to Thieves, if fallen into their Hands; Let not the example of a few Fools (who, like Lice, thrive no where ſo well as in a Priſon) tempt you to oppoſe your felicity againſt the Imperative Power, under which the diſpoſure of your perſon doth wholly remain, and therefore madneſs to deny it words.

I abhor the Idolatry of the Heathen, yet cannot but mind you of their Humility, in adoring any thing the People ſet up, though but hewed out of the Body of an Oak, moſt auſpicious unto Swine, and principally after ſhaking by ſuch Storms as Devils are reported to have raiſed: Therefore if you may enjoy the liberty of your own Conſcience and Eſtate, queſtion not the Deſert or Right of thoſe, under whom you do it.

8. He that ſuffers his *Conſcience* to miſlead him in civil Obedience, makes his Guide a ſtumbling-block; not conſidering that *All Governments now extant had*

had their foundations laid in the dirt, though time may have dried it up by Oblivion, or flattering Hiſtorians licked it off.

Think it no diſparagement to your birth or diſcretion, to give honour to *Freſh Families* who cannot be denied to have aſcended by the ſame ſteps, thoſe did we ſtile *Antient*: *New* being a Term only reſpecting Us, not the World; For what is, was before Us, and will be when we are no more: War follows Peace, and Peace War, as Summer doth Winter, and Foul weather Fair; Neither are any ground more in this Mill of Viciſſitudes, than ſuch *obſtinate Fools* as glory in the repute of *State-Martyrs* after they are dead; which concerns them leſs than what was ſaid 100 years before they were born: It being the greateſt odds, Their names ſhall not be Regiſtred, or if they be, after death they are no more ſenſible of the honour, than *Alexanders* great Horſe, or any Beaſt elſe, his Maſters Indulgence or the Writers, are pleaſed to record. Neither, in a ſtrict ſenſe, do they deſerve ſuch honour, for being able to date their poſſeſſions from before the *Conqueſt*; Since if any be due, it wholly belongs to them that were buried in the Ruines of their Countries Liberty, and not to ſuch as helped to make their Graves, as in likelihood moſt did whom the *Normans* ſuffered to remain. Therefore 'tis madneſs to place our felicity out of our own reach, or to meaſure Honour or Repute by any other Standard than the Opinion we conceive of it our ſelves: It being unpoſſible to find a general agreement in any good or evil report; The Raign of Queen *Elizabeth* being no leſs traduced, than that of *Richard* the Third is juſtified.

Be not therefore licoriſh after *Fame*, found by experience to carry a trumpet, that doth for the moſt part congregate more Enemies than Friends.

If

If you duly consider the *inconstancy of Common Applause*; and how many have had their *Fame* broken upon the same Wheel that raised it, and puffed out by their breath that kindled the first report of it, you would be as little elevated with the smiles, as dejected by the frowns of this gawdy Goddess, formed like *Venus*, out of no more solid matter than the Foam of the People, found by experience to have poysoned more than ever she cured; Being so volatile, as she is unable of fixation in the richest Jewels of Nature, Vertue, or Grace: The composition of that Body wholly consisting of contradictions, no readier to set up this day, than she may be to pull down the next: This renders it the lowest puerility to be pleased or angry at *Reports*: Good being inflamed, and Evil quenched, by nothing sooner than a constant neglect.

9. *Ostentation of Birth*, at no time decent, cannot in this be false, wherein the very Foundations of *Honour* are not only shaken but laid bare: Besides, many are so abused in the sound of their own, or their Fathers *Titles*, that by bustling for the upper end, they often render that a shame, which in it self is no crime: as for example, If the Son of the *Common-Hunt* (in English, the Lord Majors Dog keeper) by reason of the Title of Esquire annext to his place, should consider himself as a man of Worship, *&c.* Were it not ridiculous? When, God knows, the appellation is used for the honour of the City, not the person that wears it. The same might be said of all Mechanick Places at Court, which to render them the more vendible, were blazoned with the false Alchymy of a like Title; so far from advancing Repute, that it sets it back in the opinion of all judicious men: Observe how ridiculous such Animals are, to pride themselves in the shadow and tail of Honour, when the substance is vanished, and the Head—*&c.*

10. Despise

10. Deſpiſe none for *meanneſs of Blood*, yet do not ordinarily make them your Companions, for debaſing your own; unleſs you find them clarified by excellent Parts, or gilded by Fortune or Power: *Solomon* having ſent the *ſluggard to the Piſmire* to learn induſtry, and to the *living Dog* rather than the *dead Lyon*, for Protection.

11. It cannot be looked upon as an act of prudence, *to do more for another, than in reaſon may be expected from him again* upon a like occaſion; unleſs ſo far as I am obliged to it out of *gratitude*: and no farther can my Prince or any one elſe expect aſſiſtance from me; For if I have not my livelyhood by him, I cannot apprehend any cauſe why I ſhould expoſe it for him, eſpecially if I may with any probability be happy and keep it without him. And becauſe moſt of the firſt Proprietors of Government, in our days, and long before, have aſcended the Throne at the Coſt and Trouble, if not contrary to the Mind of the People they command, why ſhould any loſe that for their Preſervation, which was never gained by their Benevolence? Therefore if thoſe at the Helm have loſt their power, and I not able to find a particular Engagement or Intereſt ſtrong enough to make their good ſucceſs inſeparably neceſſary to my preſent or future well-being, I am not bound to go farther on with them, than ſuits with my ſafety, and the ſecurity my judgment gives, that they are able to bring me off: All we owe to Governours, is Obedience, which depends wholly on Power, and therefore ſubject to follow the ſame Fate and periſh with it: For, Friendſhip can be contracted between none that ſtand ſo far remote from the Line of Parity: Therefore all ſuperlative Powers are excepted out of this Commerce, becauſe ſituated, in truth or pretence, under a Divine Right, which no intereſt

intereſt of mine can reach, much leſs procure; Then, being ſo far above us, they can be nothing to us, longer than able to ſupport themſelves: For if they have an extraordinary and particular eſtabliſhment in heaven, it were blaſphemy to think they can be pulled down by any but God; in the oppoſition of whoſe Vengeance I am no more able than willing to ſtand; as thoſe muſt that appear unſeaſonably for them. Beſides, Powers are eſtabliſhed to protect us, who are to live happy under them, not miſerably for them, if poſſibly to be prevented; ſince all ſorts of Government may be rekoned among the reſt of Gods Plagues, poured down upon men for their oppreſſion and diſobedience, in the Primitive Parity; which makes our Wills, like *Eves*, ſubject to others.

12. No *Government* can be ſafely *engaged*, by a ſingle perſon, *beyond requital*: *Kings* thinking it a diminution of Honour, and *Republicks* a dangerous ſtep to popularity: Here you may ſee the continual uſe of Circumſpection, ſince 'tis poſſible for Virtue to form a weapon againſt it ſelf.

If it be dangerous to *over-oblige* a King, it is mortal in relation to a *Free-State*; whoſe ingratitude, no leſs than Requital, is divided among ſo many, as they are ſcarce capable of ſhame or thanks: Every Particular diſavowing what is generally thought amiſs, And all faults buried in his Grave, that hath the fortune to die next. Therefore, if poſſible, avoid *Siding*, yet if compelled, remember it is deducible, both from the Hiſtory of the great Earl of *Warwick* and *Stanly*, That a King may be as ſafely deſtroyed as preſerved: And for Common-wealths, they are in nothing more perfect than Ingratitude: Either Government finding it better husbandry, to pardon Enemies, than to reward Friends.

13. *A reconciled Enemy* is not ſafely to be *truſted*; yet if any, a Great one: It being eaſier for ſuch to execute their malice than conceal it.

Imagine few the more capable of *Truſt*, becauſe you have formerly obliged them: nothing being more ordinary than Natures that quit ſuch ſcores with hatred and treachery: And if you conſider whoſe hearts have been moſt empty of pity towards *unfortunate Princes*, Experience may preſent you with millions of ſuch, whoſe hands formerly were filled with their bounty.

Ignorance reports of Witches, That they are unable to hurt, till they have received an Alms; which though ridiculous in it ſelf, yet in this ſenſe verified; That *Charity ſeldom goes to the Gate, but it meets with ingratitude*: They proving for the moſt part the greateſt Enemies, that have been bought at the deareſt rates of friendſhip; which proceeds from the high pride of Humanity: Therefore be as little flattered to do good out of hope of requital, as I would have you terrified out of fear of the contrary.

14. Grant, if ever, a *Courteſie* at firſt asking; for as expedition doubles a Benefit, ſo delay converts it into little leſs than an Injury, and robs you of the Thanks; the fate of churliſh Natures: Whereas ſome, I have known able to apparel their Refuſals in ſuch ſoft robes of Courtſhip, that it was not eaſie to be diſcerned, whether the Requeſt or Denial were moſt decent.

Do not hackney out your *Promiſe* to the full ſtage of Deſire; leſt tiring in *performance* and becoming a Bankrupt in power, you forfeit repute, and purchaſe certain Enemies for uncertain Friends. Yet when the *ſuffrages* of many, in relation to your particular profit are to be purchaſed, wiſe mens practice hath proved it no indiſcretion to be laviſh in this kind; where the diſhonour of non-performance with others is quite

quite buried in the greater benefit accruing to your ſelf: it being as ordinary for hope to exceed modeſty in asking, as an engaged power comes ſhort of the ability, if not the Will to perform: Therefore in this caſe you muſt ſupply with thanks, what you are not able to do in effect.

15. Be not nice in *Aſſiſting*, with the advantages Nature or Art may have given you, ſuch as want them; who do not ſeldom in exchange, part with thoſe of fortune, to ſuch as can manage their *Advice* well: as they only do, that *never give Counſel till called; nor continue it longer, than they find it acceptable.*

If one in power ask your *Advice*, in a buſineſs of Conſequence, it may appear *raſhneſs*, if not folly, *to anſwer ſuddenly* upon the place: It not being impoſſible, but that the *deſign* of his *Queſtion* may as well be to try *your* ſufficiency, as to ſtrengthen *his own*: However ſo much *time* as may be borrowed with ſafety from the emergency of any occaſion, is likelier to encreaſe than abate the weight of a Reſult: And in this interim you may gain leiſure to diſcover, what *Reſolution* ſutes beſt the mind of the Party, who is commonly gratified moſt by ſuch as comply neareſt with his own Judgment; which 'tis ever wiſdom to obſerve, where all the *Counſels* given are indifferent. Nor will it ſavour of ſo much reſpect to his perſon or care of his affairs, to determine *extempore*, as upon *premeditation*: It being *the Cuſtom of great ones to value things, not proportionable to their worth, but the ſweat and time they coſt.*

16. 'Tis not dutiful nor ſafe *to drive Your Prince, by a witty Anſwer, beyond all poſſibility of Reply:* It being more excuſable to appear Rich, than Wiſe at the prejudice of one in ſuperlative power: who have their ears ſo continually ſoftned by Flattery, as they eaſilier bear diminution in their Treaſure, which they look upon

upon as below and without them, than in *Wit*, *Handſomneſs*, *Horſemanſhip*, *&c.* which their Paraſites have long made them believe are inherent in them. This a *Carver at Court*, formerly in good eſteem with King *James*, found to his prejudice, who being laughed at by him, for ſaying *The wing of a Rabbet*, maintained it as congruous as *the fore-leg of a Capon*, a Phraſe uſed in *Scotland*, and by himſelf here; which put the King ſo out of Patience, as he never looked on the Gentleman more. The like I have been told of a *Biſhop*, who being reproved by the ſame Prince for *Preaching againſt the Papiſts* during the *Treaty* with *Spain*; replied, *he could never ſay more than his Majeſty had writ.* Go thy way, quoth the King, and expect thy next *Tranſlation* in Heaven, not from me: meaning he would never better his See. This humour makes theſe terreſtrial Gods more auſpicious to Fools, than thoſe *Solomon* ſaith, *are able to render a reaſon.*

17. It is not ſafe for a *Secretary* to mend the Copy his Maſter hath ſet him, unleſs owned as from his former inſpirations, leſt he ſhould grow jealous that you valued your conceptions before his; who meaſures his Sufficiency by the latitude of his Employment, not the depth of his natural Parts. This made the Lord Chancellour *Egerton* the willinger to exchange incomparable Doctor *D.* for the leſs ſufficient, though in this more modeſt, Mr. *T. B.*

But in caſe his Affairs be wholly left to your management, you muſt not only look to correſpond for his miſcarriages, but as obſtinately renounce any Honour may be given you, to his prejudice: imputing all to his ſingle ſufficiency, your ſelf owning no higher place than that of the Executioner of his commands. For though *many great men*, like Properties or Puppets, are *managed by their ſervants*; yet ſuch are moſt dear to them, as can ſo carry their hand

hand in their actings, that they make them appear leſs Fools, than in truth they are: eaſily done, by giving them the honour to *concede or deny in publick*, without interpoſing any other arguments againſt it than may become the mouth of a Servant, however you may order him in *private*.

18. *Write* not the *Faults* of perſons near the Throne, in any Nation you reſide in; leſt your Letters ſhould be intercepted, and you ſent out of the World before your time: But reſerve ſuch diſcourſe for the ſingle ear of your Maſter, into which you muſt pour it with more Caution than Malice, leſt it ſhould come to be diſcovered, as it is odds but it will, and then the next endeavour is revenge: It being *leſs danger to traduce a King than his Minions.* The firſt ſtill looked upon as above blame, becauſe uncapable of puniſhment; but the latter are not only ſubject to accuſations, but the aggravations of their Enemies; which fills them full of Caution and Prejudice to all they fear are able, or but willing to detect them. I could produce ſad effects that have followed the want of care in this, but that I intend Advice, not an Hiſtory.

It is an Office unbecoming a Gentleman to be an *Intelligencer*, which in real truth is no better than a *Spie* (who are often brought to the Torture, and die miſerably, though no words are made of it, being a uſe connived at by all Princes:) To whom I give this Caution, That they ſtay not after their Patrons are called home, which do not ſeldom (in emulation to their Succeſſor, or to gratifie the Prince they have treated withal, and it may be, from whom they have received Preſents and high commendations to their own King) diſcover all that are imployed to do him hurt.

Many, by woful experience, have taſted the bitter conſequence of *delivering* their *ſingle Judgment to men in Power, or revealing their miſcarriages, when able*

to produce no stronger proof than their own: For such do not rarely, out of forgetfulness, or some other more politick end, add to the *Information*; and so make you in the opinion of others, to recant, or justifie a Lie. For if it be a *Prince* who repeats your report, you cannot with safety or manners due to the dignity of his person, interrupt him, or, in the conclusion, rectifie his relation with so stout a forehead, as an innocent heart cannot but own. Therefore wait in such cases of *secresie* you must, till some opportunity produceth a *medium* strong enough to satisfie him to whom you make the relation, and screen your self from all imputation of Falshood. For want of which caution I have known many ground to pieces between the weight of their own credit, and the parties accused.

It is always *slippery about the Throne*, but most dangerous, where a *Prince* out of distrust of his own abilities, or attention to the voice of Pleasure, leaves his affairs wholly to the conduct of a *Favourite*: For there to opine contrary to the gusto of such a Subject, how necessary or prudent soever your *Advice* is, will be looked upon as given out of *Design*, if not in *Opposition* to his greatness. By this I have known many fall into the displeasure of their Soveraign, whose ears are more open to the Complaints of his *Minion*, than the juster Defences of a more faithful Servant: which can never come to be heard, there being no access to him, but only through the mediation of the Party you have offended. Wherefore in such Governments there can be no security, but by proposing what Conveniency and Reason dictates by way of *Problem*. And if generally received, it may pass under *the Advice of others*, though contrary to the hair of the greatest Counseller, who in this Case knows not against whom to plant his revenge: a *Number* being no less incapable of Fear than Reproof. But if you find any thing rejected, or but

question-

queſtioned by your Maſter upon premeditation, you may be ſure the hand of *Joab* is in it, and ſo not to be proſecuted farther without running the hazzard of your ruine.

19. That it is not unlawful to ſerve, or bear Office or Arms under ſuch as aſcend the Throne, or other high places, by ſteps waſhed in blood, you may be abundantly ſatisfied in Conſcience, by the *Church in Nero's houſe*, the good *Centurion* and many others mentioned in Scripture.

20. *Court* him always you hope one day to make uſe of, but at the leaſt Expence you can: obſerving the condition of *Men in power, to eſteem better of ſuch as they have done courteſies for, than thoſe they have received greater from*; looking upon this as a ſhame, upon the other as an honour.

21. 'Tis a natural guard, and within the management of the moſt ordinary capacities, to keep an Enemy out at the Staves end; But ſutable only to a ſuperlative prudence, ſo wiſely to govern your words and actions towards a *Friend*, as may preſerve your ſelf from danger: Not to be done but by communicating to him no more than Diſcretion or Neceſſity ſhall warrant you to reveal; ſince men, in this relation, deſtroy as many out of folly as perfidiouſneſs: Wiſdom being a rarer ingredient in Friendſhip than Honeſty. This makes me think the Friend *Seneca* brags of, was only an *Utopian*; and therefore I ſhall paſs it by as a Romantick ſtrain, being rather a ſally of his Wit, than a real charge iſſuing out of the body of his Judgment. The higheſt *Love* I dare give credit to is that of *Jonah than*, yet granting he looked upon the words of *Samuel* as *Oracles*, no other probable way appeared to preſerve his *Family*, than by helping *David* to promote that he was throughly perſwaded he could not hinder. This put into the balance with the *frailty*, no leſs than the

rarity of such persons, makes me advise you not to weigh that was, may be, and perhaps is, but how many more have been betrayed and undone, under the specious pretext of Friendship: wherefore not to be trusted farther than the line of a reciprocal interest doth extend: no former merit being now able to give caution for a future trust, because depending upon the acceptance of the Receiver, not the value the Giver rates it at. To conclude, Though I think this a necessary Caution, in this perfidious Generation, yet I hope you will be so far tender of your own honour, as not wilfully to violate *so Sacred a Bond*, never broken or thought out of Fashion, but by base hands and corrupted minds: *Desertion of Friends* being none of the smallest signs portending the destruction of a people: For such as out of a pretence of *Love*, betray others, will not spare their *King*, *Country*, or *God*.

22. *Mingle not* your *Interest* with a *Great Mans*, made desperate by Debts or Court injuries, whose breakings out prove fatal to their wisest Followers and Friends: averred in the last Earl of *Essex* but one, where *Merrick* his Steward, and *Cuffe* his Secretary, though of excellent Parts, were both hanged. For such uncococted Rebellions turn seldom to the hurt of any, but the Parties that promote them: being commonly guided by the directions of their Enemies, as this was by *Cecil* whose creatures perswaded *Essex* to this inconsiderate attempt.

23. Let nothing unjust sible or dangerous appear under *your Hand*, which, many years after, may rise up in judgment against you, when things spoken may be forgot: as happened to the Duke of *Norfolk*, Sir *Gervase Elvis*, and a great Earl I knew led by the nose all King *James* his Reign, for fear of being questioned about Letters writ to so high a Person as is treason by the Law, to solicite, &c. Therefore I charge you, as you tender the blessing of your own safety, *not to write*

write in an ill sense, whatever your Character be: For, if not tedious Examination, sharp Torture will force you to produce a Key.

24. Avoid the folly of *Acteon*, that lost the shape of a *Courtier*, by prying into their *Secrets*, Religion taught him to worship: an humour Sir *Edw. Coke* might have paid dearer for, had he published the contents of the Earl of *Somersets* Letters in a less merciful Kings Raign than *James* his, of whose pardon the fouleſt faults tasted, yet became so highly irritated by this proud Lawyers indiscretion, as to remove his anger from the *Prisoner* to the *Judge*, where it rested till Death; who, by the Riches and Honours he poured upon such heads, as his Youth found in Arms against him in *Scotland*, and in Juncto's in *England*, hath made it manifest, that a Prince is easier reconciled to an Enemy, who hath caused him to tremble, than a Subject that hath daily in his power the means to make him blush. Therefore if you attain any such knowledge, dissemble it, or put the best exposition upon it.

25. Providence or a severer Destiny hath housed under all our roofs a sufficient proportion of Calamities: Therefore 'tis folly to send to Market for troubles, as those do that contract *foreign infelicities*, vexing themselves for the losses of the Prince of *Conde* in *France*, the death of the King of *Sweden* in *Germany*, or the progress of the *Turks* in *Candy*, &c. *Tophet* is prepared of old, as well to torment the ambitious and unquiet spirits of busie Subjects as Kings.

26. Afflict not your self to see *the Reward of Wisdom distributed among Fools*: For those the *Fathers* stone and excruciate by neglect, as the *Jews* did the *Prophets*. Their *Sons* may raise Monuments, and curse thir Ancestors, that out of fear to detect their own ignorance, barred the gates of Preferment against all more able than themselves to have paved a way to future felicity:

It being the ordinary mode, if not Policy of the World, *to keep Folly at the Helm, and Wit under Hatches.*

27. One may attain to a higher degree of Honour and Power under a *Monarch*, than can be found room for in a *Republick*; as is apparent in some *Favorites* that have had the administration of all affairs. Yet in my opinion this is abundantly recompensed, in the multitude, which the latter imploys who are securer in what they enjoy, in not being subject to the passions of a single judgment.

Republicks lie most obnoxious to popular *commotions*, *Monarchies* to *clandestine attempts*: in the first it is not safe to be found, unless they be so epidemical as may more than probably assure success: in the latter not decent for a person of Honour, though warranted by never so much security: no hands being more loathsom than those that smell of blood and treachery.

28. Though *Law* perish (a thing unlikely, being the guard of all Peace) yet *Oratory* will still keep in repute, as having more affections to work upon in a *Republick*, than a *Monarchy*; one judgment being easier forestalled than many: So that I may safely presage, if a golden tongue fall under a subtile head, it may have a great influence upon the whole Senate.

29. Though I hope I have now reason to be confident you will accomplish the presage, divers long since made of your future *sufficiency*; Yet I should advise not to extend it by any publick demonstration, beyond the limits of your own *Profession*: since *the Study of the Law* being esteemed by all a full imployment for a whole man, if you should make a considerable digression into another Calling, it might occasion a jealousie in your *Clients*, you had neglected your own. The several Books, incomparable *Bacon* was known to read, besides those relating to *Law*, were objected to him, as an argument of his

his insufficiency to manage the place of *Solicitor General*, and may lie as a rub in all their ways, that shall out of vain-glory, to manifest a general knowledge, neglect this Caution.

30. Avoid in *your pleadings* such unnecessary Digressions, as some of the *Long Robe* do ordinarily make, from the Merit of the Cause, to the *Defamation* of the contrary Party: A Quicksand wherein *Coke*, that *Leviathan* of the Law, mired his repute. Nor could he divest this vanity after he was made a Judge; from which height it cast him to the hazzard of his neck, had not the soft nature of King *James* broke his fall. Nor doth the antiquity of it plead a better excuse, than that he retained the effeminate and weaker part, leaving the *Roman Elegancy* unimitated.

31. At a *Conference* to *speak last*, is no small advantage; as Mr. *John Hambden* wisely observed, who made himself still the Goal-keeper of his Party, giving his opposites leisure to lose their reasons in the loud and less significant tempest, commonly arising upon a first Debate; in which, if he found his side worsted, he had the dexterous sagacity to mount the Argument above the Heads of the major part: Whose single reason did not seldom make the whole *Parliament* so far suspicious of their own, as to approve his, or at least give time for another Debate, by which he had the opportunity to muster up more forces; thus by confounding the weaker, and tiring out the acuter judgments, he seldom failed to attain his ends.

32. If you be to vote in any *Publick Assembly*, avoid, as much as you may, giving concession under your Hand to any private mans written Opinions: For you cannot, without experiment, believe how much your own judgment will be altered, and how crude your former Reasons will appear to your self, after they are ruminated and digested by Debate.

Having since these Wars been admitted to *Councils*, where many of no great capacity have assisted, I never knew any thing come so exactly framed out of one mans sense, that did not receive a palpable amendment from the *Debates* of sometimes much inferiour Judgments: Nay I have known some that have had the fortune to start the *Idea*, which when it hath been presented to them again in a perfect *Result*, have not been able to see the bottom of the wisdom of it, without much difficulty and admiration: Neither is this miraculous, but natural; For the *Fuller*, *Dier*, *Weaver*, &c. understand not each others Trades, yet between them all a good piece of Cloth is made.

33. As excellent *Painters* were not wont to fix upon a single Beauty, but did borrow an *Eye* of this and a *Lip*, *Nose*, &c. from others, out of which was formed an exquisite *Venus*: so shall you do well to *propose more than one for imitation*, the only way to render you compleat: since a man absolute in all points hath not yet risen within the Circle of the largest experience. Which renders them Obnoxious to Censure, rather than Commendations, before Death hath deprived them of the sense of either: *Envy* that feeds only upon Infirmities, receiving a more favourable audience from the generality than the loudest desert; the progress of whose *detraction* doth commonly terminate at the Grave; after which she is as intemperate in their praise by way of comparison with those alive, as she was malitious to them at their being here; where none are so exact, no not in that very profession, which they have made it the study of their Lives to be perfect in, but that in some things they lie open to reproof, as I could instance in that *course* you have chosen, where many taken for Tutors, would not have been thought worth the following were they now in being (as their Contemporaries know) who had the true

smack

ſmack of the *pottage* before the *Coloquintida* was corrected by the *Earth*, the Womb of Forgetfulneſs, ſome wanting *Elocution*, others *Confidence*, and many owners of theſe, *Moderation*: it lying in the power of a fooliſh Cuſtom or Geſture to render the moſt able ridiculous; Mens Eyes no leſs than their Judgments being blind towards themſelves: For though the *Client* loves him that ſpeaks much and loud, the *Court* favours thoſe are modeſt and pertinent. This I tell you, that you ſhould not take all for currant Gold you ſee gliſtering in Opinion, nor all for droſs and counterfeit, which hath not had the fortune to receive the impreſs of her approbation.

34. Before I came to have leiſure to obſerve them, I thought *Princes* and *Miniſters of State* ſomething above humane; Not hearing a word fall from them, upon which I did not put a politick conſtruction: But growing more familiar with them, I found their Diſcourſes mingled with the ſame *Follies*, ours are; and their domeſtical affairs carried on with as little, if not leſs diſcretion ſometimes than ordinary mens.

35. He that ſeeks *perfection on earth*, leaves nothing new for the Saints to find in Heaven: For whilſt Men teach, there will be miſtakes in Divinity; and as long as no other govern, Errors in the State: Therefore be not licorish after *Change*, leſt you muddy your preſent felicity with a future greater, and more ſharp inconvenience.

36. Thoſe that impute their *good ſucceſs* to *Chance*, or rather *Providence* (unto which none can be too liberal, ſince every thing proceeds from it) rebate the point of *Envy* far more than ſuch as father them upon their own *Wiſdom* or *Valour*, in which many pretend an ample ſhare, that may eaſily be brought to confeſs themſelves exceeded in *Luck*. And moſt men are willing to imploy or follow his Conduct that lies

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under the high esteem of a *Favourite to Fortune*; who are ever acceptable in the Courts of Princes, because they create more hope than jealousie; All being apter to reverence and love, than malign such as they think operate under the favorable aspect of the omnipotent *God*: which opinion attained, it breeds no less confidence in Friends than it strikes terrour into Enemies.

37. As I would have you primarily intend stopping of the Leaks in your own Bottom, if *called to the Helm* (from which in Free States none are exempt) so you must by no means neglect the repairing the broken fortunes of others found to be of *excellent parts*, who if not made friends by preferment, may prove dangerous to a New-founded State; Neither are *preferments* so scarce, or these so numerous, but that there is provision enough for them in these three Nations: I confess Queen *Elizabeth* most happy in this, which preserved her from Civil Wars: whose Foundations are commonly laid by Artificers too subtile to be discovered: Flames, as in Hay or Straw, may be kindled in the more combustible People, by such Foxes as shall appear rather to carry water, then Fire-brands; Nothing in experience being found more mortal than an unseasonable Commendation from an eloquent Tongue, or a forced complyance from a discontented Politician. The *Consistory* and *Jesuites* maintain throughout the World the Traffique of Sedition and privy Conspiracie, yet have had so much wit, as to land it in *Presbyterian* bottoms, and to cover their disobedience to Governours under the attempts of the *Anabaptists*, that naturally acknowledge none. The Truth is, if wise men will make it their business, they may be easily able, where the people are unsetled, to obstruct all good, and promote much evil, under the specious pretences of *Religion* and *Safety*: Therefore far cheaper

er pleaſed than diſcontented; being otherwiſe ni true policie, capable of no ſlighter ſecurity than ſhall be able to cut off all hope or deſire of future revenge: The conſideration of which, though it cannot make me altogether approve, yet it abates my ſeverity in the condemnation of that Legiſlator, ſaid to have writ his Laws in blood, which might be more ſutable to the complexion of ſome Times, than may poſſibly hitherto have been thought.

38. The like may be imagined of *men proſcribed*, who between thirſt of revenge, and a deſire of returning, do not ſeldom promote their Countries ruine. This alſo may authorize their Tenets, that hold *puniſhing Children* with the loſs of Goods *for their Fathers Crimes*, as dangerous as unjuſt. And under this Head may be reduced all *Penal Laws*, laid upon faults not really prejudicial to the State: Nor can a too rigid ſcrutiny, either after perſonal lapſes in Manners, or uncouth Tenets in Religion, produce any good effects to a Commonwealth where no *Inquiſition* is, which under the Papacy draws the Envy wholly upon the Church, made incapable not only by Cuſtom, but an awful Reverence of all revenge.

39. Another errour may happen (eſpecially where a Free State is founded in Arms) by conceding too great a power to the *Souldiery*; who like the ſpirits of Conjurers, do oftentimes tear their Maſters and Raiſers in pieces, for want of other Imployment Therefore ſince it is beyond the plenty of any Nation to proportion a Reward ſutable to the opinion they have of their own merit, it behoves the Supream Power to bury their Covetouſneſs and Ambition in the fields of others by a Foreign War, yet as little to their diſcontent as may be; always giving them the honour of good Servants, though Bad Maſters: remembring that the Cauſe you raiſed them for, is not ſo deep buried, but

it may rise again to the terrour of all that withstand it.

40. Neither can *the Clergy* be rendred with less danger, Despicable than Great; both these extreams equally crossing the ways of Peace: yet more safety possibly may accrue from estating them in so comfortable a competency, as the losing of it may create fear, than such a Power as they have in other Nations, found by experience to produce pride and ambition, besides an encroachment on the Peoples Liberty, whose natures they are used to warp towards any side, by the hope and terrour they raise in their consciences in relation to another World; the exploding of which belief would be no less diminution to the reverence of the Civil Magistrate, than the profit of the Priesthood.

ADVICE

ADVICE to a SON.

V. Religion.

1. READ *the Book of God* with reverence, and in things doubtful take fixation from the *Authority* of the *Church*, which cannot be arraigned of a damnable errour, without queſtioning that truth, which hath proclaimed her proof againſt *the gates of Hell*. This makes me wiſh that our *Samſons in ſucceſs*, who have ſtript her of her Ornaments (Riches, Powers, and Honours, which the ancient piety left her to cover her Nakedneſs withal) and given them to vain Expounders of Riddles, may not one day have cauſe to repent, when they find themſelves annoyed, no leſs than the eyes of Truth put out by the duſt and rubbiſh the fall of ſo great and antique a Frame is likely to make. Therefore be content to ſee your Judgement wade, rather than ſwim in *the ſenſe of the Scriptures*: becauſe our deep plungers have been often obſerved to bring up ſandy Aſſertions, and their heads wrapt about with the venemous weeds of Errour and Schiſm; which may for the preſent diſcountenance the endeavours of modeſter Learning, yet will, no doubt, ſink and vaniſh, after ſome time and experience had of their frequent miſtakes, as thoſe of our bold Expoſitors of the *Revelation* have moſt ſhamefully done.

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For if *Brightman*, known by my self pious and learned, could be so *out* in his Calculations for the Popes fall, as to the time; What encouragement remains for you to perplex your studies or expectation, when those Hieroglyphical *Obscurities* shall be performed?

2. The Prudent *Consistory* finding the less zealous, yet more prying Judgments of these Times too full of caution, suspicion, &c. to credit *New Miracles*, have forbidden the predication of more, without licence from those who are too cautelous for the passing of any, not at least in semblance, proof against Detection; leaving them for the rest to the large stock, Time and Custom (the Vouchers of many a Lie) have conveyed to them from their Ancestors better cultivated Ignorance and Credulity: which may with far greater reason advise us to a more tender and honourable esteem of the sacred Books of the *Prophet Daniel* and the *Apocalypse*, than to suffer them still, like *Whittingtons* Bells, to ring the Advancement or knell of those at the Helm. *Comines* having noted it as a blemish in the people of *England*, to measure their Hopes and Fears by Fanatick presages: The consequence of which is in the future likely to prove as fatal to the *Lay* power, as they have formerly been to the *Ecclesiastical*: so as our Governours, if they tender Religion or their own safety, must hang the Lock of *Restraint* against these bold *Interpretations*: since the Seal those Books retain, strengthened with the dreadful comminations of the Holy Spirit, are not sufficient to stay the Ages presumption: who from among these *Hieroglyphicks* pick out such *Cognisances* as best suit their designs, not so easily brought about, as by a misled zeal in the rabble: and after they have fixed them on those that stand in the way of their advancement, they like *Diana*, set their own people

people upon them. Nor can a *reſtriction* put upon our peepers into ſuch *Myſteries*, be any more obſtruction to the Divine Truths they contain (not legible by any light, the knowledge of men hath hitherto attained) than it was ſloth or ſin in the *Ægyptians*, not to follow their Callings till the three days darkneſs was over. or their abſtinence from water a contempt of Gods bleſſing, after it was by *Moſes* converted into Blood, and become the Sanctuary for venomous Frogs. This makes me think a Proſecution of the *Oriental Tongues* (beyond an ability to underſtand them) is like Muſick or Fencing, unable to requite the time they conſume: *Hebrew* being obſerved to grow for the moſt part in Soils apter to produce *Roots* than *Flowers*: Yet ſo luxurious in the variety of Readings and ſignifications, as it amazeth the Wiſe, and precipitates the Ignorant and Factious into no leſs deep than deſtructive Enthuſiaſms.

3. He may be leſs Prudent, if not Religious, who ſtrains at a Gnat, contrary to the ſtomach of the *Church* he lives in, than ſuch as ſwallow greater things, owned by her *univerſal conſent*: For he that herds with the Congregation, though in an Errour, hath *Obedience* to ſtand by him, whereas a Truth in the other may be rendred more peccant through a ſolitary obſtinacy: ſince it is ordinary with the holy Spirit to regiſter ſuch Kings for good, as had not quite expunged all marks of Idolatry, though poſſibly in their power to have done it, which a private perſon cannot but want, having nothing but Arguments to oppoſe, blunted through prejudice ariſing from a contrary practice.

4. Deſpiſe not a *profeſſion of Holineſs*, becauſe it may be true; But have a care how you truſt it, for fear it ſhould be falſe: The Coat of Chriſt being more in faſhion than his Practice, *Many Pulpit men, like Phyſi-*

cians,

cians, forbidding their Patients that, you may ordinarily find on their own trenchers.

5. *Hypocriſie*, though looked upon by the Church (the Spouſe of Chriſt) as a gaudy and painted Adulteresſ, yet if ſhe paſſeth undiſcovered, the reſult is not ſo dangerous as that of open Prophaneneſs: Therefore ſhun all occaſions of *ſcandal*, which commonly ariſe from *drink*, whoſe Followers have their lapſes ſcored on every wall.

6. *Criticiſms* and *curious Queſtions in School-Divinity* may whet the Wit, but are detected for dulling the edge of Faith, and were never famous for Edification; and though looked upon in theſe laſt Centuries as the right hand of Learning, yet better cut off than uſed as they have long ſerved, for weapons of contention: Deviſed to puzle the Laity, and render the Clergy no leſs neceſſary than honourable: Who have work enough cut out for them till Dooms day, to reſolve which is leaſt ſuitable to the Divine Eſſence, To have bound the hands of men, or left them at liberty. By this a conſtraint muſt needs be put upon us, or our Maker, *&c* which conſidered, renders it the more ſtrange why School-men paſs for Saints, and *Arminians* in ſome Judgments for, *&c*.

7. I can approve of none for *Magiſterial Divinity*, but that which is found floating in the unqueſtioned ſenſe of the Scriptures: Therefore when caſt upon a place that ſeems equally inclined to different Opinions, I would adviſe to count it as *Bowlers* do, for *dead* to the preſent underſtanding; and not to torture the Text by meaſuring every nicety, but rather turn to one more plain, referring to that all diſputes; without knocking one hard place againſt another, as they have done ſince this iron Age, till an unquenchable fire of Contention is kindled, and ſo many jarring and uncertain ſounds of Religion heard, as men ſtand amazed,

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not knowing which to follow, all pretending to be in the right, as if it were possible for Truth to contradict her self.

8. I grant the *Socinians* are not at this time unworthily looked upon, as the most Chymical and Rational part of our many Divisions; Yet going contrary to the ancient *Canons of the Church*, (esteemed in the School of the Fathers, the best Grammar of a Christians Creed) and wanting the principal Buttresses of Prescription, Universality and Consent, to uphold the Convenience, and justifie the truth of their Doctrine, I cannot award them so much approbation as they seem in reason to plead for: Yet are so far confident, that if just proof can be made of their adulterating the faith of Antiquity, few Professions extant can justly take up *the first stone* against them; who upon a conscientious scrutiny, may possibly appear equally culpable: However, such as call them *Arians*, do not think they honour them with a former universal Consent, *Athanasius* only excepted: And other less probable Opinions may learn this candor and Charity from them, not to bar Heaven Gates against all Professions but their own; or, like our Retailers of new Lights, pull Passengers into their Preaching houses by the sleeves, as if all wanted Religion but themselves.

9. And as the *Socinian Doctrine* appears too aëry, high and Mercurial for ordinary capacities, whose understandings are usually consumed, like *Jupiters* Mistress, in the splendid Commerce of such sublime speculations; So the *Roman* is too Earthy and Saturnine, participating of the dross of Merit, Images, Indulgences, &c. Which convinceth Her of so much wordly respect, as she stands condemned by all, but such as are betrayed to her Devotion through Ignorance, Profit, or Honour, on the one hand, or chained to her obedience by the iron Inquisition on the other.

10. Yet were not *Purgatory*, with the reſt of the Romiſh Goblins, obtruded as Articles of Faith, I ſhould be leſs ſcandalized at them; in hope by accident they might occaſion good: Finding humane Nature ſo childiſh, as to be ſooner ſcared, than perſwaded out of the dark Enteries of Sin: the real Rod not being ſo terrible in the hand of the Magiſtrate as theſe Phantaſms, which Tradition and the Prieſts ſubtility hath formed in the peoples Brains.

11. But in concluſion, you will find *the Reformation* moſt conformable to the duty we owe to God, and the Magiſtrate; if not too phlegmatick in paſſing by decent Ceremonies, or too cholerick and rigid in obtruding upon weak and tender Conſciences.

12. And yet it was no unhappy rencounter in him that ſaid, *A good Religion might be compoſed out of the Papiſts* Charity, *the Puritans* words, *and the Proteſtants* Faith: For where *works* are thought too chargeable, outward *profeſſion* too comberſom, the *third* renders it ſelf ſuſpected: The two firſt being only palpable to ſenſe and reaſon, ſtand firm like a rock; whereas the other ſhakes under the weight of every Phancy, as *Peter* did when he walked upon the Sea: To ſpeak *Engliſh*, In *good works* none can be deceived but the Doer, in valuing them too high; in the two latter all but God, who only knows the heart.

13. I confeſs the *Millenaries* are of ſo jovial a Creed, as I could be content it ſtood with the will of God, I might herd with them; who, if not approved, I do not find condemned by any Council, at leaſt for the firſt 300 years.

14. But for the vagabond *Schiſmatick*, he is ſo fiery, as he cannot laſt long unconſumed being ready upon the leaſt advantage to melt all into ſedition; not ſparing to burn the fingers of Government longer than they ſhower down Offices and Preferments upon him; whining

whining for a Sanctity here, God never yet truſted out of Heaven: Therefore uncapable of quiet, but under a ſevere Reſtraint, or an abſolute Liberty.

15. And our new *Levelling Opinions*, though they ſeem to tranſcribe their Authority, from the no leſs inimitable than miraculous Practice of the Primitive times, ſtand (if taken at the fartheſt extent) in ſo diametrical an Oppoſition to all humane felicity, as not likely to proceed from the Lord of Order: Being, if lights, in ſuch dark Lanthorns, as rob humane Society of all reward, and conſequently, endeavour of deſert: Yet the Owners, though unconſtant in their new ways, pronounce it damnable to keep the old.

16. It is obſervable in the preſent humour, that thoſe who carry an Impreſs of the *wildeſt errours*, have a ſafer Paſs-port to travel by, and a nearer ſtep to Preferment than ſuch as retain the Tenets our Fathers kept in groſs during the flames of the ancient Perſecutions, and by retail under the Modern: making the honour of that Doctrine ſcandalous, for which our Anceſtors were not aſhamed to die; who are by this rendred the worſt of Murderers, as having through obſtinacy, been guilty of their own Death.

17. Will not ſuch proceedings incline to *Anarchy*? and that proving loathſom to all, make room for the old or ſome more acceptable Family, if not for Conqueſt by a foreign Nation? Becauſe people lying uneaſily, are apt to ſuch tumblings and changes, as cannot but at laſt bring them under a Power, ſtrong enough to conſtrain, or cunning enough to perſwade them, with a pretence of holineſs and righteouſneſs, to a mutual compliance, in relation to a change of Government. Of the firſt there are multitudes of examples throughout all prophane Hiſtories; of the latter few but ſacred, where the Jews under *Moſes* being led by the miraculous hand of God, are not capable to be comprized

under the erring Axioms of humane Policy. As for *Mahumet* he rolled on his untutored rabble, by mixing Profit and rapine with his Religion, which he left uncertain, grounding his precepts upon success, ever owned as dropped upon them out of Heaven; making himself still confident of the event, which I cannot undertake; therefore unable in these Aporetick times, to give you better counsel, than to *keep your compliance to loose*, as, if possible, you may fix it to the best advantage of your profit and honour.

18. Nevertheless, though a high palpable and external *Zeal* is taken, by the present Age, as a mark of Confidence, yet I cannot look upon it with such affection, because served up to these altitudes in many, by the wooden pins of worldly respects: Not likely to hold longer in tune, than a Harmony can be made among all Parties, now possibly at odds, or under a jealous aspect: Therefore I advise you to put no more of it on, than with decency you may devest, in case the fashion should alter, and the rich die the Wars have dipt it in, be rubbed off; since all customs rise or fall proportionable to the exchange they make for the Preferments in the State; to which in discretion you are bound to suit your Obedience, though not your Conscience. For I would have my perswasions understood to reach only to what is consonant to Religion; which doth not bind you to choak your fortunes with the Criticisms of such Postillers of the Age, as value their Interpretations of Scripture above Liberty or Life: And by this overweaning, one Century makes Martyrs of those the precedent thought Hereticks, and such Liberators of their Country, as were formerly held Traitors.

19. Keep then your *Conscience* tender, but not so raw, as to wince and kick at all you understand not; nor let it baffle your Wit out of the bounds of Discretion,

as

as ſuch do that ſuffer themſelves to be moved by it. To prevent which, keep *Reaſon* always in your eye; whoſe light ought never to be loſt in any worldly action, and but eclipſed in what relates to Heaven: The Tribunal of *Conſcience* being erected in our Soul, to detect our miſcarriages, not to betray our well-being, and therefore ſubordinate not only to a ſurperlative Authority, but alſo our own honeſt, ſafe, and wholſom conveniencies. Neither is *Conſcience* ſeldom miſled by Education, Cuſtom and the falſe repreſentations of Teachers, who benighted in the dark Intereſts of Covetouſneſs and Ambition, ſeek to lodge others under the roof of ſuch Inſtitutes as they believe not themſelves, yet employ all their Art, Sufficiency and Endeavour, to make them paſs for authentick, and the pure mind of God; like Juglers, that beguile our ſenſes with what is not, to have the better opportunity to pick our pockets of what is really uſeful to themſelves: For as the more ſubtile wind got into the narrow and delicate parts of our body, is able to act the Stone, Gout, and other moſt acute diſeaſes, not really preſent. So doth *Superſtition* repreſent in this changeable and concave glaſs of a ſuborned *Conſcience*, things for ſinful, that are indeed but natural and indifferent; and other pious, that are really vain and deſtructive: The proſecution of which leads readily to Atheiſm, or an over-biaſſed Holineſs, which proſecutes all that carry the impreſs of any contrary Tenets.

20. Fly that ſelf murdering Tyrant *Obſtinacie*, who, like our Witches, is not ſeldom found to pamper the Imps of Hereſie with her own blood: being not only now, but from all Antiquity, able to bring clouds of witneſſes to the ſtake, for the proof of the wildeſt Opinions. And, if I am not much miſtaken, from the reverberation of her heat, the flames of the ancient Perſecutions, as well as thoſe that followed were at leaſt increaſed, if not kindled.

21. All Religions but ours, are accounted idolatrous; and *Idolatry* is a miſpriſon of the true *Worſhip*, in lieu of which ſome other is intruded upon belief, more catching to ſenſe and auſpicious to Legiſlators Deſigns, than that purer reverence due only to the honour and perfect will of God: before which it is very ordinary with unſanctified *Politicians* to interject ſuch falſe *mediums* as may flatter or terrifie their ſubjects into an awful Obedience of themſelves and their Laws. Therefore, ſince nothing in *external Worſhip* can be performed but in ſome poſture, or after this or that *manner*, which Unity and Time will ſoon make general, and ſo concoct what was formerly indifferent, into a religious *Ceremony*; by which, *Superſtition*, if not *Idolatry*, hath ſtole into the *Roman Church*; who by impoſing a neceſſity upon what was at firſt poſſibly a miſtake, or a meer extravagancy, have bred ſuch a reverence in their people toward things proceeding perhaps from no higher inſpiration than the breath of Authority, that they expect no ſalvation without them; which fond over-weaning may juſtly bring many laudable *Cuſtoms*, deriyed to us from an unqueſtioned ancient *Tradition*, into the ſame predicament the *Brazen Serpent* fell, when by the *Jews* it was abuſed to Idolatry: which, though a *Type* of our Saviour, was it ſelf without queſtion lawfully *diſfigured*: This makes me confeſs, that though I honour ancient *Tradition* with the higheſt--, I cannot be of that ſpirit to *conteſt* for her (or againſt her) *unto blood*; But do rather believe the cruel Contention begun between the *Greek* and *Latine Churches*, about the time of *Eaſter*, reſulted from Ambition more than Piety, as may appear by the unhappy conſequences of that ſtriſe. This may perſwade to a *Conformity* with ſuch Governments, as ſhall explode former modes uſed in the external worſhip of God: the Queſtion, *Who required theſe things at your hands?*

may

may one day prove as hard to reſolve, and cauſe no leſs aſtoniſhment than fell upon him interrogated, *How cameſt thou in hither, not having a wedding Garment*? underſtood of endowments far more eſſential to ſalvation, than any humane Conſtitutions can be.

22. As it is manifeſt, that moſt *Princes* and men in power (the not unlikelieſt to know Truth, becauſe it is ſuſpected they did at firſt diſguiſe it (make no more account of *Religion*, than the Profit and Conveniencie it brings, is able to compenſe; So that the unbiaſſed *Rabble*, if once emancipated out of the Fetters, their former Creed confined them to, value the *Church*, as they do the old Coins they dig up, which they take for Counters, becauſe they find them ſubject to ruſt, and are not able by reaſon of their *Roman* Inſcriptions (*the Character of the Beaſt*, which opinion rather than judgment imagines them branded withal) to make them paſs in the ſtrict commerce of theſe intoxicated times: whereby they exchange that for baſer metal, which in it ſelf perhaps is pure Gold, only attached unhappily by the Cankers and Corruption of age, eaſier ſcoured off than melted.

23. But if St. *Peter*'s pretended Succeſſor, the Pope, be found guilty of ſuch erroneous miſtakes, it cannot be ſo much a Soloeciſm in Reaſon with our *Seekers* to place St. *Thomas* in the Chair; believing, like him, no more than lies patent to humane underſtanding, which is as much as can decently be impoſed upon a new Believer without a Miracle: *Reaſon* being all the Touchſtone beſides left in our hands, to diſtinguiſh this Gold from the droſs, they pretend our Religion hath contracted. *The Scripture* alone ſeeming unable, by reaſon of her divers Readings, and the ſeveral ſounds, variety of Expoſitions have put upon it, to decide all differences: Beſides the long aboad ſhe hath made at *Rome* (where who knows whether or no, or

how far that Bishop hath put in his foot?) may render her in some opinions, suspected, as participating of the like Corruptions, we see manifested in Translations: So as it may possibly be wished, Learning had never taken her out of the hands of *Tradition*: where for many years she remained with more quiet than ever she enjoyed since she grew domestical with all sorts of understandings, who have been connived at by the State (how prudently I dare not determine) whilest they cut her more short, or extended her longer, as best fitted their ends and occasions. Nowif Faith be not allowed to be taken implicitly from the Authority of any Church, a freedom of choice, by consequence will result to all, by which Salvation must be wrought out: And in this wilderness of contention we have no better guide to follow than *Reason*, found the same for many thousands of years, though *Belief* hath been observed to vary every Age And since so considerable a falshood is thought to be discovered by our Governours, in the Clergies Tenet, for the *impunity of Kings*; why may not their poor Subjects be unsatisfied about the Place they shall receive their own Reward or punishment in after this Life; or what else may befal these dusty Bodies of ours? Yet I say not this to diminish your Faith, but to encrease your Charity towards *tender Consciences*, who may pretend cause enough to doubt, Though my single Judgment is still ready to determine for *Antiquity*: which I would have you reverence, but not conclude infallible; yet I should take her word sooner in *Divinity* than any other *Learning*, because that is cleerest at the beginning, all Studies else more muddy, receiving clarification from experience.

All truth familiar unto mortals is only legible by the eye of *Reason*: *Revelation*, *Prophecy*, *&c.* being strangers now to flesh, and ever too high elevated for the

the perpetual commerce of ſuch weak Creatures, who may ſometimes enjoy a glimmering of them, as the Northern inhabitants do of the Sun in Winter, not permanent longer than they are able to fan away the dark Clouds of infidelity, which dims their Light upon the abſence of the Ecſtaſie: Whereas *Reaſon* paſſeth in an univerſal commerce being of an unqueſtioned alloy, and therefore likelieſt to be the Oracles of the ever-living *God*; ſaid by *Solomon* to have *ſquared the barrs of the Earth by her rule*, and ſo not improbably ſuppoſed to have meaſured out a way to Heaven by her Line. St. *Paul* allows the notice of Gods univerſal Goodneſs for a ſufficient evidence to convince the diſobedient Heathen; and may not the ſame as well ſave the faithful obſervers of the purer Law of Nature? ſhall the righteous Judge of all things be found with two weights, one to ſave, another to damn by? *Reaſon* only commands belief, all things elſe beg it, ſo far as the moſt ſtupendious *Miracles* that ever were, cannot confute, though 'tis poſſible they may ſilence it for a time; But *Belief* changeth, and impairing or mending implies a wearing out imperfections; *Reaſon* is uncapable of remaining the ſame for ever as the moſt faithful guide to our Maker.

24. It is no leſs worth your obſervance than admiration, that ſome of the wild *Indians* and other people by us ſtiled *Barbarous*, are yet more ſtrangers to the unſociable ſins of Improbity, Covetouſneſs, *&c.* than ſuch as pretend to advance their Converſion: Of which this may be a reaſon, that whileſt they remain conſtant to the pure dictates of Nature, they imagine no Meditation to ſecure their hopes, or ſcreen their fears, conceived to depend on another life, but their own Endeavours, which might give *Paul* an occaſion to pronounce them *a Law to themſelves*,

themſelves, and therefore poſſibly within the compaſs of Gods ſecret grace: it being our Saviours own Confeſſion to him that had kept the Commandments, that nothing wanted but the ſale of his *Propriety*: a term theſe underſtand not, having all in Common, and if the laſt part be looked upon as omitted, I would fain know who follows his Maſter beſt, He that comes loaden with what he is able, and goes as far as he can with him; or elſe he that hath loſt it all, or is lazy and lies down by the way: Acceptance being a far eaſier grant than Pardon?

25. *Religions* do not naturally *differ* ſo much in themſelves, as fiery and uncharitable men pretend; who do not ſeldom perſecute thoſe of their own Creed, becauſe they profeſs it in other Terms. Then do not only ask thy *Conſcience* what is Truth, but give her full leiſure to reſolve thee: For he that goes out of the way with her conſent, is likelier to find reſt, than he that plods on without taking her directions.

Therefore do nothing againſt the counſel of this Guide, though ſhe is obſerved in the World to render her Owners obnoxious to the injury and deceit of all that converſe without her: *Nothing [being more hard and chargeable to keep than a good Conſcience.*

26. Let no ſeeming opportunity prevail ſo far upon your *curioſity*, as to entice you to an *inſpection* into your *future fortune*: ſince ſuch *Inquiſitiveneſs* was never anſwered with good ſucceſs: The World, like a Lottery affording multitudes of Croſſes, for one Prize; which reduced all into a ſum muſt by a neceſſary conſequence, render the remainder of life tedious, in removing preſent Felicities, to make room for the contemplation of future Miſeries.

Do not pre-ingage *Hope* or *Fear* by a tedious *expectation*, which may leſſen the pleaſure of the firſt, yet cannot

cannot but aggravate the weight of the latter, whoſe arrival is commonly with a leſs train of inconveniences, than this Harbinger ſtrives to take up room for, *evil Fortune being no leſs inconſtant than good*: Therefore render not thy ſelf giddy, by pouring on Deſpair, nor wanton with the contemplation of Hope.

27. Stamp not the Impreſs of a *Divine vengeance* upon the Death or Misfortunes of others, though never ſo prodigious; for fear of penning a Satyr againſt your ſelf, in caſe you ſhould fall under the ſame chance: Many things being taken up as dropped out of an immediate celeſtial Hand, that fell from a no higher pitch than where God in his providence hath placed ſuch Events, as wait upon all times and occaſions, which Prayers and Prudence are not able always to ſhrowd you from: Since upon a ſtrict Enquiry, it may appear, that in *relation to this World, the Godly have as little cauſe to brag, as the Wicked to complain.*

28. Be not eaſily drawn to lay the foul *imputation of Witchcraft* upon any, much leſs to aſſiſt at their *Condemnation*, too common among us; For *who is ſufficient for theſe things*, ſince we are as ignorant in the Benevolences, as Malignities of Nature? *Madmen* preſenting in their Melancholy Ecſtaſies, as prodigious confeſſions and geſtures, as are objected to theſe no leſs infatuated people. And if this humour hath ſo far prevailed with ſome, as to take themſelves for Urinals, Wolves, and what not; Can it ſeem impoſſible for thoſe, invaded by all the cauſes of diſcontent, to imagine themſelves Authors of what they never did? Moſt of theſe ſtrange Miracles they ſuppoſe, being hatched by the heat of imagination, or ſnatched out of the huge Maſs of Contingences, ſuch a multitude of Individuals as the World produceth, cannot chooſe but ſtumble upon; Neither may it be admitted, with due reverence to the Divine Nature,

ture: That *Prophecy* should *ceaſe*, and *Witches ſo abound*, as ſeems by their frequent Executions; which makes me think the ſtrongeſt Faſcination is incircled within the *ignorance* of the Judges, *malice* of the Witneſſes, or *ſtupidity* of the poor Parties accuſed.

29. Be not therefore haſty to regiſter all you underſtand not in the black Calendar of Hell, as ſome have done the *Weapon-ſalve*; paſſing by the cure of the *King's-evil*, altogether as improbable to ſenſe: Neither *raſhly condemn* all you meet with that contradicts the common received Opinion, leſt you ſhould remain a Fool upon Record, as the *Pope* doth, that anathematized the *Biſhop of Saltsburg*, for maintaining *Antipodes*; and the *Conſiſtory*, that may poſſibly attain the ſame honour, for decreeing againſt the probable Opinion of the *Earths Motion*: Since the branding of one *Truth* imports more diſrepute than the broaching of ten *Errors*: Theſe being only lapſes in the ſearch of new reaſon, without which there can be no addition to knowledge: That, a murdering of it, when by others greater wit and induſtry it is begotten: not to be accounted leſs than an unpardonable ſin againſt the Spirit of Learning. Therefore *mingle Charity with Judgment*, and *temper your Zeal with Diſcretion*, ſo may your own Fame be preſerved, without intrenching upon that of others.

Fall not out with *Charity*, though you find for the moſt part, *Ingratitude*, lying at her Gate: which God hath contrived, the better to reſerve requital to himſelf.

30. As he offers an high indignity to the *Divine Nature* that robs God of his honour, by owning thoughts of him unſuitable to the Dictates of Reaſon (the exacteſt Engine we have to meaſure him by, out of the Volume of his word.) So doth he offend no leſs againſt *Probity* that detains anothers *due*, contrary to

Juſtice

Justice and the Clamours of his own Conscience; whereby he makes himself and his Posterity Heirs to the Curse, which the Wheel of Providence, moved by the breath of God's first *Fiat*, doth usuall stamp upon those, that endeavour to deface the impress of Goodness and Equity, which appeared in all things at the beginning. Therefore be not forward to promote any *destructive Tenents*, or liquorish after such *ill gotten estates*, as the Law of power may for a small summ be wooed to possess you of, out of an hope to engage you, or a fear they might revert, in case they were not diffused amongst a multitude of owners.

Make not *Law*, or the *Power* you may possibly exercise in the *Common wealth*, instrumental to your private Malice: *No murders being so bloody*, as *those committed by the Sword of Justice.*

31. Let not the Cheapness or Convenience of *Church-Lands* tempt you to their purchase: For though, I have not observed vengeance so nimble in this world, as Divines pretend; yet what prudence is there to submit all your future success to be measured out, by so severe Expositions, as *Church-men* usually make of *Sacrilegious Persons*, which all are registred to be, that meddle with their *Revenues*? besides the danger and shame of refunding, in case a contrary zeal should repossess the people; whose clamours and warrant cannot be thought less sufficient to obliterate your Title, than the former; written, as may be supposed, with more authentick Ink.

32. Denounce no *enmity* against the *Clergy*: For supported by Prayers or Policy, they cannot long want an opportunity to revenge themselves. Neither *oppose* any *Religion* you find *established*, how ridiculous soever you apprehend it; For though like *David*, you may bring unavoidable Arguments to stagger a popular error. None but the monsters own Sword, can

can cut off the head of one universally received.

Run not hooting after every *new Light* you may observe to wander about, nor endeavour by a tumultuous dispute to puff it out: For he that will *not quench the smoaking flax*, may possibly accept of a Lamp composed of no richer stuff than Rushes.

33. Grudge not *Tythes* to the Teachers of the Gospel, assigned for their wages by the divine Legislator; Of whose institutes this was none of the least profound, That the Tribe of *Levi* were prohibited all other Revenue, than what was deducible out of the tenth part of the other Elevens encrease: setting bounds thereby to all the improvement, their wildoms, and the tie the Priesthood had over the peoples consciences, might in the future possibly make, in causing their Maintenance to rise and fall, proportionable to the general standard of the Nations felicity; which this limitation obliged them to promote, and for their own sakes, to oppose all incroachments likely to interrupt their brethrens utility. This prompts me to believe, that if the like salary were assigned here, we might promise to our selves the same success; Provided the Soveraign Power reserved in their own hands the collation of *Benefices*, without giving leave to any *Stipendiaries* or *Lecturers*, that signifie little less than an *Anti-clergy*: And to perswade this, there may be more Reason, than the narrow project of this Discourse is able to find room for.

34. Yet I cannot but by the way mind you of the superlative *Wisdom* of *Moses*, who left one sacrilegious injury should have proved a precedent for a greater (had the people made a benefit by the spoil) imployed the *Censers* of *Corah* and his Complices to make plates for the *Altar*: But finding the *Gold of Idols* too rank, decently to be used in the service of God, he reduced

reduced them to duſt, and threw them into the River: leſt the multitude having been fleſhed on a *Calf*, a falſe Deity, ſhould after aſſume the boldneſs, to rob the true One, and thoſe his Inſtitutes appointed to live by his ſervice.

35. And here it may not improperly be ſaid, that Cardinal *Wolſey* was ignorant of, or had forgot this Aphoriſm of Policy, when he pulled down *Monaſteries* to build *Colledges*; by which he inſtructed that docile Tyrant *Henry* the Eight to improve the ſame: There being *nothing forwarder to demoliſh the reſults of Zeal and Ignorance than Learning and Knowledge.* Neither did he diſcover himſelf a more accompliſhed Courtier, when he laid the foundation of *Grave* for a living King; who could not be delighted with the ſight of a *Tomb*, though never ſo magnificent, having lived in ſo high a ſenſuality, as I may doubt, whether he would then have exchanged it for the joys of Heaven it ſelf. I inſtance in this, as a fit example to diſſwade you from thinking it diſcretion or manners *to uſe funereous diſcourſes before Princes or men in power*; who hate nothing ſo much, as the thought of their own Mortality, and therefore unlikely to be pleaſed with the Meſſengers of it.

ADVICE

ADVICE to a SON.

The Concluſion.

1. BEar always a *filial reverence* to *your* dear *Mother*, and *let not her old age*, if ſhe attain it, *ſeem tedious unto you*; Since that little ſhe may keep from you, will be abundantly recompenced, not only by the prayers, but by the tender care ſhe hath, and ever will have of you: Therefore in caſe of my Death (which wearineſs of the world will not ſuffer me to adjourn, ſo much as by a wiſh) do not proportion your reſpect by the mode of other Sons, but to the *greatneſs of her deſert*, beyond requital in relation to us both.

2. Continue in *love* and amity with *your Siſter*, and in caſe of need, *help her* what you are able; Remembring, *you are of a piece*, and *Hers and yours differ but in name*; which I preſume (upon want of iſſue) will not be denied to be impoſed on any child of hers, you ſhall deſire to take for your own.

3. Let no time expunge his Memory that gave you the firſt tincture of Erudition; to which he was more invited by Love than Profit, no leſs than his incomparable Wife: Therefore if God make you able

able, requite them, and in the mean while register their Names among those you stand most obliged unto.

4. What you *leave* at your *Death*, let it be *without Controversie*: else the Lawyers will be your heirs.

5. Be not solicitous after *Pomp* at my *Burial*, nor use any expensive *Funeral Ceremony*; by which *Mourners*, *like Crows*, *devour the Living under pretence of honouring a Dead Carcass*: Neither can I apprehend a *Tomb-stone* to add to great a *weight of Glory* to the dead, as it doth of Charge and trouble to the Living; *None* being so *impertinent wasters*, in my opinion, *as those that build houses for the Dead*: He that lies under the Herse of Heaven is convertible into sweet Herbs and Flowers, that may rest in such bosoms, as would shriek at the ugly bugs, may possibly be found crawling in the Magnificent Tomb of *Henry* the Seventh: which also hinders the variety of such contingent Resurrections as unarched Bodies enjoy, without giving interruption to That, which He that will not again die, hath promised to such as love him and expect his appearing: Besides, that man were better forgotten, who hath nothing of greater moment to Register his Name by than a Grave.

Contest not with such frantick people to deny men the *Burial* formerly called Christian: since unquietness importunes a living Body more than a Ceremony can advantage one that is dead. Neither be too rigid in giving or leaving out the *title of Saint*, before their Names that appear in the Scripture to have been really such: Since the practice in both senses, hath been often abused; the first to an over-esteem of the Creature, the latter to the discouragement of Piety, through a second Martyrdom inflicted upon the repute of those, who laid down all care of the World, if not their lives, for the Gospel. Thus a wise man may convert

the most putrid humours to a pious use, or where this falls short of a good Conscience, to eke it out with Patience, a far easier remedy, than a less probable Contention. These and an hundred other Changes ought not to disturb our Rest, who are less interested in what can happen after our death, than in what was extant before our birth, no Books being legible in the dark Grave.

6. Neither can I apprehend such Horrour in *Death*, as some do that render their lives miserable to avoid it, meeting it oftentimes by the same way they take to shun it. *Death* if he may be guessed at by his elder brother *Sleep*, (born before he was thought on, and fell upon *Adam* ere he fell from his Maker) cannot be so terrible a Messenger, being not without much *Ease*, if not some *Voluptuousness*. Besides, nothing in this World is worth coming from the house-top to fetch it, much less from the *deep Grave*; *furnished with all things, because empty of Desires.*

7. And concerning a *future Account*, I find the Bill to swell rather than shrink, by continuance; Or if a stronger propensity to Religion resides in Age, than Youth (which I wish I had no cause to doubt of) it relates more to the temperature of the Body, than any improvement of the Mind; and so unworthy of any other reward, than what is due to the effects of humane infirmities.

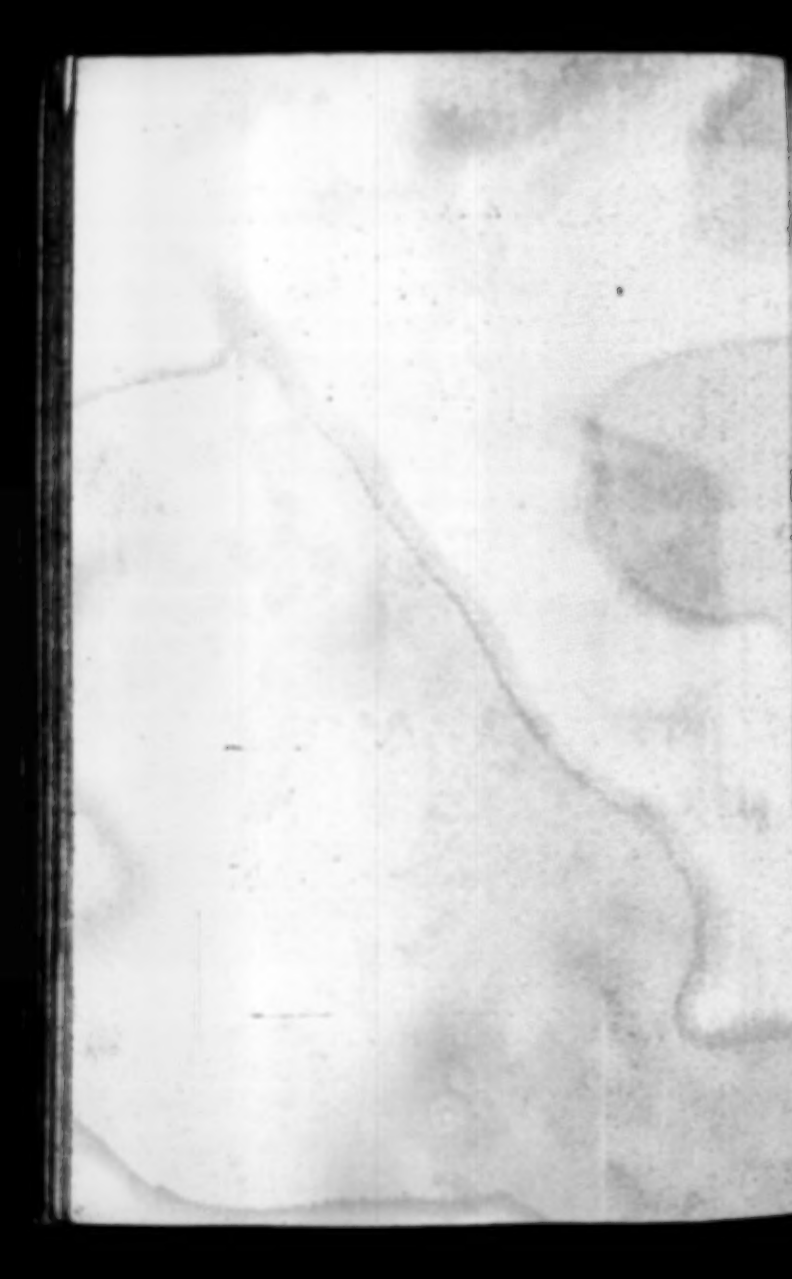
8. To conclude, Let us *serve God* with what reverence we are able, and *do* all the *good* we can, making as little unnecessary work for repentance, as is possible: And the mercy of our Heavenly Father supply all our Defects in the Son of his Love. *Amen.*

Thus I have left you finished (*Dear Son*) a Picture of the World; *in this at least like it, that it is frail and confused*; *being* an Original not a Copy: *No more foreign help having been employed in it, than what my own*

own miſerable Experience had imprinted in my Memory. And as you have by tryal already found the Truth of ſome of Theſe, ſo I moſt earneſtly beg of you to truſt the reſt, without thruſting your fingers, like a Child, into thoſe flames, in which your Father hath formerly been burnt, and ſo add, by your own purchaſe, to the multitude of inconveniencies, he is forced to leave you by inheritance.

Now You are Taught to *Live*, there's nothing I
Eſteem worth *Learning* but the way to *Dit*.

THE END.



AN

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THE END.

AD-

ADVICE
TO A
SON.

The Second Part.

BY

FRANCIS OSBORN Esq;

LONDON,
Printed in the Year, MDCLXXXIII.

The *Stationer* to the *Reader*,

Concerning this

SECOND PART

OF

ADVICE to a SON.

OUr Author, *from whom I formerly preſented you with* a Rope of ſmaller Pearls, *viz.* His Adviſo's thredded in a more coherent and exact method, *doth now offer theſe* Bigger *ones to your acceptance* ſingle *and* looſe; *which as they are in* magnitude, *ſo may you not unpoſſibly* rate *them at* a like proportionable value. *Something of* Confuſion, *you know, is taken as a Symbol of* Greatneſs: *But I ſhall only, in the authors vindication, pre-acquaint you, That a Piece of this nature will not thereby be of the leſs* ſolid advantage *unto* you, *who may begin and leave off where you pleaſe:* Theſe *being, in all hands, like* Cards, *more* delightful, *if not* uſeful, ſhuffled, *than in* ſuits; *through*

through which all ſorts may be tempted to read them over, *and* (*ſo*) *not improbably gain a* knowledge *they would never have ſought for, but upon ſuch an omiſſion: wherefore whether you conſider the whole* Pack, *or do but* draw here and there, *you ſhall be a* Winner. *And* the Author himſelf *may have the* more *time to employ upon* ſomewhat elſe *in order to* your ſervice, *being freed from the trouble of any* nicer ſorting theſe Aphoriſms; *which really conſidered, is but the* Pedantick part *of the* Writer, *and of* moſt uſe, *where there is* leaſt intrinſick worth *in a* Book *to commend it ſelf*: *The* ſpeciouſneſs *of the* Form *not ſeldom betraying the* Readers judgment *to the* ſwallowing *ſuch* ſordid *and* refuſe Matter, *as would be found but a* gilded Dogs —if taken in pieces and throughly examined.

TO

To my dear Brother

WILLIAM DRAPER Eſq;

OF

NETHERWORTON

In *Oxfordſhire.*

SIR,

SInce it is become a general *cuſtom* to affix before *Books* the *Names* of the *Authors beſt friends*, I could not without calling in queſtion ſo manifeſt a Truth as your *deſert*, and running the hazard of being eſteemed ungrateful my ſelf, but preſent you with *what follows*: for which (however it fares) I ſhall deſcend no lower in my deſires, than that *your Name* may remain as perpetual a *Monument* to my *merit*, as I am confident it will prove of your *goodneſs* which can never die or be out of credit: wheres *Books* are during one Age *neatly bound* and *choicely preſerved*, and the next, condemned to the *baſeſt* of *imployments*. Nor had I ever expoſed my ſelf to the danger of a preſent cenſure, no leſs than a future

future contempt, but that I gain by *writing a diverſion from diſcontent*, the higheſt felicity my fortune ever gave me leave yet to enjoy: who, notwithſtanding the cold *commendation Authors* find during their *lives*, ſhall venture ſo far on the conſtancy of my own *fortune* (which ſome are pleaſed to call *deſert*) and the Worlds judgment, as to peep abroad again upon my ſingle ſecurity, without ſo much as deſiring your *protection*, though a frequent Petition in ſuch like *Epiſtles*, or borrowing *commendations* from my *Acquaintance*, more ready to lend me their good word, than I was ever yet able to deſerve it, which doth not ſeldom betray the *Reader* into the purchaſe of an *ill Book*; or at beſt, gratifies his expectation no more than a baſe and rotten *Inn* can a *Traveller*, becauſe *prefaced* by a gawdy *Sign-poſt*. *All I beg* is, that in caſe it comes ſhort of *former applauſe*, you would conſider *me*, not your *ſelf*, as the party abuſed. And not weigh *your acceptance* or *my will to ſerve you* at the common Beam, but by the Standard of your *love*, in which you have ſo far exceeded thoſe of my own *blood*, as I cannot but acknowledge you, and ſubſcribe my ſelf

Your moſt affectionate Brother

Francis Osborn.

TO

TO THE

READERS.

DID all your Heads *own a like* Mode *and* Figure, *they could not but be fitted with* ſomething *here might give the* Buyer *ſatisfaction for the price of the Book: but you are found in the generality, ſo contrary to the* Camelion (*a true Emblem of* Hypocriſie, Levity, *and* Sophiſtication) *as not to take the* colour *for what you judge, from the tincture of* Senſe *and* Reaſon, *but the* py'd *and* contaminated conſtructions *faming from brains ſuborned out of* Intereſt, *or a contrary practice to condemn of* Errour, Ignorance, *or* Irreligion, *all things though never ſo modeſtly propoſed, that ſuit not with their* breeding, *or fall not within the narrow circle of their* underſtanding. *An unſociable Lunacy that lies as far below my notice, as Fortune, which hath already advanced me (maugre ſuch contrary endeavours) in the opinions of ſublimer Spirits, not*

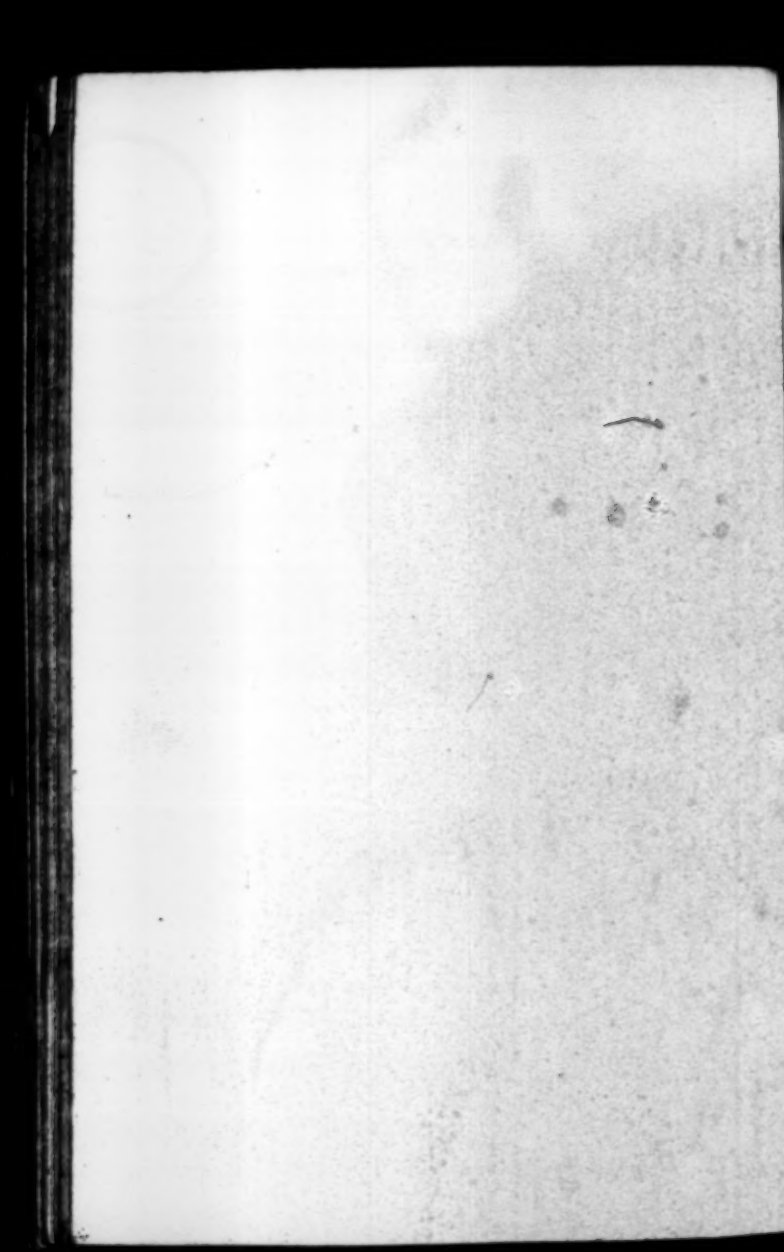
only beyond an ordinary eſteem, but the higheſt I could ever be tempted to *carry of my ſelf. Wherefore though I have formerly numbred it amongſt the loweſt impertinencies, to foreſtall a* Readers acceptance *by any other Courtſhip than the cleareſt* endeavour *to give him plenary* ſatisfaction: *yet I cannot think it ſuitable with* gratitude *to paſs* unregarded *ſo much as hath already been ſhewn, or to doubt of the like in future: not to be done without calling in queſtion the* conſtancy, *if not the* Judgement *of a* conſiderable part of the Nation. *And from hence, and no* merit *of my own, I do implore this favour, that in caſe any have formerly, or may hereafter be led into* ſcandal *through a* ſiniſter conſtruction *of what I have* written, *as diſſonant from the* Church of England (*though a queſtion I find, if relating to any, it is rather to others conſciences than mine own*) *you would excuſe, or paſs it over as an accidental* Lapſe, *or, which I hope is truer, a meer* miſtake, *rather ariſing from a too high preſumption on the* Readers Charity, *than any real defect in mine own; who ever thought it a* leſs impiety to limit Reaſon than Faith.

If theſe Aphoriſms (*which I proteſt I picked out of* waſte Papers *long ſince thrown by*) *appear unſuitable to the* Times (*perhaps ſooner led through* Enthuſiams *than* Theorems) *I own not a* forehead *bold enough to deny it. Nor did I intend that* my Name *or* Merit *ſhould have ever become the* argument of Diſcourſe, *but that I found*

found it unpeſſible to conceal it: *The* hope *of* which, *and not* oſtentation *drew me firſt to the* Preſs; *as* want *of a more* profitable employment *tempts me, being made bold through* cuſtom, *to feed it.*

FRANCIS OSBORN.

I2 ADVICE



ADVICE to a SON:

The Second Part.

THough it may without queſtion be reckoned amongſt *Solomons Common Places* of *Vanity*, yet nothing in this world appears more *Natural* or affects *Imagination* with greater *delight*, than *the hope men have their* names *may extend towards eternity*: the eſſential *cauſe* of the moſt, if not all the *good* and *evil* we find done, by pious *Benefactors* or deſtructive *Tyrants*; whatſoever the *firſt* may pretend in relation to *Religion*, or the *Latter* ſuffer in reference to *Policy*. The *Propagation of Fame*, though confeſſed *flatulent Humour*, being hardly to be found abſent from *Fortitude* and *Charity*, or any other *Virtue*, to *Martyrdom* it ſelf. *Glory* being the moſt *acceptable* thing we can *enjoy here*, or *hope for hereafter*; the *aim* both of the *Covetous* and *Prodigal*; the *Valiant* and *Coward*; the one ſeeking to gain it through the *expoſing*, the other by a more wary *preſervation* of his *Life*; and Eſtate; *all running* through *contrary ways*, after the gaudy *ball* of *Fame*: which though every one deſires to find his *name* ingraven upon; yet none *outreach* the *records* of *Paper*, *writing* being the moſt *approved recipe*, yet *diſcovered* againſt *conſuming Oblivion*, which infeſts the *actions* of the *beſt* of Princes, and be-

The Proem

nights thoſe of the *worſt*; who do not ſeldom *owe* their *repute* to ſtrangers. *Wherefore* ſince there cannot be a more *innocent* and *probable* way to *dilate* a *remembrance* beyond the *banks* of *Forgetfulneſs*, than *Books*; why may not I (indebted to none, but my own dear-bought *experience*,) be allowed the *Vanity* (if capable of ſuch a title) to *affix* my *name* (ſince unable to build it a more laſting *Monument*) before *theſe Papers*? where it may live if *reſcued* out of the *over officious* and *ſtrict* hands of *Contemporaries*, the moſt *ſevere cenſurers* of the *writings* of the *preſent Age*, who in the abſence of other *juſter pretences*, will *rather* (than want matter for *Reproof* with the *Maligners* of the *Prophet Daniel*, pick ſomething to *carp* at, in relation to *God* or the *Magiſtracy*: Though none are *leſs baſe* in arraigning the *Lapſes of Power*, or remain *more obedient* to the *yoke* of *Government*, than ſuch as know there can be no *ſafety* or *propriety* without it. Yet many *half witted-men*, preſuming on the ſingle warrant of their own *purblind Judgments*, do not only overſtride the Opinion of the *Major part* for *number* and *weight*, but the dictates of their own *Conſcience*; who cannot but *Know*, if they have any *knowledge* at all, That the *Wiſdom*, to which *Solomon perſwades* no leſs than *adorns* with ſo many *Divine epithetes*, voting it the *companion of the Almighty*, *artificer of nature*, *And without whoſe aſſiſtance nothing ever was*, *or is*, *of all that hath been made*. *The directer of Angels in the preſervation of Man*, and *the Tutor of man to all the underſtanding a Creature is able to comprehend in reference to its Maker*, is thereby *blaſphemed* in her *children*, no leſs than her *King reproached*; as if the *followers* of the *paths* to *Heaven* could be *leaders* to *Hell*, or not rather *Heirs* of the rich *Donative* our bleſſed *Saviour* gives to all ſhall *knock* and *ſeek* at the *gates* of *eternal knowledge*; where no voice is *intelligible* but that of *wiſdom*, the *Dialect* of *God*. Nor did I ever yet meet

the

the owner of ſo *impudent* a *preſumption*, amongſt all the *recorders of Reaſon*, as durſt venture our dull and *callous knowledge* againſt the *activity* of an *eagle-winged Faith*: but do confeſs a little claudication in their *underſtandings* as *Jacob* ſound in his *leg*, after a *wreſtling with his Maker*. Yet ſince *Saint Paul* draws the *Bill* of our *Indictment* out of the *Book of Gods univerſal goodneſs* (to none legible, but through the light of *Reaſon*) it cannot but afford cauſe to magnifie *the eternal mercy* towards *Chriſtians*, in giving them *Faith* to regulate their *works*, and ſupport their *wiſdom*, without which it becomes *fooliſhneſs to God*; wherefore in no other ſenſe capable of the name of *Knowledge*.

2. *Neglect* or *diſſemble* the receipt of an *Injury*, till *Time* meaſure you out a competent proportion of *Charity* to *forgive*, or ſo much *power* as may *requite* or *contemn* it: Leſt you convert into a *Habit* or irreconcileable *Enmity*, ſuch *Words* or *Actions* as might not unpoſſibly *at firſt*, reſult from no more bitter a Root than *Chance* or *Miſtake* in you both. Wherefore *no prudence* to put *the worſt Conſtruction* on *all you hear or ſee*, as ſuch peeviſh and *Melancholy Conſtitutions* do, who like *Glaſſes* retain in their *Fancies*, as meerly relating to themſelves, the *Reflections* of all things paſs in their *preſence*. For ſince the *Eyes*, *Tongues* and *Looks*, are the *Windows* and *Doors* no leſs than *Interpreters* of the *Hearts of men*, and ſo the *buſineſs* of *wiſdom*, to keep every thing from *breaking out, that may be ſafer hid than revealed*: it implies a like *caution* ought to be had in *reference* to That is ſuffered to *enter*. Nor doth the want of a through inſpection into this, ſeldom ſpoil the Affairs of *Princes*, no leſs than meaner men's; who by meaſuring *the perſons will* to *advance* or *depreſs* their *deſigns*, accord to ſuch *hopes* and *fears* as they calculate proportionable to their own former deſert or inconſiderate Opinion of the

The precipitate revenge, no prudence.

party, mar their Market, not only through a *too great confidence* to receive at need all the *friendship* they have *dearly paid for*, but an *over-jealousie* of ill from such as they look upon in their apprehensions as *disobliged*. The *Exchange* of *Courtesies* or *Injuries* running *high* or *low*, not according to an exact proportion of *Quity*, but the value, 'tis rated at in the *esteem of the receiver*. Thus the *Old Earl of Essex*, by placing a greater confidence in the *Citizens of London*, where he *spent* his *Revenue*, than in *Wales*, from whence he *received* it, *Denudated* himself of the most probable *protection* the *extremity* of his bad *Fortune* had left him. His *Tenants* and *Friends* being more likely to have proved *cordial* at a *distance* from the *Court*, than those found to gather their *livelihood* under the *shadow* of it; And so more probable to increase, than raise, a power fuit in his favour. Which maturely weighed, proves *the study of Friends*, and *Enemies*, *the most politick and useful employment*.

No enemy so contemptible, as to be neglected.

3. *Despise* no *Enemy*, especially at *Court*: For where *Jealousie* holds the *Scales*, a small *grachm* of *Detraction* will turn the *Beam*. Mens *Lives* no less than *Fortunes* being so *unsteady*, as they lie obnoxious to *blasting* by the breath of far meaner persons than themselves; who making use of all advantages do not rarely bring greater *Strength*, *Wisdom*, and *Innocency* than their own to *destruction*; So as the world hath been abused through an often repeated *Tradition*, if a *fool of State* did not help to *anticipate* the *Death* of a hopeful *Prince*. And if the indeavours of *Malice* and *Revenge* be thus *Prevalent* in a *Court*, where *Civility* and *Law* pretend at least to command; How prejudicial must the neglect of this caution appear in the *Field* where nothing but *Passion* is obeyed, and all *advantages* conducing to *safety*, allowed in *Prudence*, if not *Honour*? And where

Fortune

Fortune to *exercise* the *dominion* she usurps over *Strength*, and *Probability*, suffered a *Dwarf* not long since to kill a *Man*. This makes me admire the *Valour* more than *discretion* of an *acquaintance* of mine, That met an *armed enemy* in a formal and premeditated *Duel* with a *wooden Dagger* and a *rebated Rapier*. I confess this *gallant soul* did worst him; which appeared *less* because no more than his *contempt* ingaged him to. But if *Chance* (the Lady of such events) had turned her face the *other way*, his *honour* and *prudence*, if not *Life* (*seldom ransomed, if at the mercy of a Coward*) had been lost in the *Indiscretion* of the *action*: The *Generality* taking no other *prospect* of things than through the *Event*: and under this *Topick* may be *included* such as *return a disarmed Enemy his Sword*, with a number of *follies* more incident to a *Romantick valour*.

4. *Have peace with all men*, is as *wholsom* an *Aphorism* in *Policy* as *Divinity*. But being uncapable of so strict an *Observation* as in *Religion* and *Prudence* it deserves, *Let me advise you* to shun, or break off all *Contests* with much inferiour persons to your self. And because *Example* receives a more lively *tincture* from *Memory*, than *Precept*, I shall instance it as a blot in the greatest *Rochet* that did in my time appear in the *Court of England*, or *indeed* any I ever heard of since the *Reformation*: who mannaged a *Quarrel* with *Archy the King's Fool*, and by *endeavouring* to explode him the *Court*, rendered him at last so *considerable*, by calling the *Prelates Enemies* (which were not a few) to his *rescue*, as the fellow was not only able to continue the dispute for divers years, but received such incouragements from Standers-by, as he hath oft, in my hearing, belched in his face such *miscarriages* as he was really guilty of, and might, but for this *foul-mouth'd Scot*, have been forgotten: Adding such other *reproaches* of his own, *as*

To contend with inferiours brings discredit.

the

the dignity of his calling and *greatness of his parts* could not in *Reason* or *Manners* admit; Though so far hoodwink'd with *Passion*, as not to discern that all the *Fool* did was but a Symptom of the *strong* and *inveterate Distemper* raised long before in the *Hearts* of his *countrymen* against *the calling of Bishops*: Out of whose former *ruines* the major part of the *Scottish Nobility* had feathered, if not built their *Nests*. Nor did this too *low placed Anger* lead him into a less *absurdity*, than an indeavour to bring him into the *Star Chamber*, till the *Lord Coventry* had, by acquainting him with *the priviledge of a Fool*, shown the *ridiculousness of the attempt*: yet not satisfied, he, through the mediation of the *Queen*, got him at last discharged the *Court*; whither he brought after the same mind under a *Cloak*, as he had before born in his *Fools Coat*. *Nor* is it more wisdom for any, *especially Kings*, to drive *base people* into the dark corners of *Despair*, where they do not only lose the sense of their own *felicity*, in becoming *Instrumental to the Malice and Ambition of others, but all duty* and natural respect to *Friends*, *Religion*, and *Governours*.

A friend necessary to a Courtier.

5. *A true Friend* becomes the *fortune* of every *Profession*, but is the most necessary *Utensil* I did ever observe belonging to a person at *Court*: where eyes are so *sealed up* and *covered* with *prejudice*, *envy*, &c. as little notice is taken of the *highest desert*, till through the *approbation* of a *standerby* they are *pointed to it*. The mode of *Princes* being, *as I have often found*, to rest better satisfied with *others attestations*, than *their own*. The cause that in *Palaces*, *Merit* is less vendible at the *first* than *second hand*; *proceeding* commonly from the *Modesty* of the *party*, which *desert* none but a *faithful friend* is able to supply. I could name a couple of *Jesuits* (no ways miraculous for *parts*, considering the foreign

foreign advantages received from their *Relations* and *breeding*) who did by making it their busines to *cry up one the other* in all *companies* and upon every *occasion*, swell themselves to such a repute, as they became in a short time able to benight the apprehension of a *Prince* in his own *opinion* no mean *Politician*.

6. Though it is your *duty* no less than *Honour* to have *deserved well* of *Church* or *State*; Yet it may be no *unreasonable advice* (*considering how soon the best of Subjects have their desert expunged by envy* or *forgetfulness*, *after their use is over*) to extend *expectation* beyond the present *occasion*: By which you may have the hope to *continue* your *Princes Favour*, *commonly conclusive where Expectation ceaseth*. Wherefore *the well Managing of Merit* is none of the weakest effects of *Prudence*, because uncapable to be *restrained* within *the compass of any general rules*. *To oblige a Prince, or State, dangerous.*

Signal actions being not seldom so huddled up by *Fortune*, as they are in a short time *forgotten*, or much *lessened* by *sharers* and *envy* before the *principal Operator* is able to make *his best market* of them: To whom a *brave atchievement* hath sometimes proved *fatal*; *Nothing being more terrible in the eyes of Majesty, than the Apparition of an unrewarded Desert*; whose chiefest mediators are *Shame*, *Hope* or *Fear*: wherefore he that keeps not all or one of those for his friend, may expect a *Reward* from *Heaven* sooner than *Earth*. The old *Earl of Bristol* was none of the most imperfect Scholars in this Lesson; who, through a *prodigious dexterity*, became the *Confident* of *two Princes*, that drove on, if not contrary, divers Designs. And was *at his return* able to appear before the *English Parliament* where he worsted the greatest *Minion*, the *Folly*, *Love*, or *Wisdom* of any King since the *Conquest* ever bred in this *Nation*.

7. I

Self-praise Great Imprudence.

7. I note it as a great *blemish*, and so much the more deplorable because not seldom mingled with the *best parts, for a man to cry up his own Excellencies.* Through which, though the *simple* may be led into *Admiration*, it produceth, from the more *Judicious*, *Contempt* and Envy: Conjuring up a severer *scrutiny* into the parties *personal Lapses* and *Natural imperfections*, than *Prudence* ought to *Alarum*. *A modest rate* put by the *owner* upon his peculiar *desert*, *being the most artificial Medium* to *multiply fame*. Though the same *Aphorisms* in *Morality*, no more than those of *Physick* are not always found to work the *same effects* upon all *Complexions* and *Constitutions*: the *contrary* being ordinary through *Ignorance*, or a *Prejudice* arising from a *different opinion*. For let the *Speaker* utter never so Rational and exact a *Truth*, *Nothing* but what *quadrates* with the *Companies respective understandings* and *experience*, can settle upon him the *Hearers Belief*: Not seldom better Gratified with a *probable Lye*, than in the serious relation of a more *prodigious Truth*. The *predication* of which is not only an *Incroachment* upon the sole *Immunity* of *Thrones* and *Pulpits*, But a dangerous *Intrusion* upon the elements of *Civility*; so far as sometimes to produce *Quarrels*, ever *disputes*: Not in Reason to be looked upon, by the *Reporter*, under a modester notion than a *return of the Lye*. Nor can such *Improbabilities* at best, pass their *hearers*, without the thoughts of being *slighted* by the *Relator*; as owners (in his Opinion) of a *Credulity* capable to be *deluded*. *And this maturely considered* might hang the *Lock* of a greater *restraint* upon the *Mouths* of *Travellers*, *Hamsmen*, *Mountebanks*, &c. who to render their *professions* of more *value*, than, if brought to the *Candle*, they might possibly appear to be, do *torture* their *Company* with no less *Impertinent*, than *Improbable Relations*. And if it were as far warranted by discretion, *To name the persons* that have

smutted

ſuſtained their *fame* through a *Breach* of this *Topick*, as it is fit to *avoid* the like *exceſs*, you would bleſs your ſelf to hear the *recital* of ſo many *brave Spirits*, and ſuch whoſe *deſert* is impregnable againſt the ſtorms of *Time*, which *this quality* hath, to my knowledge, worſted in their *repute*, ſo far as to render them *Ridiculous in Company*: of which I ſhall leave you this one *nameleſs example* of a *Knight*, who uſing to make *Multiplying-Glaſſes* of what he in his long and great *Travels* had *Obſerved*, profeſſed he once converſed with a *Hermit* that was, in the Opinion of all men, able to commute any *Metal* into *Gold* with a *ſtone* he kept ſtill hanging at his *Girdle*: and being asked *of what kind it was*, and not readily *Anſwering*, the witty *Lord of Saint Albans* ſtanding by, ſaid he did verily believe, it was a *whetſtone*, &c.

Neither may it be *happily amiſs here*, to diſſwade you from all *immoderate praiſe* or *diſpraiſe* of any *perſon* or *thing* your *experience* or *acquaintance* hath had the *Fortune* to *cope withall*; leſt ſome in *Company*, out of an humour of *Contradiction* (no leſs *frequent*, than *odious* to *Society*) or *a diſaffection*, ſhould aſſume the *contrary Cudgel*, and by that ingage you in an ungrateful *diſpute* or a more deſtructive and ridiculous *Quarrel*: As befell an *Earl* at *Greenwich*, that received ſome prejudice in his *Honour* from the *Ara. of Ham.* for crying up the *Civility* of *Spain* higher than that of *England*; which grew at laſt to ſuch *terms*, as might have produced worſe *effects*, had not the *Earls wiſdom* directed him to the *Throne*, &c.

8. Though *Kings*, and Perſons in *Superlative power*, when *looſe* from *ſerious Employments*, aſſume ſo far the *ſociable humours* of Humanity, as *to break out* into *ſprightful and facetious extravagancies* with other *Courtiers*; yet *To jeſt with Princes not ſafe.*

yet ought not this *freedom* to allure them into so *high* and *familiar* a *Presumption*, as to *retaliate* the like again, Since *scorn* or *smart* proportionates not its acceptance to the extent of this *Innocency* and *good meaning* of the Subject that first gave the occasion, but the *Jealousie* of the Prince that received it. Such *accidents* though they may pass *current* during the short time of a *present commerce*, yet do not fail upon *Rumination*, and the *tincture*, *Enemies* are found to give all that may advance their *profit* or *malice*, to change the former superscription of *mirth* and impress of *Love*, into an inveterate *hatred* and thirst for *Revenge*. An *Instance* hereof appears in *William Earl of* Pembrook, *none of the least Obsequious Observers of the times*; who naturally or rather Customarily (since the former may be lyable to question) *abominating a Frog*, had one thrown into his *Neck* by *King James*: And did in requital cause a *Pig* (of an equal *disgust* with the same *Prince*) to be put under his *close-stool*: where though it produced no *extraordinary ill effect for the present*, *it being as usual* a thing with *his Majesty* to be *frighted*, as, *&c.* Yet after the *prank* (*Innocent* enough of it self) had been descanted upon, and the worst of *interpretations* made by some (The title of *Jews* being at that time usually given to the *Scots*) *the King was much affected with it*; and the more, because done at *Wilton* under the *Earls own roof*: It remaining always a Natural or Usurped *Prerogative in Princes*, if not of all in power, to *put their particular sense on the words and actions of inferiour persons*. Wherefore he that relates wholly to the *Honour* or *Friendship* of his *Prince*, had need of more *Patience* and *Circumspection* than doth ordinarily attend a *free birth*, or such as *remain galled* through any foreign *discontent* or *Anxiety*, which renders the Patient *touchy* and *unadvised*.

9. It

9. It is not prudence, through *contrary Counsel*, to *temper* over much in the *miscarriages* of *others* not relating to your own *Interest*, *especially* if absolutely flown beyond all recovery of *Prevention*: For, though, like *Physick*, it may appear *of wholesome Consequence* for the future, it remains at the present of *no good savour* to the *Party*: And renders the *sight* of him it is received from, *ungrateful*. Wherefore with *much caution*, *if at all* to be administred to *People* of *Quality*: who do not seldom instead of *doubling* their own *circumspection*, only place a stricter *watch* upon the *Informer*, in hope *to pay him* in the *same Coyn*, never currant but amongst those of *choice* and *candid* natures: *Counsel implying*, in most peoples Opinions, *an overprising your own Judgment*, *and debasing of others*. *Counsel to be given with caution.*

10. It is no less violation of *friendship*, than *Charity*, to *laugh* when another by accident falls into a *Mischance*; And hath proved, *in my experience*, the original of many *Quarrels*, and bred a *strangeness* between persons before very *Intimate* in Affection. Wherefore it ought to be refrained towards people of *mean quality*, lest *custom* should *render* it more difficult to abstain from it, if the same Fortune becomes the lot of a *greater man* or *dearer acquaintance*. As it fell out at the *new Lodge* by *Barnet*; where after a great Dinner, *King James* walking out, and something *neglected* by such as led him, stumbling at a *Mole-hill*, fell down, and mannaged his *Legs* after so ridiculous a posture as many of the company could not hold from *Laughter*: which his Majesty took so ill, as he called them *Traytors*, and protested *Revenge*; nor would he suffer any of them to take him up, till Mr. *John West* the Keeper, at whose house and charge the *entertainment* was, came, and by a witty conceit (of which he *To laugh at a mischance uncharitable.*

was full) fetched them off. Swearing *no good Subject could refrain to rejoyce at his Majesties activity, to see him so nimble, as to come over and over*: Now though this *Buffoonery* did for the present seem to compound for the real *folly* of the rest, that had seen and forgot many things the *Court* might have learned them; Yet *the King* did *Remember* some of them, as no well wishers to his continuance in being, but rather inclining to, *&c. To conclude*, if it was thought manners by our *Ancestors*, not to be covered whilst another *Sneezed*, it can be no *Charity* of *Discretion* to *laugh* when he is likely to *break his neck*.

To upbraid any with Natural defects uncivil.

11. It becomes not *Charity* no more than *Discretion*, to *Upbraid* others with such *Imperfections*, as may by *accident* fall to, or accompany People from their *Birth*: No more in the *Owners* power to help, than it lies in the *Scorners* ability to shield his own *person* or *issue* from falling into a like *Disaster*: *None being so precisely happy*, as not sooner or later, in their *Bodies*, *Minds*, *Families*, or *Estates*, to receive some blemish, if not an ugly *mulct* from the hand of *Fortune*; *to whose injuries the best men are subject during this Life.*

Especially with Bastardy.

But that which appears the highest Injustice is *the imputation of Bastardy*, in no Nation looked upon under so great a notion of *Reproach*, as amongst the *English*; Though for the most part recompensed with the richest *Indowments*. For if a *Fault*, it belongs *solely* to the *Parents*; wherefore the less discernable through what Organ of equity, *any more than an ordinary humane contamination should attach the Child.* Since the single *Security* of a *Wife* (of no great validity in other things) is the chief authentick proof we can produce for the *integrity* of these we esteem most *Legitimate*. From whence we may learn how to rate

rate their *Malice*, That missing of matter considerable to traduce *the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, rake in her *Birth* for the *Faults* (if capable to be called so) of her *Father*. Forgetting, no such thing as *Bastardy*, in relation to *plurality of Wives* and *Concubines*, can be allowed in Nature, without aspersing the *Patriarchs* and *people of God*; Wherefore the contrary *Custom* cannot be of validity enough to question the *Descent* of a *Prince*, whose *possession* of the *Crown* is not only sufficient to create a *Title*, but what *Ceremony* (in all things not diametrically opposite to the apparent dictates of God) shall be imposed upon the *Subject*. *Monarchs* themselves remaining discharged and uncapable of limitation by *Custom* or any *Law* that is but meerly *respective* to *Decency* and *Order*: so as *King James* and his *Son* though the *highest Indulgers* of the *Ecclesiastical Canons* and *Institutions*, Have often to my knowledge so far dispensed with the *legal hours* appointed for *Matrimony*, as to exchange them from *Morning* to *Night*: things meerly Complemental vanishing in the presence of the *supream Magistrate*. Nor was any thing in the most rigid opinion wanting to her *Legitimation*, but a *Dispensation*, *professed by all Historians*, *Signed*, *Sealed* and *sent* into *England*. Now though the *Pope* did retract it, out of reason of State, and dread of *Charles the fifth*, whose *Aunt Queen Catherine was*, I presume the *Holy Ghost*, under the protection of whom *his Holiness assumes the power of not erring*, *can in no mans Opinion be thought to repent the approving what none but an Impudent Malice is able to question*, *the Lawfulness of Kings* being in all places left to a greater *Liberty*, than *Subjects* may in a stricter Sense be lyable to. It remaining implorable to conjecture, that *Henry the eighth* should Repudiate so virtuous a *Lady* out of a less trivial desire than the obtaining the *Nations quiet*, and prevent *Civil war*; by

leaving behind him an *Heir of his body*. But to lay aside such bables; only considerable with *Children* and *Fools*, He had the *consent* of all uninterested *Divines*, beyond Seas, together with a considerable number of the most Learned in his own Church; from whom there is no natural, if just appeal to any but God, or an *Impartial Council*, a *Phœnix not likely to be found*, till the old *man of sin* be consumed, and *Our Saviour* in his own person become *Monarch of the whole Earth*. Thus when the *gall* of *interest* and *Malice* becomes mingled with *Ink*, it doth not only blot and disfigure the beauty of *Truth*, but the Honour of all Authors that endeavour to maintain it.

The issues not bearing the marks of their Ancestors, an ill ground of jealousie.

12. Some *Families* are noted of a *propensity* more to *Folly*, *Lust*, *Infelicity*, *Stammering*, *&c.* others to *Beauty*, *Temperance*, *Modesty*, *Probity*, *Hospitality*, with many respective mulcts and benevolences in nature. The Causes of which may be easier sought for, than found amongst the perfections and blemishes of *Ancestors*. Since the *Belly* being changed upon every *descent*, *it remains little probable* the *Burden* should retain the same marks from any more occult quality than *Imitation*. As may be guessed from an *honourable Family*, noted for *many Generations to Stutter*, and another that retained *a cast with their eyes*: Both which may in *my opinion* be attributed in more probability to the effects of an *ordinary Commerce than any quality inherent in their Nature*.

The longer than ordinary succession of *great Lips* observed in the *House of Austria*, cannot appear a Miracle to any that considers they have not, for many Ages, *Married* out of *their nearest Kindred*. I note this, not only to guard you from *Jealousie*, the most impertinent Devil Fancy can *be at any time haunted with*: But to prevent

vent falling into the common Error both of the Ancient and Modern *Philosphers*, that ground *Conclusions* upon bare report, or at best, *single experiments*, which exposeth them to easie Confutations: Manifest in *Pliny*, &c.

The multiplying of Crosses highly folly.

13. If it be the highest *advantage* deducible from the *Study* of *Philosophy*, *Calmly to bear the affronts of Fortune*, how can the depth of their *Indiscretion* be fathomed, that, *absolved from personal causes* of *Discontent*, extract the Spirit of *Anxiety* out of such *remote accidents*, as *Custom*, not *Nature* hath laid in the way of humane *felicity*, through which we become far more unadvised than *Beasts*. And amongst these many be numbred *the immoderate desire of, and care for Children*; in some so ridiculous and intemperate, as to let *themselves* and their *Families* (of which they are part) to want *all things* for *the present* (the only time we can call ours) out of hope to leave them something after their death: which doth prove as often *too much* as *too little*. Since through this *excess* (like an over proportion of *Bias* on a *Bowl*) they are led out of all care for *greater preferment*, or becoming better than at first they were left: who quite unacquainted with the *use* of *money*, are as far to seek how *to improve*, as decently to *spend* it. Yet in my apprehension, no *perturbation* bears the marks of a more ridiculous *folly* than lies patent in an impertinent *Jealousie*, in relation to *women*; no more able to ransom their *Repute* out of the hands of *Detraction*, than the *Patient* is to gratifie his *Curiosities* with a pleasanter *Recipe* than an apparent *Detection*. Thus, by snatching up *Negative* Evil we render our selves insensible of any *positive Good*: Like *Children*, who if dispossest or denied the *gauds* of *others*, will *in a peevish humour* throw away *their own*. Nor are we seldom cast into a *present trouble*, out of the contemplation of *Mischiefs not yet arrived*

As an immoderate desire of, or care for posterity.

Impertinent jealousie.

vived: *The things we fear resembling so far those we desire, that for the most part they seem greater at a distance, than nearer hand*: From whence the *Mind* may be judged as crazed and infirm as the *Body*, and no less afflicted with vapours. Nor are these *distempers* so frequent in vulgar and *empty heads*, as those stuffed with *Learning*; A meer *Drug*, and in this, like *Rhubarb*, *whose operations are far more effectual upon a slight infusion than taken in the Mass*; not seldom observed rather to *obstruct* than *open* the *Organs* of *Understanding*, which ought not to be crammed faster than she is able to *concoct*, nor kept in a *Coop* without taking the prospect of all worldly *experience*; A rude quantity of *Intricate notions* being apter to augment *Sail*, than *Ballast*: the major part of *Learning* appearing, like *Diamonds*, richer in *splendor*, than use: And cannot, alone, and unassisted by the *conversation* of all sorts of *Professions* measure out the true and Mathematical Latitude of earthly *felicity*, not prohibited *by*, though bounded *within* the compass of *reason*; In whose absence it is either lost in *excess*, or *smothered* in *restraint*, *flattered* into the first through *Voluptuousness*, and confined to the other by *Law* and *Education*: which make them to suspect all things *pleasant*, of *Sin*, wherein the contrary is more likely to be *natural*. Since a long running, others more indulged by *Policy*, are found to meet at the *same Market*, or a worse. And to draw us *with more ease* into the *Iron Traps* of *Infelicity* and *Restraint*, they bate them with the Scraps of a broken *hope* and childish *allurement*, that our *Fathers* were *caught* before us. Yet the wily *Priests*, quite discharged of the Lumber of a *Family*, and all Oppression incident to a *Secular life*, cannot but injoy the most *felicity*, vainly sought under any but *a free condition*, which all enjoy so far as they are *willing*, or left *able* by others to unconcern themselves of the *world*: which no pro-

protection can so totally perform as that of the *Roman Church*, in which like a *Cave* or *Grotto*, such of the *Ecclesiasticks* as are any way *superintendent* over others, are situated under as moderate an aspect during the *Sun-shine* of *prosperity*, as the *storms* of an *adverse fortune*; the *thunders* of *war* (I mean *till this sulphurous age*) seldom breaking out over their *Cells*. *But now* since the blood of the Saints together with their names are expunged the *Gates* and *Doors* of the *Sanctuary*, *Good works* have lost their *value*, and nothing more in esteem than *new Opinions*. Wherefore *since in the absence* of a protection from the *Altar*, nothing remains without able to secure us quite from the sense of *Oppression*, let us turn our endeavours towards such *remedies* as *Prudence* and *Philosophy* are found to prescribe us. And *according to our advice pack up our hopes and fears into as narrow a room as we can possibly, by which we shall render the last more portable, and the first less tedious.* And in reference to this, all *affections* beyond the degrees of a natural and compelled *Necessity*, or any thing likely to dilate them, are warily to be avoided, during the *best times*, as contrary to *felicity*; and in the *worst*, as obstructors of the ways to *evasion*. The most useful *knack* belonging to the *Engin* of *Life*.

14. No *vertues* deserve to be more indulged, both in our selves and others, than *Patience* and *Moderation*: The *first* being no less requisite to *arm* us against the open *Hostility* of *Fortune*, than the *other* to *guard* us from the *excesses* that do usually accrue to such as are placed in the gaudy *Pageant* of her favour: and therefore kept in compass with the greater difficulty, because bounded by no more foreign or external a *check* than the Party is able to give out of the strength of his own Judgement, prompted by an experience had of her *uncertain carriage*, whereas *ill Luck* (or to speak

Patience and moderation my necessary in humane life.

speak more Christian) *a seeming desertion of the benign way of Providence*, is rendred much the more *supportable* through an absolute *Necessity*, and so under an *unavoidable restraint*, rather *imposed* than voluntarily *submitted to*. The rarest precedent for Moderation I ever met with, was the last Bishop of *London*, who extracted by the Chymistry of this *Mountebank Deity*, and Alembecked through a number of great Mutations, from one of the meanest of *Vicars*, to the highest of *Treasurers*, was in none of them elated above the *Meridian* of the ground he first stood on, or did *debauch* through his miscarriage the dignity of any *place* he passed through: Nor did he suffer with *a more sullen brow*, the breaking of all the *Glasses* this pied *Goddess* had blown in his favour; but did after the *Curtains* were drawn, and the *Tragedy* acted, without any *visible reluctancy* turn his eyes towards the same Landskip of *Country pleasures*, he had as it were, *against his will*, been taken from. I have (dear Son) but named him, whom I esteem fit to be placed in your heart for the *best pattern of Moderation* I ever met with; as he might have remained for *patience*, had he not been *eclipsed* through the *far greater sufferings* of a *Person* more *splendid*, and no less *Miraculous* in this Vertue, as none can attest better than this *Prelate*, whose *Patron* he was.

Oeconomicks neglected the ruine of great families.

15. I find the *Oeconomicks*, though most useful to *Being*, the *least* esteemed with our *Gallants*: Looked upon by some as *trivial*, by others as *dishonourable* and *unbecoming a Masculine Employment*; yet a total *neglect* of *them* may be found in experience the *ruine* of the *greatest Families* in *England*, as *their* more exact prosecution keeps up mens *estates* in *Italy*; where the *Inhabitants* are celebrated as most generally *wise*, and therefore *not unfitly* proposed in this for *an universal pattern*, but where they border too near the confines of

penury

penury and *baseness*, most unbecoming the *Custom* and *plenty* of *England*; and where, *in this particular* (till the *Sword* received a *Commission* from God to *devour* all things good and *honourable* in the *Land*) our *Noblemen* equalled the *Princes*, and our *King* exceeded in *Hospitality* all the *Monarchs* in the known World: And might yet have done more, had the true Elements of *Thrift* been maintained in an equal proportion, by providing all things at the best hand, and making use of *Times* and *Seasons*; In which I confess so much as purely belongs to *Housewifry*, ought, if not in discretion, yet in reverence to Custom, to be left to *Women*, provided they own *abilities competent for the imployment*: which is yet sometimes so far contradicted by *Experience*, as the first *leak* of a *Husbands fortune* is found to rise in the *Kitchin*, and such *Rooms* as *a Man of quality* cannot decently *visit*. Nor is there a better way *extant* to obviate this falling into a *Hectick*, through such a *dysentery*, than by an equal *ballancing* all *weekly accounts*; never noted by *wisdom* any more blemish to Honour than to know how many *Horses* he keeps in the *Stable*, a place that cannot be denied to be made, by *Use* rather than *Reason*, more becoming his presence than the *Pastry* or *Larder*: Nor is the *Keeping* of a *regulated expence* (*magnified rather than decried in the highest Courts of Wisdom*) Neglected so much out of Scorn as defect, *Fathers*, *especially Rich ones*, being so far to learn themselves what is most fit their *Children* should be taught, as they keep them so long in their *Latine School*, till the time is lapsed most proper for Reading, and to make a perfect Accomptant: the most necessary part of the *Mathematicks*, and so much as cannot be in any commerce spared. It remaining indubitable, that none *so industrious* as to call himself to a *weekly*, or at least an *annual reckoning*, did *ever* through his own default *spend*

Arithmetick the most necessary part of Mathematicks.

an *Eſtate*. Whereas the want of this *firſt rudiment of Thrift*, hath within the compaſs of my experience, brought divers to a bit of *Bread*, and demoliſhed the *houſes* of the moſt *ancient Gentry of England*. Now if any deſire to underſtand how *our more illiterate Fathers* came to eſcape this Curſe; an Anſwer lies ready, That the greateſt part of their *Revenues* did conſiſt in *proviſions* of all ſorts, paid punctually at a *day*, and ſo eaſily *accounted* for and *remembred*. And this *abundance* they enjoyed, kept them pleaſed and in *friendſhip* with their *eſtates*, wanting neither *Company* nor *reſpect*; through which they became leſs liquorish after the glory and ſmall delights of *London*, and the *Court*: towards which they did ſeldom look, but upon conſtraint; having never taſted them in *youth*, as now they do, *the only time to controull an affection to any place or thing*. So as *that* we call the breeding of our *Gentry*, is the main Reaſon of their undoing: the glorious *aſpects* the *City* affords rendring the more ſolid *pleaſures of the Country* contemptible and diſtaſtful. And thus infatuated, from the hope *of a redemption* by an *Office* or *Wife*, they drop into an *Ocean* of *Debts*, between the *Scylla* and *Charybdis* of a *London* and *Country-Houſe*; which for want of *moderating their* expence (a thing *Arithmetick* is the readieſt, if not the only means to *Reform*) it becomes no leſs terrible to look upon in relation to *ſolitude* and *dilapidations*, than unſafe to abide in, for fear of the *Sheriff*. But however this may prove good counſel to *others*, it is of ſmall concernment to *you*; who I thank God, are of another temper and a more *Mathematical Education*.

Great wealth ſometimes a ſnare.

16. *Great wealth* is not ſeldom the birth-right of *Fools*, being for the moſt part a reſult of the *Fathers* *coveteouſneſs*: And therefore found more *eaſie* for ſuch *Heirs* to double, than to *expend* with *honour*, *decency*, and

and *moderation* ſo much of it as is fit to be allotted for *Hoſpitality*, out of vaſt *revenues*. The moſt likely reaſon why the *Families* of *Citizens* are conſumed through *Prodigality*, or bear *to poſterity* the marks of *baſeneſs*, becauſe unacquainted with the true Elements of *houſe keeping*; through an equal mixture and moderate temper of which, *Honour* comes to *be generated in the Opinion of the world*: There appearing as wide a Diſference (for the moſt part) bewixt a *Gentleman* of *blood*, and one of *Fortune*, as lies between the Confines of *Moderation and Exceſs*. From whence *it often chanceth* that *Mechanick wealth* doth become rather a *Misfortune* than a *Bleſſing*, by procuring not only Diſeaſes, but bringing *Bravoes* and *Trapanners* like *Drones* and *Waſps* into the *Houſes* of ſuch ignorant *Gallants*, as by reaſon of a *low breeding* are not able to apprehend what is convenient, or take the true height of their *acquaintance* and an exact ſurvey of what *Company* may with decency and ſafety be kept. From whence we may conclude it eaſier to attain *wealth*, than the *wiſdom* to *ſpend* it without tranſgreſſing the rules of *Moderation*, or falling upon the extremes of *baſeneſs* and *exceſs*.

17. Sad experience hath, amongſt others, left me this unqeſtioned Legacy, *That no Relation below a Father is to be confided in by Younger children.* The fear of having their *Jointure* queſtioned, Obliging a *partiality* in *Widows* towards their *firſt-born*; a *term* more pernicious to the Major part of *Mankind*, than the deſtruction of it might poſſible prove to the perſecutors and oppreſſors of the Children of God: Theſe *Gypſies* (found commonly Slaves to their Wives or Vices) and performing their task in this World under a richer Canopy of Honour than ſome of their *younger Brethren* ever ſtood near, have, beſides the Cruelties and unnatural burdens they lay upon them, through their power and

No relation beſides a Father to be confided in.

and a bare deception in *Law*, converted into *ſtubble* the *ſtraw* their more charitable *Fathers* left their *Brethren* to cover them withal. And for *Uncles*, &c. their eyes are ſo intent upon the ſplendor of the *Houſe*, as they overſee, out of fear or ambition, all but the *top-branch*, *commonly the weakeſt*.

But leſt *Intereſt* ſhould tranſport me into a general declamation againſt *the moſt Noble part of the Nation*, out of a particular experience of the *ill natures of ſome*. I ſhall conclude with an advice to put all younger *Children* to ſuch *courſes* as may protect them from undoing by the worſt of Heirs. It being unlikely the *Laws* of *England* ſhould ſtand *unbent* in their favour, ſo long as they remain the *major part* in all *Parliaments*, and have not throughly ſurveyed the ways to *Infelicity* and *ruine*. And for *Daughters*, they do not ſeldom prove miſerable through great portions; which cauſes *ſnares* to *be laid for them in every place*; they becoming the lot of *Serving-men*, or *Royſters*: or in caſe the *old Cloves* attains a more *honourable* deſign, though perhaps leſs *diſcreet*: (it not being a rarity in Cuſtom to ſee ſuch *deſpiſed*, and their *money* and *eſtates* ſpent to feed others more *acceptable*, though leſs rich.) A Lady thus created out of a *Daughter* (of theſe ordinary *Inſects* Generation) proving in the generality the moſt deſpicable animal breathing.

Great portions a ſnare to Daughters.

18. Nothing is expunged with more difficulty than the Lines *Cuſtom* and *Education* have formerly drawn in the *credulity* of *Youth*: which through a no leſs Indiſcreet than Imperceptible *Inſinuation*, renders all other *uſances* and *Opinions diſtaſtful*, and not ſeldom *Atheiſtical*, belonging to any *Climate* or *Inculcation* but that under which they had the fortune to be born; like *Parrots*, that only *applaud* themſelves, and in the mean time proclaim all others *Fools* or *Knaves*, upon

The Tyranny of Cuſtom a reſtraint of the progreſs of Knowledge.

on no more authentick *warrant*, than that *they have done it*, and *were taught so to do from their infancy*. A Habit resembling *Beauty*, which though but *Skin deep*, doth for the most part prevail against Reason her self: Taught by the generality (as Children do the *Bells*) to comply with the *Fancy*, and not the *Imagination* to submit to the real sense. Wherefore such *variety of Judgments* can be no *prodigy*, where *Truth and Falshood* are weighed at so *unsteady a Beam*. And if any thing could prove able to make good the advantage asserted to be found in *the wisdom of precedent Ages* above the *present*, I should rather seek it in the *restraint* and *confinement* the Tyranny of *Custom* keeps us under, than any *defect* in *ability*, or *poverty of Nature*; not observed to be more *prodigal* in *one Age* than *another*. Though confessed sometimes to make *Wisdom* and *Judgment* so *hineram*, as to pass from place to place; and may not unpossibly quit our Horizon, when it shall be again *Night* with *us*, and the same dismal *Cloud of Ignorance* impend *England*, as is now known to hover over those former elegant people of *Greece*. But if the *profit* of some, and *fear* of others be still able to manacle the *hands* and *shackle the feet* of such as are in pursuit after *Reason*, by *confining* them within that narrow compass of our *Ancestors* discoveries, how is it likely *this Generation* should equal the former, whose *cogitations* were freely *allowed* to expatiate in the wide fields of *Philosophy*, and to implead all things at the bar of *Reason*, thought guilty of *falshood* without giving *scandal* or receiving *blame*? Whereas the *Authors* of *these times* want not only their *rewards* and *impunity*, but lie under a severer *Censure* for vindicating some *probable truths*, than *they* were *exposed* to for all their mistakes: witness *Galilæus*, &c. To conclude, it is no more suitable to Prudence, for a man to *hazard* his

his *credit* for the *advancement* of others *knowledge*, than 'tis likely to improve them or satisfie himself by a bare *repetition* of what hath been said many hundred years since, though perhaps never believed till these latter and more credulous Ages had rendred it *vendible* under the protection of *Silence* or *Restraint*.

The Secrets of State not to be prostrated to Vulgar.

19. *Moon-eyed Horses*, whose light is said to increase or waine suitable to the flux or reflux of that *mad Planet*, *Blanch* and *stars* more by *Day* than *Night*; not out of any real *deformity* residing in the *Object*, but their *Sense*: which renders them of a far more *pernicious concernment*, *when they are able to lead, than kept under a capacity fit only to follow and obey*. And this is not meerly verified by experience in reference to *Schismaticks*, and the owners of *Fanatick Opinions* concerning *Religion*, but all *half-witted persons* else *from the Prince in the Throne to the Doctor in the Chair*. *Lukewarmness* being as *Nauseous* to *Policy* as *Religion*, and as likely to vomit out and defile the old and decent *government* of a *Kingdom* as a *Church*. In mistaking *Enthusiasms* for *Prophecies*, *Memory* for *Conscience*, and *Anger* for *Zeal*; by none *better understood* than the *Romans*, who to draw this popular Monster from approaching the *Arcana of State*, (not possibly to remain always in so serene a temper, and under such an exact discipline as may admit a through inspection of the Multitude without danger.) They never ceased feasting their *fancies* at home with *Spectacles of pleasure* (in some of which they placed *Religion*, catching with one bait, both the *prophane* and *superstitious*) and macerating abroad their *Martial humours* at the Conquest and expence of the *Barbarians* (as they in a no less high than false Arrogancy stiled all but themselves) gaining through the *Mediation* of *Stage-Plays* and *Gladiators* the same, if not a greater advantage than the *Grand Seignor* draws from a *multitude* of *Wives* and the unanimous

Stage Plays a good diversion of the people.

unanimous inculcation of his *Prieſts*: whereas the *Romans* never owned any *Profeſſion* of ſo inſinuating a temperas to cover *Hypocriſie*, nor any *Enthuſiaſms* (yet did all with an unanimous conſent acknowledge *God*) as were ever found to produce *Rebellion*, a ſin recorded by Truth it ſelf to be *worſe than witchcraft*, and therefore not unpoſſibly the cauſe why the *Devil* was ſo earneſt of old with the *Jews*, and *is now ſo buſie* with the *Chriſtians* to make them commit it:

The toleration of contrary opinions dangerous.

It is ordinary with *Cuſtom*, *Education*, and *Ignorance*, the *Three Grand Impoſtors* of the World, to face the peoples *Conſciences* with ſome ſpecious *pretence*, to *hoot* and *caſt ſtones* at every *Profeſſion*, but what practice hath rendred familiar to themſelves; whileſt the more intrinſick *knack* of the work intends ſolely *Honour*, *Profit*, and *Eaſe* of the *Magiſtracie*; The *Center*, towards which all things approved of, do by a Natural or Impulſive force, tend. It being unpoſſible the *Pope*, together with the *Friers*, &c. ſhould keep up the price of their *ſophiſticated wares*, daily uttered, were not the *paſſage* to *heaven* ſtraitned, and all other *ways* obſtructed but through *their Inſtitutes*: of which the *credit* would be much *impaired*, ſhould the *Proteſtants* tenets and theirs be thought indifferent. Nor is it more poſſible for a *Civil Magiſtrate* to carry the *Scepter* ſteady, where the winds of *contrary Doctrines* are obſerved to blow. From whence *it is become* not only the endeavour of *Rome*, but *Reaſon of State* to maintain thoſe *cuſtoms* that appear *uſeful*, as relating to *Salvation*, and under a no leſs imperious an injunction than the *Command of God*: yet not able to extend a *puniſhment* for a *breach* of them, beyond *Death*, the only prerogative of *our Maker*. Nor can *Magiſtracy in* prudence be blamed for promoting all means tending to *unity*, or *Subjects* commended that ſeek to *diſturb* them: who ought rather to conceal all *Opinions* contrary to that *generally confeſſed*,

confessed, or remove their persons to *other places* where they find them with more safety indulged, than by divulging them to kindle a contrary *zeal* in the people which in a small time *converts* into *Hypocrisie*, the demolisher of all things Humane and Divine; being able to promote, under the specious pretence of *the service of God*, the foulest ends *Covetousness*, *Malice*, or *Ambition* were ever found to point at. Wherefore all *distinctions are, or may be hereafter* thought *dangerous* in a State, to the several *Orders* of *Friers*, who though observed to agree amongst themselves, are in sharp contests with other *Covents* and *Fraternities*: So as *Christendom* may be wakened into an Admiration how *his Holiness* should pretend to an *Infallibility*, and not be able to decide *whether our Lady lay under the universal pollution, or was conceived and born immaculate*. The maintaining and controverting of which hath already wasted *Candle* and *Paper*, and may come one day to *Blood*, as the *Regulars* and *Jesuits* have hardly refrained from. Nor *need we* go to *Rome* for examples in this kind, since the truth of this is confirmed in the *Jars* arising between *Townsmen* and *Scholars*, one College and another; though under the *Institutes* of one and the same *Aristotle* and *Government*: which maturely considered, may serve to put the *best construction* on all we find of use in *Church* or *State*.

Excess in any thing, a portent of ruin.

21. There is an *extent* in *Wit*, *Learning*, *Civility*, *Honour*, and all other *Felicities*, no less than in *Conquest*; which neither *Greece*, *Rome*, *Goth*, *Vandal*, nor any other *Nation Person* or *Commonalty* delighting in *virtue*, or *Rapine*, were ever in any Age yet found able to exceed: The Reason that many did draw a *Calculation* for the late *Gustavus King of Swedens Fortune* from the *Lines* of his *success*, and the miraculous *dexterity* he used before he met with any considerable *Opposition*; Though not

not quite diveſted of *ſecond Cauſes*. The leaſt of which did not lie in the *Imperial Imprudence, where a demonſtration of a will* to *Inſlave* Germany *was diſcovered before proviſion was made of a Power likely to effect it*. The Reaſon ſuch as adhered to *Ceſar*, were no leſs *remiſs*, than thoſe that *oppoſed* him, *vigorous* in their *Proſecutions*. But in relation to that is at this time more current in my Fantaſie, All *extreams* whether in *virtue* or *Vice* may be reckoned as a *Portent* of the *ruin* of a *people*, and amongſt theſe an exceſs in *Learning* and *Hypocriſie*, the *reſults* of a too *high Indulged zeal* are the moſt *Vocal*, and do not ſeldom like *Caſtor* and *Pollux* appear mingled with the ſails upon the change of weather. Though the flames of *Superſtition* are in this more deſtructive than they meerly Natural and *Independent*, on any remoter cauſes than thoſe of *Obedience*, or more ſublimate than humane veſſels are able to contain without breaking into *Enthuſiaſms*, Becauſe found the moſt ordinary *Perſecutors of Shipwrack*. Nor is any think likelier to comply with the Cauſes of Ruine in this Nation than the vaſtneſs of *London*; which like the Liver of an *Italian Gooſe*, or a *Rotten Sheep*, weighs more than the *whole Nation*, and may not only come in probability *to ſtarve that, but ſuffocate it ſelf*.

22. A *vacuity* may with ſafety be concluded in that *Head*, whoſe *Body* and *Diſcourſe* is filled with too much *Affectation*. Such, through an *overmuch care* about their *Outſide* and *Words*, *proclaim* a *remiſſneſs* in what relates to the *Mind*; *It remaining equally rare*, to find a *ſtarched and Complemental Man wiſe*, as *a woman Valiant*: the moſt ſerious *Endeavours* of them both being to *captivate the ignorant Beholders*. And though this may paſs but for a *blemiſh* in *Youth*, it becomes an *Ugly deformity* in *Age*: *aſſerting* their *Opinion* who have formerly thought *Apes* to be of the extraction of *Cham*, or *Affectation a ſign of ſhallowneſs.*

or ſome other *By-blow* of *Human Generation*, by their too near *approaching* towards the nature of *women*: wherefore to be avoided as one of the higheſt exceſſes in *folly*. No *Mode* or *behaviour* appearing ſuitable to all Companies, but what is *Manly*, *Conſtant*, and *Reſolute*: Overmuch *Cringing* and *Complement* appearing in all Judgments, *unforeſtall'd by a like cuſtom*, no leſs *impertinent* than *tedious*, as intruding too far on *time* and *better Imployments*. Nor are the *French*, with whom theſe *Mimical geſtures* are moſt in *faſhion*, the better eſteemed amongſt *graver Nations*; who are rather found by reaſon of this *Levity*, to put a baſer alloy upon their greater *excellencies*, which thoſe converſant in their *Books* cannot but allow them: Amongſt which you may find reckoned in the number of *extravagancies*, all *Ceremonies* not eſſentially depending on *Civility*.

A ſole Academick Education renders men pedantick.

23. It is a Saying, no leſs general than true, That a meer Scholar becomes, through a *ſingular* and *Pedantick practice*, not far removed from *an abſolute*, &c. None being better able to man out and array with a *Motley* and *Pie bald carriage* (the *habit* of a *Fool*) than he that hath crouded together an unſorted *rabble* of all *Stuffs* and *Colours*. A rude *maſs of Reading* till it be throughly *fixed* and *concocted* in the *Sun-ſhine* of *Imployment*, becoming like *Atoms* ſo *volatile* and *unſetled*, as *for want* of an equal *mixture* of the more ſolid and neceſſary *Elements* of *Prudence* they *juſtle* and *whirl* up and down, without incorporating any thing but *air*: *occaſioning* through a too great *doſe* of *Mercury*, rather *Palſies* than any *ſteadineſs* in the *Underſtanding*, by rendring it more *bold* than *rational*: Like *children*, who *confident* of their perfect skill in the *Game*, before Experience hath taught them how to *ſhuffle* and *deal* the *Cards*, or lay them down in order, advance little but the

the *ſcorn* of *Standers by*, to ſee a *Courtier* kept out, and a *mean trump* foiſted in, where the beſt is required: Manifeſt through all they either *ſpeak* or *write*, to their *private Epiſtles*, in which for want of an exact meaſuring *perſons* and *degrees*, they accoſt all to the *Butler* and *Landreſs* in one and the *ſame Stile*: or if *poſſibly changed*, it is in more *tedious* and *Impertinent expreſſions* to *their betters*; in relation to whom *Courtſhip* requires the moſt reſerved *Brevity* can be found on the outſide of *Ambignous Obſcurity*. Nor can this be laid to the charge of *true Learning*, the *Nurſe* of *Underſtanding*, But the *long time* ſpent before they be *weaned* from the *breaſts* of the *Univerſities*, and put into *Commerce*; the only means of attaining *ſtrength* and *ability* to *judge* what is fit to be retained, and what to be *neglected*, ſutable to the *Courſe*, Fortune or Neceſſity hath allotted for a future *ſubſiſtence*: unpoſſibly to be gained under ſuch a *narrow Erudition* as *Cambridge* or *Oxford* affords: which like *Stonage*, the *Pyramids*, and other *Rarities*, may be well worth a *viſit*, but not to be made *Habitations* or places of abode. It not *reſiding* in the power of any *Tutorage* to inculcate a *wiſdom* beyond the extent of its own knowledge, and the ability it hath to back its *Rudiments*, by viſible *experience one example* prevailing more upon the *Memory*, than *ten Rules*; and one that is for the *preſent to be ſeen*, than twenty found in *Old Authors*, not *poſſible to quadrate with all times and occaſions*. Nor is there made generally ſuch choice of *Tutors* as are able to diſtinguiſh what is fit to be taught to every reſpective *Pupil*, in relation to his *propenſity*, and the future *Employment* he is likely to have in the *State*, but do infuſe *one and the ſame rudiments* into all in general; as if the world had uſe of no more tools but one. Which minds me of a laudable and more improving way for knowledge, practiſed in my time by ſome of the *Peerage*, that obtained leave for their *Sons* to ſtand by the *Chair of*

State, and hear all the *debates* in the *House of Lords*. And if the ſame *were continued* and ſuffered amongſt the *Commons*, it might be a greater improvement than can be found in obſerving the unmannerly and inſignificant diſtempers in the *Schools*, &c. To which I ſhall only add that Mr. *Hampden*, Mr. *Pim*, &c. were reſident in all *Parliaments*, their age gave them *opportunity to aſſiſt in*; whoſe higheſt *excellencies*, ſo far as my poor Judgement can extend, lay rather in *timing their deſigns* and *concealing their paſſions*, than in any more prodigious advantage they had of other men. Nor are there any qualities more eſſential than theſe to a *Politician*, nor leſs Indulged amongſt *Scholars*; who, out of a ſtrong preſumption of *what they have not*, fall into a manifeſt demonſtration of *that they* really want.

An univerſal inſpection into ſciences moſt becoming a Gentleman.

24. It is recorded of *Solomon*, that *God had given him a large Heart*, through which he became univerſally *knowing* from the *moſt deſpicable Herb*, to the higheſt *Cedar*, and deepeſt *Secret* in *Nature* (then) under *knowledge*. Which might ſerve to anſwer their *Curioſity*, who think they have done ſomething towards the confutation of this *aſſertion of his wiſdom*, when they find his *ſayings* parallel'd in other *Authors*: Since it is a ſufficient manifeſtation of *Gods extraordinary Grace* upon him, that we are aſſured from his own *writings*, no leſs than from the teſtimony of the *Sacred Scriptures*, that part of the whole maſs of *Human Learning* lay included in his Perſon; and ſo, if equalled in *one indowment*, he was not exceeded by any ſingle Individual in the *general Knowledge* of *all*. And as this appears by the *Donor*, to be none of the ſmalleſt *gifts*, no leſs than in the eſtimation of *Solomon* that did aſk it, ſo may we ſtrongly preſume that *an univerſal inſpection* is the moſt becoming quality a *Gentleman* (unfixed in a ſetled calling) can beſtow his *indeavours upon*. And my me-

mory

mory neither doth nor (I believe poſſible ever) can direct me towards an *example* more ſplendid in this kind, than the *Lord Bacon Earl* of St. *Albans*, who in all *companies did appear* a good *Proficient*, if not a *Maſter* in thoſe *Arts* entertained for the Subject of every ones *diſcourſe*. So as I dare maintain, without the leaſt affectation of *Flattery* or *Hyperbole*, That his moſt *caſual talk* deſerveth to be *written*, As I have been told his *firſt* or *fouleſt Copys* required no great *Labour* to render them competent for the niceſt judgements. A high *perfection*, attainable only by *uſe*, and *treating with every man* in his reſpective *profeſſion*, and what he was moſt vers'd in. So as I have heard him entertain a *Country Lord* in the proper *terms* relating to *Hawks* and *Dogs*, And at another time out-Cant a *London Chirurgeon*. Thus he did not only *learn* himſelf, but *gratifie* ſuch as taught him; who looked upon their *Callings* as honoured through *his Notice*; Nor did an eaſie falling into *Arguments* (not unjuſtly taken for a *blemiſh* in the *moſt*) appear leſs than an *ornament* in *Him*: The ears of the hearers receiving more *gratification*, than trouble; And (ſo) no leſs *ſorry* when he came to *conclude*, than *diſpleaſed* with any did *interrupt* him. Now this *general Knowledge* he had in all things, *husbanded by his wit*, and dignifi'd by ſo *Majeſtical* a *carriage* he was known to own, ſtrook ſuch an awful *reverence* in thoſe he *queſtion'd*, that they durſt not *conceal* the moſt *intrinſick* part of their *Myſteries* from him, for fear of appearing *Ignorant*, or *Saucy*. All which rendred him no leſs *Neceſſary*, than *admirable* at the *Council Table*, where in reference to *Impoſitions*, *Monopolies*, &c. the meaneſt *Manufactures* were an uſual Argument: And, as I have heard, did in this *Baffle the Earl of Middleſex*, that was born and bred a *Citizen*, &c. Yet without any great (if at all) interrupting his other *Studies*, as is not hard to be imagined of a quick *Apprehenſion*, in which he was *Admirable*.

Great libraries most for pomp than use.

25. It is a wonder to see the publick and private *Libraries* extant almost every where: yet upon an *impartial* search into their worth, Most of the *Books* they contain will appear like *salt* that hath lost its *savour*, fitter for the *Dunghill*, than the *Stalls* they fill; where they abide an unnecessary *Lumber* in the *Houses of Scholars*. The *Ore they afford* not coming to any more *profitable* account, after the time required to separate the dross is reckoned for, besides a *broken stile*, which they do *insensibly obtrude* upon the *neatest wits* and *accutest Judgements*, Through the *meanness* of their expressions and *invalidity* of their *Proofs*, commonly no other than a *vain repetition* of such *Authors Sentences* and *names* as did own the *Thing* or *Opinion* they indeavour at that instant to make good. As if it were Reason Imperative enough to *lead* us *on*, *because such as they* can be found to have *gone before*: Though God hath made all *Times alike*, and more capable of *Improvement* than *decay*: The contrary of which would redound as *little* to *his Honor*, as *ours*. If the *Languages* now in ordinary use, which are but the *Paint* of *Books*, be not so *Elegant*, as other *Tongues* more *antient* (a question, that in reference to some of our *Neighbour Nations* may admit of a disputation) whose fault is it, but theirs, that instead of *Imbellishing* do *corrupt* and *adulterate* them quite, by a *dialect* as unsutable to the *understandings* as the *Mouths* of the *Inhabitants*: contrary to the use of the wiser *Italian* and *French*, that explode all *words* they find *rough* upon the *palat*: Abominating no less those that savour too much of the *Schools*, than such as retain the *Barbarism* of the *Country*: and are by this means able to pick out the *Kernel* in all *Learning*, without the assistance of any other *tongue* but their Mothers. The Canting terms of *Arts* being natural to them, as they might be in *English*, But that the *Academies* dare not *permit it*, out of fear to become *Beggers themselves*. The cure of Ignorance being far

far more ready and easie than our *Empericks* make it, and sooner obtained through the open air and daily *exercise* of *Experience*, than the *confinement* to a *Study* under a *set form* of *Erudition*, &c. For my own particular, as *History* hath been the *chiefest* of my *Imployment*, so I shall extend no censure beyond what I have *found*, which is so *little* of *certainty*, as I rest quite unsatisfied, especially where many do relate to one and the same time. A *Cloud of witnesses* by reason of their manifest clashings and contradictions, rather *darkening*, than *clearing* the ways of *truth*: so as we cannot credit *Books in matter* of *fact*, farther than they relate to *names*, which is an useless sound to those that never did converse with the *persons*: Yet are in this so far to seek, as to leave us divers *founders* for *one* and the same *City*, and as many *Citys* for the *Birth* of one and the same *Man*. The *original* of People, if not *of all things else* being rendred as *questionable*, as their *wars* and *conquests*, which like *stories* in *Hangings*, shew *fair* and *legible* towards *that Nation* the *Historian* designs to adorn: but if *examined on the other side*, there's nothing appears but *ends* and contrary *figures* or *expressions*: The *records* of *one Country* receiving a strong *Contradiction* from those of the *next*, and if *Authors* be never so little numerous, from some of *her own*. Wherefore the bright Rays of *honour*, that do now adorn the heads of *Greece* and *Rome*, have rather resulted from their *Pens* than their *Swords*, and a *felicity* they had in being only able to *Magnifie* themselves to *Posterity*: And that *humane relations* intend more the satisfaction of *particular Interests*, than that of *Truth*; may be guessed by any that have but marked the *Occurrences* of our Days, where the same *Press*, if not the same *Pen*, was often found to contradict it self. Nor have we reason to imagine the *Antients* more candid in their *recitements* of *Natural* and *Contingent*, *events*, since we find them so *Romantick* and *Hyperbolical*

Great uncertainty in History.

in thoſe they took for *Miraculous*, which might not unpoſſibly be no more than *Natural*, though they were unable to aſſign them their *true cauſe*; all Nations being at their *beginning* under as thick a vail of *Ignorance*, as the Innocent *Indians* are found to lie now. Who did *regiſter in their belief*, the *Armed Spaniards* for *Angels*, and the *Prognoſtication* of an *Eclipſe* for a high *prophecy*: So as no Rational man will queſtion, but if theſe people had expel'd by force their *glorious Invaders*, before *true Information* had of their condition, *Tradition* would have delivered them to poſterity in the ſame *Characters* and *ſhapes* their firſt abuſed *Imaginations* had caſt them *in*. Wherefore ſuch *Miraculous Concluſions* relating in *Hiſtory* to reſpective *places*, *Perſons* and *Times* are ſubject to *queſtion*, unleſs *warranted* by a more *Authentick Atteſtation* than what is *Humane*: It being *a certain ſign* of a jugler, *not to be able or willing to do one and the ſame thing often, and in diverſe places, and before ſundry witneſſes*. Nor is the vaſt *difference* almoſt everywhere obſervable in *Chronology*, a ſmall obſtruction to an *Hiſtorical Faith*: it being much eaſier to know the certain *time* when a *battle* was fought, than every *accident* happenable in the *Field*, or *circumſtance* attending a *Miracle*; through which *the firſt* may appear the *leſs honourable*, and *the latter* the *more Natural*. The *effects* of *a Confederated Company* and prepared to *deceive*, lying obnoxious to no other *diſcovery*, than what the *whip* or their own more Ingenious *Confeſſion* hath power to extort. Nor are *Authors*, otherwiſe creditable, barren of unlikely *Productions*, which leave the *verity* of the reſt in *queſtion*; witneſs *Livy*, *Herodotus*, *Joſephus*, &c. amongſt the *Heathen*, without reckoning *Euſebius*, *Socrates*, and other *Writers* relating to the *Church*: The which whoſoever reads, may find cauſe enough to think they took up moſt of the *wonders recorded* by them upon the *credit* of ſuch *reporters*, as might,

might, not unpossibly, have abused *them* as much, as they are found the *misleaders* of *Posterity*. Wherefore *Historians* ought not to be over luxurious in their Narrations of *Improbable things*, but rather to imitate the *Candor* of the *Jew* formerly mentioned, who leaves his *Reader* to a *free* choice of that he thinks fit to reject or receive, in his *History* of the *people of God*.

For, though the *attestation* of *so many Pens* may authorize a *belief*, that there was once *such a Man* as *Alexander*: Yet double their number would hardly perswade a *Prudent Reader*, that he *Conquered the whole world*, or that *he perfumed all places with his sweat*, together with the *old wives tales* written of *Bucephalus*, in which *he* appears little less *rational*, than *themselves*. And this we *carefully hoard up*, with a huge mass of *waste paper*, which contains no richer *Legacy* than that of our *Forefathers Ignorance* and *Credulity*. Yet a Generation is still in being, that do not only *plead the causes* of such *Improbabilities*, but *Anathematize* for *Infidels* all that cannot admit them a room *in possibility*: Not considering, that as strong a *delusion* might darken the apprehensions of those that *convey'd* them to us, as doth yet appear in such, that (notwithstanding our *clearer light*) keep them still in *credit* with the world. Now if it be not a *Prodigy* to find *Belief* abused in *Gross*, as it was when two *Armys* were *routed*, the one by an *Host* of *Thistles*, the other through the *dust* of a *Drove* of *Cattle* coming to *Victual the Camp*, why may we not imagine a far greater *paucity* of *witnesses* lyable to a like *fascination*? *a few* being more *obnoxious* to *deception*, than *Many*; *Fear* having, in all Ages, retained a power to stamp upon the *Fantasy* what *Figures* she pleases. This may advise you not to follow *History* beyond the *Pillars* of *Possibility*: No more than to count *Controversie* binding, but *where she leaves no room for Reply*.

Iron of greater use than gold, and manufacture than learning.

26. *Iron* is of more *use* to *Man*, than *Gold*, though ordinary for *pride* to *rate it* and *Jewels* at a higher price; The greatest *Riches of Princes* consisting in that which (like *Honour*) is no other ways beneficial to *commerce*, but as it is prised by *Opinion*: So *Labour* and *Manufactures* have been, in all *Happy Commonwealths*, *looked upon* as far more *Necessary*, than *Learning*. Under the notion of which all things deserved no better title, than those of *Splendid Imperiencies*, that do nothing a reall advantage to *Commerce*. Heretofore *neglected* in *England*, as it is yet in other places; where through an *excess* of *Ecclesiasticks* the Church becomes more *Populous* than the *temporalty*: whose *wealth* and *Splendor* cannot long be wanting to raise so great a Cloud of *Jealousie*, and *covetousness* in the *Lay power*, as they may not *unpossibly* be *immerged* in *Envy* and *Confusion*, the *Cords* or *Legaments* of *Religion* having been, in these latter Ages, much *slacked* no less than *enervated* through *Disputations*, and the immense *charge* the *Laity* are, through their *Incroachements*, daily exposed to. Sutable to a *Story* of wife *Gondamar*, who urged by *King James* to relate the *intrinsick* cause of the *D.* of *Lerma's* declension, from the most potent *Favourite* his Catholick Majesty ever rais'd, to a *condition* so *deplorable*, as little if any thing was left, besides a *Cardinals Cap*, able to shrowd his head from the, *&c.* Made him this Metaphorical Parable, *That two* Rats *having tempted their Fortune in pursuit* of Livelihood *and* honour, *fell upon a* house *of no less* receipt, *than* plenty *of all* Provisions; *where for many years they lived in the greatest* sensuality *their wills or wishes could prompt them to desire*: *Till overcome by an* ambitious *thirst of* advancing *together with* themselves, *all could pretend to their* Alliance *or* Friendship, *so much* spoil *was committed, as did Alarum the whole* Family, *and they becoming thus Numerous, had* Traps *and* Poison *laid for them in every place.* The like disaster

diſaſter may not *impoſſibly* impend ſuch *Academies* as teach meer ſpeculative and uſeleſs conjectures, not capable of fixation under any *Theories*, which with *Hawking* and *Hunting*, may better become the Gentry, than the *Sons* of the *Mens*; whoſe *heads*, like drink, it doth Intoxicate with *flatulent* and *Inſignificant vapors*, for want of money and means to eſtate them in *experience*: without which, *Learning*, is of no more advantage to the *Profeſſor*, than a *Pearl* to a *Dunghill-Cock*, or a *Ring* in a *ſwines Snout*: *wiſdom* being a *Lady* of too high a *ſtrain* for any *baſe Converſe*, or *Idle Company*, it being far more *natural* for good parts to plot miſchief than ſtand ſtill. From whence I conclude, that all receiving benefit from any *Foundation*, ſhould be tied to follow ſome *calling* or other, and not to live upon a bare hope an *Univerſity* may in time advance them to.

27. Such a *poetical Perſecution* as *Ovid* raiſed againſt *Cadmus*, the Founder of *Letters* (feigned by him to have put the *Gods* and *Men* into a *Diſaray*) may *admit* of a *Moral* equal with an *Hiſtorical* no leſs than *experimented Truth*: Since a too univerſally dilated *Learning* hath been found upon trial, in all Ages, no faſt friend either to *policy* or *Religion*; being no leſs ready to *diſcover Blemiſhes* in the one, than *Incongruities* in the *other*. *Sophiſters* like the *Cantons* of the *Swiſs*, becoming willing upon the leaſt apprehenſion of *advantage*, to plant the ſame *Engins* and *weapons* againſt the *wrong ſide* as the *right*, And not ſeldom with as good *ſucceſs*. Moſt of the *Hereticks*, Anathematized of old, having been obſerved to lay the foundation of their *Schiſms* in *diſcontent* for the loſs of ſome *Church Preferment* denied them from *their own*, or to gain a greater offered by ſome *other*. Thus we ſee that *Riches* and *Honour* have ever been and will ſtill continue, the *corner-ſtones* of the *Devils Chapel*: wherefore *Learning makes men famous.*

moſt

moſt *men*, no leſs than *places* render themſelves obnoxious to the brand of *Hypocriſie*, where *theſe* are found *too earneſtly proſecuted*: not poſſible to be avoided, but by affording the *Clergy* ſo much *honour* and *riches*, as may guard them from *contempt* and the opinion of *covetouſneſs*, (which are meer reſults of *neceſſity*) and too mean a rate for ſo high a *Calling*, and uſeful both to *this life* and a *better*, no leſs than all ſorts of *Governours*, is ſet at; though not able to *ſubſiſt* without them, or be *victorious*. The *Trumpets* not proving ſo prevalent before *Aye* in the hands of the *Souldiers*, as the poor deſpicable *Rams horns* blown by the Prieſts.

28. Do not through a *too rigid and obſtinate Obſervation*, convert *Virtue* into *Vice*, or render it more *unſociable*, than in *Reaſon*, *Nature* and *Civility* it ought to be: As ſuch blunt and ill Tutor'd people often are *found to do*, who, to wave *Flattery*, fall into *Incivilitie*, and to avoid *Pride*, into *Baſeneſs*. *Religion* no leſs than *Honour* admitting a general and politick *Complyance* with all *Humours* ſo far as *Manners* extend. It having been the guiſe both of *Prophets* and *Patriarchs*, rather to *ſweeten* with a *complacential carriage* than *exaſperate* through a *reproof* ſuch as they knew out of the *Pale of the Church*: *Truth* not being at all times in caſe to be ſhown without the *ornaments of Courtſhip*, nor people in a condition to *entertain it*. *Tough* and *downright humours* gaining more *favour* from *Plebeians* than *Perſons of quality*; the *Market-place*, than the *Court*, towards which it is no leſs Lawful than expedient to turn your eyes in all things meerly indifferent, as *the higheſt promoter of Honour*.

Moderation and complyance deliver out of great Straights.

29. When you find your ſelf *ſtrike* upon the *Rock* of *danger*, or *Moored* in an *Inconvenience*, caſt *Obſtinacy over board*, And call *Wiſdom* to the *Helm*, which, with

with the help of *Moderation* and *Complyance*, do always keep an *Errour* from growing worſe, if not *expunge* it quite. Nor doth the want of theſe *applications* ſeldom cauſe *Fools* to make *ſhipwrack* of all; whilſt *Prudence* by *tacking about* and recovering *Wind* and *Tide*, doth at worſt but *leſſen their Fraight*. To conclude, *wilfulneſs* like *Jonas*, *raiſeth ſtorms* and contrary *billows*, againſt all perſons and Fortunes where ever it commands.

30. Though taken in the world for *an Honour to be conſtant to your firſt Poſt*: Yet in caſe of *Weakneſs*, *Convillion*, or *Defect*, it may be no *Imprudence*, any more than a mark of *Levity to deſert it*. All *Aſſurances*, to that of a *voluntary*, and ſo the moſt *Sacred Oath*, being bounded within the compaſs of things *Poſſible*: of which *Wiſdom* doth ordinarily make *Probability* the Judge; yet in my Opinion not *Infallible* but in the company of *Conſcience*: who ſhould be an imperfect witneſs, could ſhe not as juſtly acquit as condemn: And with whoſe conſent it is no more crime to *change*, than to *follow* your *Guide*, or become leſs *fooliſh* and *intemperate* upon the ſight of a *Miſchief*, than before *experience* had marked it for ſuch. *Self preſervation* being *the firſt and ſtrongeſt Principle in Nature*; and ſo not to be neglected but upon the ſcore of *God's honour or vindication of an unqueſtionable Truth*.

31. It is not always ſafe, to be found a *ſtep*, by which another hath mounted himſelf into the unſteady *Chariot* of *honour*: leſt his *foot ſlipping*, your *fall* ſhould become a neceſſary *conſequence* of *his*, or *prove* ſo foul in the opinion of ſuch enemies as new beginners do ordinarily contract, as will render you irreconcilable to *the other ſide*, which may not *improbably* prove no leſs auſpicious to you and your Fortunes. *To be too ſtirrup of another's preferment, dangerous.*

Ingrati-

Ingratitude remaining not only useful, but necessary to those in power: Upon the *Contemplation* of *Policy* no less than *Thrift untried Gamesters* being ever in most credit with such as have a *new Game* to play. Nor is it usual with men after their *assumption* into *dignity* to hate those did place them there.

Annual Magistracies too short for great reformations.

32. More *Prudence is* required in the Administration of a *temporary* or *annual power*, than one of longer continuance: because an *over remisness* is as likely to question his repute amongst *Strangers*, as too *rigid a prosecution* to abate his estimation in relation to his *Friends*. For though such a *time* may be *long* enough to *produce errors*, it is far too *short* to perfect a *Reformation*. Wherefore no bad advice, to follow all *Patterns*, that appear *Indifferent*, though none of the *best*, and such *paths* as are beaten by *experience*, rather than seek *new*: as I have known many to the loss of themselves and their *fame*, when they came to mingle again amongst the *Society*, and were reduced to an equal *parity* with the rest. For he that is really able to *mend* a *Government*, will *undoubtedly be more advised* than to perplex so *short* a *Magistracy* with what there can be no room found to bring about, but by *exposing* the *Jurisdiction*, no less than your own *Credit* to a dearer experiment and greater hazard than a *Reformation* (never quadrating with all *Interests*) is *at the best* able to give caution for. From whence it may be concluded *greater Prudence to follow than lead*: Yet under such a Management as no hand may appear to act above board but your *own*. Not to wade farther in this *shallow Honour*, which whosoever carrys under an *elated Neck*, cannot but appear to own a *narrow heart*, no less than a *mean Birth* and *sordid Education*: And so a *year* may be too long (for such a *Beast to abide in honour*) whereas a Man of desert cannot but think the time too short for to produce

duce any considerable *change* either in matter of Form: Though I could instance many that have lost more *Reputation* and *friends* during an *Annual Preferment*, than they were ever after able to regain.

33. All *Complexions* and *Natures* are not competent for to be imploy'd as *Embassadors*: some lying at *too open a Guard* in their *Discourse*; a fault incident to *free people* and persons not bred under *restraint*. Others, of a *faculty retentive enough* in relation to *Taciturnity*, are not able to keep the *intentions* of their Hearts from flying into their *Looks* (*which* by the way a *publick Minister is to regard more than words*) Masters of their *Tongues* being not seldom betray'd to a full *discovery* by their *Blood*; which the *shame* of *Lying* or some one *passion* or other *pumps* up, for want it may be of an *Impudence*, none, but those *wickedly bred* from their *Cradle*, are capable of. The reason *Swarthy persons* and people bordering upon the *Sun* are more apt for *Negotiation*, than the *Ruddy English*; Famed for *Fine Force*, rather than *Circumvention the busiuess of an Embassador*. Nor shall posterity befriend *Truth*, if they think it any great Hyperbole in those that maintain what *Gondamor* the *Spanish Agent* writ unto his *Prince*, which was, That *King James his most intrinsick desires were Legible in his Countenance*. Wherefore his manner was, first to *disturb* his *Passions*, and after to *appease* them by some facetious *Drollery*, before he imbarked himself in what he intended to make the Imployment of the present *Audience*: Being, in my *Opinion*, a more perfect *pattern* for all *Ministers* of *State* (which *in little* ought to practise what *Machiavel* adviseth *in gross*) than *Cæsar Borgia* prescribed for the *Mirror of Princes*: who out of *Design*, or not *provided of better*, did usually in his private *visits*, and *Audiences* with *King James* speak

Whose discourse or Countenance betrays their mind, unfit for Embassadors.

false

false Latine; For which he had such dexterous *evasions*, as *his Majesty* could by no means make so good use of what was *more congruous*. It remaining always in his power to alter the *Times* and *Cases* of his *words*, an *advantage* no *Interpreter* could *possibly afford*. Nor can Indeavour be misspent in making a farther inspection into *the Life of this incomparable Agent*, which I confess my self unable to do: Though, in my own vindication, I can say he was *Tall*, as I have observed a number to be in these days very wise, and on the contrary, *not many Fools, of an extraordinary stature*: By which is given a real confutation to that *common error*, no ways authorized from any Reason or Experience, That *the Faculties of the mind cannot be so active in vast bodies, as little*; provided they be not suffocated by *Fat*, but, like *His, straight* and *meager*. Though I have found *Subtilty*, which is *a more base and sly kind of wisdom*, very frequent in small and crooked bodies, which the proper people do, in a greater *gallantry* of Nature, scorn. *Gondamor* did, in all *companies* as well as the *Kings*, incline more to *Mirth*, than *Melancholly*; choosing rather to *conceal*, than demonstrate the *Wisdom* and *Arts* by which he brought about *his Masters Designs*; no less to the *shame* of the *English*, &c. than *honour* of his own *dexterity*: Who was much wronged at his return into *Spain*, if he made use of all the *advantages his Nations Prudence* and *our remisness* afforded him. But to what my knowledge was more perfect in, he had *so quick a wit* as he was able to vindicate himself in his greatest *Imperfections*; Not wanting spirit to tell *King James*, when he upbraided him with his *Latine*, That *he himself spake like a* Prince, *free and unconfined*; *his Majesty like a* Grammarian, *as if afraid of the Ferula*. Yet the *excellency* of *his parts*, could not shroud him from the *Spanish Ingratitude*, which for many Ages hath been observed to *impeach* the *greatest desert*; for after the

Prince

Prince of Wales safe *return*, whose *restraint* he did in the *opinion* of the *Conde Olivares* too *strongly oppose*, he fell into *disgrace*, and was, with his *Son*, most Cruelly *cast by*; Being if a *Papist*, no rigid one, as may appear by many of his *Stories*: amongst which this is one, he told upon some question he was asked concerning *Intercession*. *The Picture of* our Lady *being observed to weep*, (an ordinary deceit used by the *Friers* to wring money from the Ignorant) *the Neighbourhood where it happened, became much troubled, as esteeming it a bad Omen for the future*: *Nor were the Church-men backward to foment this fear, Though strongly opposed by an exceeding old man in the Village, that did maintain it was unlikely to be so; Who upon this was convented, and did as stifly before the* Fathers of the Inquisition *justifie what he formerly had said*: *And being by them demanded how he came to be so well acquainted with* the Mother of God, *he reply'd, he knew every inch of her, as having been then the Premice of the Joyner that set her up*; *And by his appointment had bored a hole in her back side with his biggest Auger, a hand deep*: *From whence he concluded that if ever she could have wept, it would have been then.*

To end with *Embassadours*, where I began, it is an *Imployment* more suitable to the *Prudence* than *Candor* of a *free Spirit*; conformable to an *excuse* of an *Honourable Person* I did once know, who chosen to this *Office*, rather in relation to the greatness of his *Estate*, than *Love of the King*; answered, *he could not undertake it without ruining his Majesties affairs, for want of Impudence, and his own, through the greatness of the expence.*

34. Such as are exact Observers of the proceedings of *Nature*, find her not so bountiful in her *distributions*, as to accumulate all her *rich endowments* on *one* and the *same Individual*: So as many can *write well*, who *by reason* of too great a confluence of *words* and *Matter*

Nature endows no individual with all perfection.

Matter, or for want of *Confidence*, (through which their *tongues*, no less than their other *Organs*, become *shackled* and *Paralytick*,) are rendred *unintelligible*, and so *Impertinent Speakers*, whereas others, owning no mean perfection in both these, appear upon trial nobody at *Transaction*, The highest effect of *Prudence*: Though the *two first* for the most part run away with the *Applause*; Because the latter is a *milder temper*, and not so able to *rant* out her own *commendations*, yet deserves best to be indulged by *Princes*, as being indeed the greatest *rarity* in these *Northern Climates*, not yet famed for much excellency in *Negotiation*: For want of which and *secrecy* (*the Seal of Policy*) great affairs have miscarried in my time, Though under the conduct of Persons in other capacities not unuseful, especially those of *writing* and *Speaking*, qualities yet more apt to *raise broils*, than able to *compose* them: which is indeed an *Employment* for more *steady heads*, and such as from their Child-hood, have learned to *Barter* and *contest*.

Ministers of State ought sometime to render their Sense ambiguous.

35. Though to *write* and *speak* intelligible to the *weakest capacity*, be very commendable, yet a *Minister of State* ought to be able, by making such *Parentheses in his Art*, and leaving out *Points*, *Comma's*, &c. to render the *Sense Ambiguous*, where the farthest extent of benefit or loss in a *Negotiation* cannot yet be perfectly *Discovered*, upon which a *denial*, *excuse*, or farther *debate* may be made use of: not so easily done in a *Tongue* universally understood as *Latine* seems to be. The ordinary imploying of which in all or the most things treated about, amongst *Neighbours*, may help to discover a reason, why *England*, and all other *Nations* esteemed *North*, are so frequently over-reached by *Spain*, *Italy*, *France*, &c. That own Inhabitants far wiser than to be ashamed of, or to disavow their Native *Idiom through a pride they take in being perfect Masters* of

of one more foreign. Yet upon their drawing towards a *Conclusion*, they may yield so far to Equity, as to choose *Latine* for the most *Indifferent*, and subject to the least mistakes. Nor can I, being fallen on the Art of *writing*, think it any great Impertinency to note, that the *illness* of your *ink*, or the frequent taking up *hairs* with a *Pen*, may put a man out of the road of his former sense and Line of *Invention*: wherefore *That* ought to be *fluent*, and *This good*.

36. It is no bad Counsel for a *Traveller* to appear in his *best equipage* upon every remove to a *new place*; especially if he hath no better *recommendation* than his *own* to procure his *welcom*, commonly suitable to the *Opinion* people do at first sight apprehend of his *worth*, the best *assurance* they conceive of honest *payment*, which persons *meanly habited* give small caution for; and therefore rarely admitted to a convenient *Lodging* or good and cheap *Pension* or *Diet*; A *new commer* having nothing to render him acceptable, or to advance him in the worlds estimation, but a *gentile Garb* and *decent Habit*: *yet under this advice*, that it be not *Clinckant* or *Rich*, since *Gold lace*, *Rings* or *Jewels*, hath not seldom rendred Travellers the prey of *Braves* and *Murderers*. Besides, an over high *Ostentation* puts an *Excise* on all things you *want* or are forced to *buy*. Nor is this Counsel the less to be esteemed, because borrowed from a *Scot* whose usual custom is to shroud themselves under the title of *English*: And if owners of any *Merchandise*, they take up the *best Houses* they can get, by which *they* gain *credit*, though their *Landlord* doth not seldom lose his *Rent*. Wherefore no *honor*, *Profit* or *Safety* to be known an *owner* of *their acquaintance*, Lest you fall into a repute no ways suitable to a *Gentleman*, who by *just dealing* may gain in a short time from all, so great a *confidence*, as may render himself secure, and what he wants, supplied at the best hand.

Good cloaths commend a Traveller.

Princes need wise Counsels.

37. *Kings* have their *station*, no less than *Motions* in *slippery Places*, and had need of *good eyes*: wherefore if their own be weak, it behoves them to be *Circumspect* by whom they are *led*. *Courtiers*, for the most part, intending their *particular interests*, rather than things of more *publick concernment*. From whence it may be concluded, that in case of defect, which all *Princes* are, upon some temptation or other, either *at home* or *abroad* liable to; *Birth*, next to *sufficiency* is to be *regarded*; The *sense of honour* supplying in divers persons the place of *Conscience*: *Religion*, in our days, being so blended in *Hypocrisie*, that 'tis come to signifie in *Statesmen* greater *danger* than *advantage*, by raising more *distrust*, than *Confidence*. *King James*, out of a too strong presumption of *his own reach*, did not weigh the *weakness* of those he admitted to the *Council Table*: which might have been the better excused, had his *Junto* consisted of such as were *Noble* and *wise*: But since these Indowments were not frequently wanting, but a *Pension* from some one or more foreign *Princes* taken to suborn *Fidelity*, who can wonder the *Commonwealth* fell into distempers, after the *Governours* had totally neglected the wholsom *Regiment*, *Queen Elizabeth* had so long used with good *success*: and did never cease *tampering*, till by *new conclusions* they had put it wholly *out of frame*. *King James* participating so far of the Misfortune of all *Passionate Men* (especially such *as abound* in *Fear*) as he carried always a *Traitor* in his *face*, of which every wise *By-stander* was able to make use. And from this *patency*, his *Policy* was not only *enervated*, but rendred more *destructive* than an open and candid *Discovery* might possibly have proved. From whence his Majesty may be thought, not throughly acquainted with the *Constitution* of *England*, when he bestowed the strongest of his Labours, in the *suppressing* and

vilifying

vilifying the *Nobility*, not only found the *Glory*, but the reall *safety* of the Nation: till their virtue was allayed through a *too great dilatation*, by which the *House of Lords* became *numerous*, and as it were of one Nature with the *Commons*: a fault so far incapable of amendment, as the *King* was forced, for want of a *party* strong enough for his particular service, every *Session* to increase their *number*: who being *exhaled* out of the greater *Mass of Gentry*, through the *heat* of *affection*, or cast into this *figure* by the help of *Mammon*, they brought up with them into the House of Commons the same desires they had of a *Reforming* all things amiss in *Church* and *State*; which in a greater paucity, the Lords could not have so much felt; being above all *oppression*, but what dropped upon them from the *Anger* of the *Prince*, about whom they had, in their *absence*, some *friend* or other to mediate in their behalf. I confess *our Kings* have been often *worsted* by their *Peerage*, but very rarely, &c. Nor were the *conveniences* of any *other Government* put in the scales, much less *Monarchy* exploded; The *antient Nobility* being in their greatest *fury* and highest *Pride*, wise enough to *remember* the *Plume of State* could not be *ruffled* without putting in *disarray* all their *smaller feathers*. Nor were the *Kings* of this Nation, before *freeholders* grew so *numerous*, and *Honour* came to be valued by the *Candle*, not *desert*, to seek with whom to *compound*, in the greatest *dangers* their own *Tyranny*, or others *Ambition* had cast them upon; Because the *chief Leaders* in all *Rebellions* were *persons of quality*; and bore so much *Zeal* to the *preservation* of their *Country*, being of the same piece with the *Crown*, As not to demand more than the Prince could well spare, and without which *themselves*, their *Tenants*, and *friends* (amounting amongst them all to little less than the whole *Commonalty*) could not be happy; it being the nature of this Climate to *Love Parliaments*, and

abhor all *Arbitrary Government*. Wherefore the *damage* the *long Sessions* brought, or might farther have accumulated upon this wretched Nation, had it not been stopped by the hand of *Providence*: which (considering the *unwillingness* of the *remainder* to give over, or call others to them better able, if not more willing to unload the people) ought not (in my Judgement) to be applauded. It being as unnatural for a *Parliament* to be *perpetual*, as for a person to be continually fed with *vomits* and *purgations*. But to winde up these Politick *Enthusiasms* (at least for the present) out of my head. The *English* used their Kings, in case of *Rebellion*, As the *Catholick Princes* were wont to do the *Pope*, from whom, after they had taken away, for former *misdemeanours all that he had*, they did, out of *conscience*, *fear* of their neighbours, of their own conveniency, quietly admit him, or some other, into the same See, *&c.* wisely apprehending that no *quiet* can remain, either in *Church* or *Common-wealth*, without a *Governor*, or *Community* of strength sufficient to head and maintain the *Laws*. Wherefore the *Irish Monarchy men*, together with the pretenders to a present *Terrestrial Kingdom of Christ* (if not able to produce more authentick warrant than hitherto they have done) deserve little protection from the *Magistrate*, because they deny *obedience*, where it is without question due.

Uxorious Princes of dangerous consequence to a State.

38. It may be numbred amongst things noted of dangerous consequence, for a State be governed by an *Uxorious Prince*, *though reputed no fool in other Relations*. It raising so great *Jealousies* both at home and abroad, as none will *treat* with him about *business* of any *Secret concernment*, but upon an unvoidable Necessity; being in all *Negotiations* bound to *communicate* as punctually with the *Queen* as the *King*, upon a no less penalty (in case she should take her self *slighted*) than

than the ruin of the affair. The like *caution* may be given in reference to such *Privado's* or *Minions* as are really, or thought able to *dispose* of their *Masters Concessions*: which, besides the *dishonour* it brings to the person of the *Prince*, causeth a far greater *after indigency*, out of *distrust* (in all *Treaties* with *foreigners*, no less than his own *Council at home*) than there can be found room for, where but one is to be *addressed* to, Since Prudence forbids to venture *wholsom Counsel* (ever distastful to some) in a bosom not tight enough to contain it. Wherefore in such *Effeminate Courts* wisdom is not to tamper at all, or to fit advice to the *Distaff*, rather than *Scepter*, as the more *dangerous weapon*, and from whence many *blows* have proceeded in my time, capable of no milder a *cure* than loss of all hope for the future, if not of *estate* and *life* it self. Nor is it possible for such *Kings* to be better attended than by *fools* and *Parasites*, being compelled upon all events to take the *worst* of *Counsels* themselves, and as upon their own Score, out of *shame* to say from *whence they had it*. Nor can a *Prince*, in prudence, if in Justice, accuse his *Consort* for any *incontinency in speech*, after such an *example* given, as to tell *her* what is not fit for any other besides *himself* to *know*. Where *Polygamy* is in use, this errour, of most dangerous consequence to all in a Superlative power, is not so *frequent*. It being *inconvenient* if not *pernicious* for such to Love or *hate* any, beyond so exact a proportion in either of these passions, as may dissuade him to *alter* upon every assurance of a contrary Desert. A small *blemish* in the conduct of a *private family*, becomes a no less pernicious than ugly *Deformity* in that of a *State*: where *the wives of Kings* should wholly intend *the content* of their *Husbands*, and *security* of the *Nation*, in *producing* a fair and unquestionable *Succession*; and not by *filling* (as they are too commonly found in *Europe*) with *Government*, to put all

out of tune. From whence it may be thought no bad counſel, for thoſe of the *firſt magnitude* in a *State*, to be no longer in *private converſation with women*, than during the leſs ſerious Imployment of *Love*: Their *Advice* [illegible] *Ears* being not ſeldom ſuborned from the [illegible] of their *Husbands* Felicity, and the reſt of [illegible] *accuſations* of his *beſt Servants*, or [illegible] *unreaſonable demands* in favour of *their own*. So as if the *head* of *Sampſon* had contained but the tithe of that *Strength* ſaid to have reſided in his *hair*, a *woman* had never underſtood *where* it lay: who through an impertinent and tedious *Importunity* (which is not ſeldom mixed with *deceit*) do often beguile ſuch into a *diſcovery*, as have been thought *proof* againſt *Honor*, *Money*, or the *Rack* it ſelf. And becauſe I apprehend *this caution* to be of greater *concernment* than it hath been Imagined, take this *example* which lies yet amongſt a number more crowded in my memory, as thought the fitteſt, becauſe brought about through a combination of *Paſſions*, of which *Fear* got the predominance by the Mediation of *luſt*.

Queen Elizabeth being preſented with an *Overture* out of *Spain*, ſo ſecretly managed by the *Counſel there*, as the firſt news of its approach came with it ſelf; the *Meſſengers* (out of fear of a ſurpriſal) diſpenſing with the *Ceremonies* commonly uſed in behalf of *Embaſſadors*, (becauſe it appeared ſomething prodigious, conſidering the *pride of his Nation*) did much inflame the *Lord Treaſurers* deſire to know the fartheſt *extent* of the *Negotiation*, as *conducing* to a preſent advantage, that ſuch an *Anſwer* might be made as ſhould in ſome proportion quadrate with the demand of the *Catholick King*, at that time ſtanding upon *terms* little different from thoſe of an *enemy*; And being informed from the ordinary *eſpials* he kept about his perſon, that the *attempt* was *difficult*; if any thing nearer than *Impoſſible*, the *Dan*

out

out of diſtruſt *ſtill carrying his Inſtructions in his Boſom*: *Burghley* cauſed ſuch a *Jeſuite* to be *apprehended*, as by reaſon of former miſcarriage could not expect Mercy, and *imparts his deſires* to him under as large *promiſes*, if he brought them about, as *threats* to be revenged on him or his *Aſſociates*, if he found himſelf *abuſed*. All which, though with ſome reluctancy he *undertook* and *performed*, through the mediation of a *fair Lady* that firſt *took away his Commiſſion*, and then *laid it again under his Pillow* whilſt he ſlept: So *wiſe* are *women*, or ſuch *fools* be *men* during the *time* they abide under *their Incantation*.

39. Few *Marriages* have ſucceeded better, than *thoſe* contracted between the *Auſtrian Family* and *England*. Nor is this a bare reſult of *Luck* but *Reaſon*: The *remoteneſs* of *Spain*, but above all, their Love to their own *Sun-ſhine*, *Cuſtoms*, and *Religion*, having fixed their affections ſo firm to their own *doors*, as they have no deſire for *Change*: a quality the *levity* of other Nations that renders them the more univerſal Citizens of the World, doth not admit of: whereas a *Spaniard* is a rare ingredient in any Climate but his own. Out of which may be drawn this preſumption, that their *Ladies* cannot but be thought to leave an *Iſſue* ſubject to the leſs queſtion. Nor is the Natural *frugality* of this *graver people* (ſeldom found amongſt the *French*) a ſmall advantage to the *Engliſh Court*; And might not *unpoſſibly* cure it of that *expenſive itch* ſhe hath long born to *change her faſhions*: an humour no leſs *Mad* than *deſtructive*. And through the proſecution of which all *marks* of *knowledge* are removed, and the *Serving-man*, with the *Maſter*, the *Miſtreſs* with the *Maid* reduced to an equal *parity* in relation to *diſtinction*, where they have no more certainty to gueſs by, than is deducible from the *Habit*. Whereas in *Queen Elizabeths*

The alliance of the Auſtrian family moſt ſucceſsful to England.

Indistinction of habits a cause of much poverty.

days, and long since, all *degrees* of persons were *discernable* by their *Cloaths*. Nor hath any abuse passed over, under so little notice, made deeper Impressions into the wealth of both *Court*, *City* and *Country* than this; or hath rendered them more the Objects of *Envy* and *Contempt*: who are in this become so ridiculous, as to own *fashions*, by which they are so *manacled* as they cannot *stir*, carrying their *Arms* in as great a *restraint*, as the Women of *China* were reported to *bear* their *feet*; through which they are necessitated to remain idle, as not able to use their *hands*, or any other honest diversion, but what can be deduced from *discourse*; which the *Spanish gravity* waves. Their *Ladies* being unlike the *French*, whose luck having been of late to be left *guardians* to *Minor Kings*, do assume to themselves a sufficiency to manage a *State*: through which their *Husbands* come to be perplexed in their affairs.

Hope lulls Industry asleep and is often the necessity to ruin.

40. Though *Hope* intrudes her self as a Medium in all *distresses*, yet it cannot be found in experience to *obstruct* (if too far reli'd upon) the application of more prevalent *remedies*, by dazling the understanding; and like a *white Witch*, keeping *Resolution* so long *in suspense*, and imploy'd in *ceremonial applications*, as the single fit of a *Feaver* doth not rarely in a small time prove owner of the danger of an *Incurable Hectick*. And thus through a plausible and natural Complyance, *Hope* becomes *the false Prophet of Fortune*, who by her *more happy predictions* is able to *ruin* often the *Affairs*, and not seldom the *Persons* of *Princes*; the evil consequence of which having been found to produce *sadder effects* than those of *Despair* (the *youngest Daughter* of her *Sister*, *Fear*) who though *last heard*, hath sometimes been observed to give *none of the worst counsels*. Nor is Play looked upon by me for a weak *fomenter of this childish Deception*: And therefore marked here, as elsewhere,

where, for *dangerous* and *destructive* to *Princes* and those at the *Helm*, making them *expect* the *like Auspicious changes* in *worldly occurrences*, as they do ordinarily observe in the *flux* and *reflux* of *Luck at Cards and Dice*: Not apprehending, *through* a *Contrary Custom*, that though the *terms* be *equivalent* in relation to uncertainty, (all *Games* being a kind of *war* and *contest for superiority*) Yet the *Cunning* used by *politicians*, like that of *Cheaters*, will overcome the strongest indeavours of *Fortune*, if unassisted by the same advantages. Wherefore since *the success of a Battel* depends not only upon the Imperceptible conduct of *Providence*, but the Mysterious Inductions of a *Prudence* confined to no other goodness but what relates to *victory*, a *Prince* ought to quit himself of all *dependance* upon this blind Goddess *Chance*, with as much dexterity, as his own preservation and the emergency of his affairs will admit. The *security* of *Fortune*, like that of unthrifts, seldom proving gainful at the conclusion. Manifest in *Charles Duke of Burgundy*, and many others easie to be produced, who out of a ridiculous *Gaity*, did forfeit his present felicity, together with his life, in an *Imprudent expedition* against the *Helvetians*; who, with half *the charge he* was at to *ruine himself*, might have *hired them to destroy one another*. And all this was attempted upon no stronger a mediation or Assurance than that of *Hope*, and the incouragement of those suborned to betray his *youth* into the hands of *Fortune*. From whence may be deduced this *wholesome Aphorism of State*; That *what is safe can hardly prove dishonourable*: the *report* or *Opinion* of *foreigners* being as far *below a Prince* as *Prudence* is *above valour*: Not unlikely to be the reason so *few Nations have prospered under a Military Counsel*, who by *often provoking success*, do at last *drive it* quite *away*. Wherefore if a *Prince* in a *Civil Commotion* (especially where he is left the liberty of Choice) apprehends a *power* near equiva-

equivalent with his own, it can be no imprudence to *knock off*, by yielding to the *first demands* of his *Subjects*, ever more reasonable than those can be expected shall come attended with a greater probability of success on their side: *The rabble* being seldom capable to learn at a cheaper price than *woful experience*, That *the fall of a Prince doth rarely produce any milder a consequence, than the undoing of his people*, by putting all things into a *combustion*, and teaching the Monster to know its own *strength*, which cannot safely be opposed but with weapons made of the *same iron*; the application of *foreign force* appearing to prudence little better, if not worse than the disease, as having been the *Original of most* of the *Conquests* we read of. All which may tempt a *King* to a charitable, rather than a bloody Complyance, more subject to impair than better the condition of a *Natural Prince*, who upon any success cannot be *Cruel*, without irritating *his own party*, no more than *Merciful*, since the first will increase their fears: as the latter doth delude their hopes: which in such cases cannot be satisfied but with *Confiscations*, not possibly to be so equally divided, as not to occasion more *envy* than *love*. Because in case of *Victory*, he is no more able to *punish* all appeared against him, than to satisfie their expectations that stood *for him*, who in another *Commotion* may upon that score be as ready to become his *enemies*: The *Impudence* of *Souldiers* increasing more by one *intestine war* than three *foreign*; and do breed in a *Politick* the like *distempers* too great a quantity of *Blood* is found to cause in a *natural Body*. Wherefore since the marks of *precept* make not so deep impressions, as those of *Example*, all former *ill success* being imputed to some *miscarriage* in the attempt; as the good is cryed up beyond *desert*, it may not be bad Prudence in Kings to *obliterate out of Books all marks of Sedition* (As I heard that famous *Antiquary* Sir *Robert Cotten* say, *thirty had been in England since*

ſince the Conqueſt) leſt Poſterity ſhould reduce them into *precedents* for the like diſorders. To conclude, if a Prince finds his friends (which in a *Rebellion* are hard to be diſcerned from *Enemies*) not able at the *firſt Eſſay of force* to bring in the *Conſpirators*; The *Lyons skin* is to be *deveſted*, and all *hope* layed by, but what may be deduced out of *Complyance*; for fear ſome about his *Chair* ſhould *diſcover* the *weakneſs* of his *game*, or by *playing booty* ruin him quite: *One loſs* being in ſuch caſes more than an ordinary *preſage of a greater to follow*. For though the *Rabble* are not capable of *Prudence* enough to *temper themſelves*, they own ſo much *ſtrength*, as, through the *guidance* of *others*, they are able to *diſtemper a State*. The *materials* being eaſier to be *diſcovered* than the *contrivers* of any *Rebellion*.

41. *Plantations* and *Communities*, like *fiſh pools* and *Lakes* are quieteſt, if not moſt Happy at *firſt founding* or *ſtoring*. For after ſome *revolution of time hath rendred* them *Numerous*, *Neceſſity*, no leſs the *parent* of *Spurious* than *Legitimate Arts*, doth in a *natural favour* to *ſelf preſervation*, teach them to *cheat* and *Oppreſs* one the other Wherefore the *golden Age*, ſo much celebrated in *Poetry*, is as remote from *Fiction* as *Miracle*. The *Earth* affording more felicity to a *Few* than *Many*, which thoſe people bordering upon the *Sun* from whence *Mankind* is at firſt ſaid to proceed, might, by reaſon of a *ſlower increaſe*, longer enjoy; Till by falling into conjunction with our colder Climates, and (ſo) apter for *Generation*, ſhe came to over-ſtock her ſelf: Loſing the *univerſal felicity* in a *croud of Inhabitants*. From whence ſprung not only the *Uſe*, but an unavoidable *Neceſſity* of introducing *Government*, which falling under diſtinct *Headſhips* or *Royallets*, needed no greater provocation to *Rapine* and *War*, than the *ſtrongeſt* found in their *Natural temper*: The

Plantations moſt happy at their firſt planting, becauſe leſs numerous.

The ſame *Malignancy* abounding then, as doth now, though palliated by the great plenty of all things the world afforded at the *beginning*: none being ſo much in love with *Choler*, or any other *paſſion*, as to fall into it unprovoked. This proves *Want*, *the Original of Law*, as St. *Paul* makes that *an occaſion of ſin*. And from hence might ſpring a greater *ſincerity* in *the ſervice of God*, the ſole *refuge* of thoſe that have none other to fly to. *It being common with all men to extend their hope beyond the proportion of what they fear*; and therefore eaſily flattered into a *belief* of any *felicity* though never ſo *improbable* or *remote*. And becauſe this is *Natural* and imprinted in the *character* of all *Humanity* I look upon it as none of the weakeſt aſſurances of our *future bliſs*.

Moſt wars occaſioned by the jealouſies of ſmall Royalets.

42. *The World* was never in ſo *ſerene* a temper, as under *Auguſtus Cæſar*; during whoſe Reign the *King of Heaven* and *Earth* appeared, and the *Temples of War* ſtood ſealed up, ſo as the *Gods* and *Goddeſſes* aſſigned by the *Heathen* for *Military imployments*, had leave to play; being *emancipated* from all *perturbations* ariſing through *the variety* of *Petitions* the *contrary intereſt* of *Mortals* cauſed them to make. Nor can this *Haclyon Tranquillity* be in reaſon imputed to any remoter *Earthly cauſe*, than the entire *Unity* of thoſe Times, *terminating* in the ſingle perſon of *a Moderate Prince*. From whence may be naturally *deduced* this *Theoreme*, That *Chriſtendom* would not only ſtrengthen her poſture againſt the *Grand Signior*, but be more ſecure in her ſelf, under *one Monarch*, than thus *Cantonized* as ſhe is. Though I ſhall not diſpute what Nation is moſt opportunely ſituated for ſuch a Deſign, to avoid Controverſie, being as ready (and I believe under protection of as ſtrong Reaſon) to preſent *England*, as others may be to offer *France*, or any Member belonging to the *Houſe* of *Auſtria*. Wherefore to paſs over the diſcourſe

courſe of *an Univerſal Monarch*, as ſavouring too much of *the Utopian Dialect*, and rendred *unpoſſible* through the huge and invincible *proportions*, ſo much *Time*, *Ignorance* of the *Church*, and *Wiſdom* of *Princes* hath laid together, I ſhall modeſtly examine, Whether *Inferiour Commonalties* and ſmall *Royallets* be not as great a *Bar to an Univerſal Tranquillity*, as the extravagant *power* of the *Peerage* was to *France*, before *moderated* by the wiſdom of *Lewis* the Elventh. Theſe *leſs* Potentates being compelled, through *weakneſs* and *want*, to caſt the *Balls of contention* amongſt the *mightier Monarchs* which if *reduced* to an *abſolute Obedience*, as they are already to little leſs, through a neceſſary *dependance* from their own preſervation, on *France* or *Spain*; Their *malevolence* rendred, through *Fears* and *Jealouſie*, general, and not ſeldom contradicted out of falſe ſuggeſtions, might be rebated; And *the more powerful* left at better leiſure to attend the motions of the *Ottoman Family*, and to ſtop the leaks of *Hereſie* and *Schiſm*, which if ſuffered to *run on*, will *ſuffocate* the power, if not totally *eclipſe* the external glory of *the Chriſtian Religion*. Nor can a better cauſe be found, why *the Popes power over Kings* (no queſtion at firſt uſurped) ſhould ſtill remain floating betwixt the bladders of *Ignorance* and *Superſtition*, but that he is able to foment a party amongſt theſe, which he can increaſe out of the natives of any Nation that doth oppoſe him. Thus, as it were through an *Antiperiſtaſis* raiſed between a burning zeal in the *people*, and fear of the *Prince*, he comes to domineer over all alike, but thoſe have crept from under his *Cenſures*; who are nevertheleſs *liable* to his *Laſh*, at ſome time or other, in reſpect of the number of *Seminaries* he hath ready (yet unpaid by himſelf) to vindicate his *quarrels* in every place. Nor are the deſires of the *Pope*, no more than the reſt of ſuch *petty Princes*, as have nothing *but ſhifts* to *ſubſiſt by*, cordial for the total abolition of the *Turk*,

Turk, out of a dread of themſelves; which alſo extends to the diſturbing of an *Univerſal peace*: They looking upon *the diminution of their Grandeur*, as the only *Sacrifice* able to *purchaſe* it. And this gives them, like *whelps*, the boldneſs to *bite* the *greater Monarchies* by their *legs* and *extreamer parts*, when they find them at odds amongſt themſelves, or (which is worſe) grapled with the *Grand Signior*. And he that is Ignorant in this, cannot be thought knowing in the *Imperial Hiſtory*, no more than in other *Paſſages*, where not only *his Holineſs*, but *the moſt Chriſtian*, to obtain advantage of the (in that) more *Catholick King*, are reported to have made *a ſolemn league* with this enemy of *Chriſt*. Nor have the *German Princes* remained long tongue-ty'd in this behalf, no more than their *Ceſar*; who may be the *better excuſed*, as having done it ſometimes to prevent a more immediate danger from them at home. It being common with theſe *petty Governments* to hatch ſuch *plots*, and give birth to thoſe Deſigns with which the reſt of the world is commonly diſturbed: Manifeſt in the *Duke of Birone*, formerly ſo far inſtrumental to the reduction of the *Crown of France*, who became after to have his *fidelity* corrupted through the poyſon he received from *Savoy*; that continual *thorn* in the *ſides* of her *Neighbours*. Nor can *Rochel* acquit her ſelf ſo well, during the time *her walls* did ſeparate the Inhabitants from the obedience of their *Prince*, as, for the Honour of *the Reformation*, I deſire it could from like practices, no more than other *Corporations*, &c. have done; the blemiſhes of which it goes againſt the grain of my *Profeſſion* to diſcover: Though I wonder from the inſpiration of what *Spirit* we come to proſecute the followers of an unrevealed Anti-Chriſt, for ought I ever yet could learn from any *Expoſitor*, with ſo great an Animoſity, and paſs without notice one doth face us already: Being without queſtion better able and more

more ready to do greater Diſhonour and Miſchief to *the Chriſtian Religion*, than *the Biſhop of Rome* can be tempted to, in regard of his own particular Intereſt. Through which is juſtified that common Imprudence general in the world, where *men proſecute a ſmall damage from a neighbour, with a fiercer revenge, than a greater ſuſtained by an enemy*; like *Connies*, that may be obſerved to tear and fight with thoſe of their own kind, but will make no reſiſtance againſt the *Pol-Cat*, the common Enemy of all. And thus do our high-noſed Hypocritical *Zealots* that pretend to ſmell rank *Idolatry* in all Profeſſions but their own: yet in the mean time are found not only to neglect the open and profeſſed *Antagoniſts of Chriſt*, but with *Pharaohs lean Kine*, are obſerved to devour the *Revenues*, and take the *Houſes of God* into Poſſeſſion, under the pretence of a *Reformation*; firſt begun in *Germany*, which, as ſome have thought, was left by providence to the *Auſtrian Family*, not out of Gods wrath, but a tender care of the *Chriſtian Affairs*.

43. Had the *Catholick King* ſought *extenſion of Empire* at the prejudice of *Aſia*, and not *incroached* upon the *Territories* of his *Chriſtian Neighbours*, he might in probability have been nearer, if not his whole ends, yet far more than he is *Maſter of*, or can in likelihood be ever able to obtain, by the courſe he takes. Nor is this my ſingle Opinion, but an aſſertion of a *Spaniard* in a ſmall Treatiſe, where he handles five *Problems*, of which this appears not to favour of the leaſt likelihood: Since in the firſt proſecution of ſuch a project, his *Sails* would not only be *emptied* of much of the *envy* all the *Princes* of Chriſtendom do *ſwell* with now in reference to his undertakings, but *filled* with their wiſhes for a happy ſucceſs. Nor could the *Pope* in *ſhame*, if in *conſcience*, have refuſed him a *Cruſado*, or any *aſſiſtance* the *Church* could afford, at leaſt within his

The Spaniards having Aſia in expectation to conquer Europe, impolitick, and unſucceſsful.

his own Kingdoms, if he ſhould have owned an Impudence to deny a larger *Contribution*, or the uttermoſt of his endeavours to ſtave off *France* from faſtening upon his Patrimony in his *abſence*. Nor can *Ambition* as *Machiavel* wiſely obſerves, promiſe it ſelf a more probable ſucceſs than is likely to follow an *invaſion* of *Turky*; whoſe *ſtrength*, as the ſame *Author* atteſts, lies more in *Tradition* than real *Truth*, at this day in *peace* with the *Perſian*, and ſo ſecure of the reſt of *Chriſtendom*, as if they were all aſleep, yet hath not been able to wreſt *Candy*, in all this time, out of the weakly ſupported hands of the *Venetians*. Nor doth any *Prince* in the World own thoſe advantages for ſuch an *attempt* as the *Spaniard*: his other *Limb*, the *Emperour*, lying at the mouth of *Conſtantinople*, ready to attache him upon the ſound of any *Mutiny* or *Rebellion*, at this day very *frequent* amongſt them: And might with the more probability of advantage, be *fomented*, becauſe the people are in a condition not capable to be *impowered*. Nor is there any Nation in the World of more contrary Complexions, in relation to *People* and *Religions*. Nor can any man think it a matter of difficulty, to take in the *Grand Signiors Outworks*, that hath heard what report Sir *Robert Manſel* made at his return from *Algiere*, where, upon ſight of a *Commiſſionleſs Navy* that King *James* ſent, the Patrons became *Suitors* to their *Slaves* for *Mercy*.

The Speculative and practick part of Politicks require different tempers.

44. Though *Machiavel* may deſerve *Commendations*, for the excellent uſe he hath made of the proceedings of his firſt *happy*, then *Miſerable* Acquaintance with *Ceſar Borgia*, Son to *Pope Alexander the ſixth*. Yet I doubt, if himſelf had fill'd the ſame room, and owned *the like advantage*, whether he had been able to have attained to that height *Ceſar* did, though in *wiſdom* and ſplender of *Birth* not inferiour to him; It requiring

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one Spirit to *write* and *another* to *preſent to the Life* and ſutable to every occaſion, all *Scenes* both *Comical* and *Tragical* in relation to *friends* or *foes*, likely to furniſh out, with a preſent ſecurity or future continuance, a Perſon fit to mount into a *throne* made vacant by *fraud*; Since none but ſuch as from their birth have been uſed to *perſonate* what really *they never were*, can, in this wiſe *Authors Opinion*, pretend upon a leſs hazzard than the ruine of himſelf or his family, to *the Government of State*: To which there are required ſuch *contrary Intricacies*, as whileſt one is unraveling, another *twines*; ſo as without an exact obſervance of thoſe *Elements of Policy* he preſcribes, there can be no hope for a *Tyrant* to ſubſiſt. Nor were theſe *Aphoriſms* common only to *Caſar Borgia*, or died with him, but continue to this day, eſpecially in *Italy*: where no *wickedneſs* is ſhunned, any ways conducing to the *Extenſion of Empire* and the *ends of Ambition*. *His Holineſs* himſelf entertaining all means for *Lawful* and *right*, carrying any probability of advancing his *Children* or *Nephews*. In which they have remained ſo long *proſperous*, as moſt of the *ſmall Princes* beyond the *Alps*, are themſelves, or their wives, *chips of the Croſs*. And meer *excreſcencies* of the *Policy* and *power* of the *Church*; which *practice* is made ſo *common* through *Cuſtom*, as all marks of *Reproach* lye covered, if not in the *Nature*, in the *Neceſſity* of the attempt. Nothing leſs than a *ſuperlative ſtrength* being able to ſecure the *Iſſue* of a preſent *Pope*, from the rapine and ſpoil of him that may not unpoſſibly ſucceed. It running quite contrary to the wiſe practice of *the Conclave*, to chuſe twice together out of one and the ſame *Houſe*, but rather to exclude all the immediate poſſeſſors *Confidents* or *Kindred*, *out of a dread they have* to affix the *Miter* in a particular *Family*. Yet notwithſtanding the *Popes* prudent *ma-*

nagement of affairs, during their own time, they have not ſeldome been ſo foully miſtaken, by counting upon the ſcore of their own *Judgements* and natural affections, as to anticipate the ruine of them they ſtudied to preſerve, for want of making an Impartial ſurvey of the *Prudence* of ſuch *Children* or *Nephews*, as they ſought to advance, and a through conſideration of the ſtrength of their *Complexions*, and depth of their *Conſciences*, whether able to digeſt all ſorts of blood, cold and hot, likely to obſtruct the ways to what was aimed at. The venerable Hiſtorian *Guicciardine* noting, that though *Alexander the ſixth* was at firſt ſo far perplexed at *the death* of his *eldeſt Son*, as to *renounce the world*, The ſame Author ſaith, *he reſumed it again* upon the firſt aſſurance given, that his *other ſon the Cardinal* had been the *Murderer*; And did, after his *reſignation* of the *red Hat*, redouble his *endeavours* to raiſe him; as if he had looked upon the throwing of his Brother into *Tiber*, and the laying his *Siſter* upon the Bed of *Inceſt*, as a good Portent of his future greatneſs; whoſe *Story* though ſomething *gelt* by reaſon of the *Scandal* it gave, may be worth the reading, no leſs than *Machiavels* Notes upon *Caſar Borgia*; out of which, and all *Politicks* elſe, may be obſerved, That *People indure oppreſſion with more patience, from an old, than a young Prince*, as thinking it leſs durable, and *from an Uſurper, than one aſcending through a continued ſucceſſion*; as eſteeming it more *natural*, and no leſs *than they looked for*, or do acknowledge to have deſerved, for not ſeeing when they were well: A conſideration a *Politician* ſhould expunge by contrary practices, leaving them a *liberty* in all *innocent punctilio's*, and every thing elſe remaining to their *Lives* and *Eſtates*, ſo long as they remain quiet, let the perſons be of what *magnitude* they will: ſuitable to the wiſe conduct of *Spain*, where the *Elder Family*

is ſuffered annually to renew *his claim to the Crown*, though with as little ſucceſs as interruption. Nor is it ſafe for a Prince inceſſantly to afflict his people, who may, like *Dogs*, quietly for a time endure it, though upon a too unreaſonable *continuance* they do not ſeldome ſo far participate of that Beaſts (well known) condition, *as to fly in their face*. Wherefore *Governours* ſhould for their own ſake, no leſs than the Nations, imitate *God*, who though abſolute diſpoſer of *Promiſe* and *Performance*, doth conform the *latter* punctually to the *firſt*: which whoſoever doth not, may, like *a drunken man*, be juſtly thought intoxicated in his underſtanding; ſince *the breach of an Oath* muſt needs be a *Trap* abominated by all, in relation to the more innocent *Sheep*, becauſe honeſt men hardly can diſpenſe with the uſe of it, in the inſnaring of ſuch *Wolves* as do oppreſs and devour them.

45. *Machiavel* doth accuſe as *imprudent*, all ſuch *Princes* (and moſt eſpecially thoſe whoſe *Virtue*, as he calls it, hath given *a beginning to Empire*) *that knew not when to ſtop that iſſue of Blood, which may at firſt be neceſſary to keep ſuch Titles in, as have no better colour to face their Legality, but what is attained by Prudence, or the Sword* (from the benevolence of which, all powers now extant were at their original derived) *but did continue their bloody cruelties and malignant Aſpect.* Keeping by that means *the Peoples diſcontents* waking, and ſo by conſequence *their own* no leſs chargeable than terrible *fears* and *jealouſies*; nothing being more obvious to probability, than the raiſing ſome *Spirits* (amongſt the number of Enemies, ſuch a continued practice will in all reaſon produce) as can never reſt ſatisfied without *Revenge*; Often brought about by ſo uncouth and *improbable means*, and the mediation of ſuch *deſpicable Inſtruments*, as no *purvoyance* *Bloody Princes odious and imprudent.*

voyance can shield the perſon of a *Prince* from: who, whileſt his prudence, like the *Philoſophers eyes*, are fixed upon higher and more remote *dangers*, *he falls into ſome nearer Trap he never dreamt of.* And to manifeſt the truth of this Aſſertion, *the ſame Author* doth inſtance *Philip* of *Macedon* and many other *examples* borrowed from *Antiquity*, which I ſhall wave, and only content my ſelf with that of *the Duke of Buckingham*, that fell by the hand of *Felton*, whoſe *Picture* I am the willinger to draw, as thinking it well becoming the *boſom of all Perſons in power.* In which I am not likely to be partial, having to my knowledge never ſeen the man. Though *his Father* owed an *employment* under *mine* in the *Office* of *Remembrance* for many years. He was of a *Religious and quiet converſation*, given to no *open vice* nor *whimſical Opinions*, being *a frequent hearer of ſuch Preachers* as were never found to give encouragement to ſuch *practices*, but rather the contrary: *Prayers* and *Tears* being the ſharpeſt *weapons* that were then *formed* in the Pulpit by *Parochial Paſtors*, whatever *Lecturers* did; from whoſe doctrine I have been told he was ever averſe; *no was honeſt Jack*, a title always given him, (though rendred after more diffuſive by the *Dukes* enemies, than ſo ill a conſequence might merit) Agitated by *revenge*, or any *privater Spirit* than what he was perſwaded did regard the *Common-weal*; As I heard *William Earl of Pembrooke* proteſt, who could not but be the beſt informed, having aſſiſted at *his examinations*, who did withal aver he never ſaw *piety* and *valour* better or more temperately *mixed in one Perſon.* Nor was he found, as *the ſame Lord* atteſted, in any *untruth.* I confeſs that through the continual Inculcation of his *Majeſties Chaplains*, and others of the *long Robe*, he did *diſavow* ſo far the *Lawfulneſs* of the *Fact*, which before his Conſcience never blanched

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at, as he desired *The hand that did it might be cut off*: But neither himself, nor the endeavour of the *Dukes* friends could procure him a sharper *punishment*, than *Law* and *Custom* provides, in case of a *Murder*, for the *meanest Subject*. Nor can this *Mission to the Tower* be looked upon for less than the best Fortune so high a Malefactor could be capable of. Since during his abode there, which was many weeks, he had a *plentiful Diet* provided for him at the Kings charge. By all which it may appear, the Man was only led through strong *Enthusiasms* That *Buckingham* was *an enemy to the State*: An Opinion Princes ought above all things to avoid, by shunning every occasion likely to represent him *cruel* or *Implacable* in the eyes of the people, by being continually tumbling and tossing that lumber out of his way, which ought (if *at all*) to be removed *at one and the same time*, and then *with as little noise and Injustice as may be*, *Repetition of Punishments*, *Confiscations* and *Imprisonments* being apt to be thought by those not able to see to the end of the prospect (yet most considerable for number) to result rather from *the Princes Nature* than emergency of the cause, and therefore not improper to alarum the most Innocent; rendring *the Fable of Hydra* an Historical Truth, the cutting off *one head* producing from Kindred and Friends *hundreds* in the place, of which perhaps the Major part were none before: nothing carrying a greater propensity towards *fertility* than *blood*. Wherefore since a *Tyrant*, by reason of the *crooked ways* that lead to an *usurped Crown, holds not his safety under so conscientious a tie* as a *Natural Prince*, till he become *so* through *Lenity*, *Justice*, and *Continuance*: it behoves him to be more *moderate* in the prosecution of others, *lest through their innocency, either real or imputative, his own prevarications should be kept in remembrance*. And,

To ascend a Throne by much blood easier.

for a vindication of the contrary practice, *Machiav* preſents as his beſt pattern to *the houſe of Medices* (that had not only at firſt ſurreptitiouſly gotten, but did after regain, through the mediation of like Arts, *the Principality of Tuſcany*) *Caſar Borgia*, who was found to remove all Enemies and Obſtructions out of his way *in groſs*, and not dribling *by retail*: The *people* being as *partial* in their *pity*, as ready upon the apprehenſion of *Injuſtice* and *Cruelty* to exercise a *more extravagant Tyranny of their own*. For though a frequent puniſhing of ſingle perſons may *ſtop the Mouth* of this *Monſter* for a time, it doth more increaſe than diminiſh its deſire to *bite*, upon the approach of a ſmall advantage, which is far eaſier found than may be imagined. Wherefore no cauſe of *diſcontent* can in prudence be admitted, but what is ſqueezed out by *neceſſity*, but rather *Lenitives* applied: the *Multitude* being of ſo *brutiſh* a nature, as to become more pliant to obedience through *ſtroking*, than *ſmart*, eſpecially if any thing they *fear* lies in the way, *or where that they Love is removed*; it remaining beyond peradventure, that *Clemency* did never occaſion *Repentance*, but in caſe of *Example* or *Competitors*, *Blood* being like *Opium*, which taken in a juſt proportion cauſeth *quiet*, but that once exceeded, *Death*. Or if *patience* and *connivance* ſhould find their virtue loſt in ſome *incorrigible natures*, yet the errour were eaſily redeemed; whereas *Cruelty* is of ſo ſtaining a quality that, like the *Scorpion*, nothing can expunge it, but what reſults from its own Nature. Now where this *moderation* is obſerved, and all *Liberties*, *Honours*, *and Immunities* religiouſly preſerved, I apprehend no more cauſe of *grief* than the *Engliſh* had occaſion for *Joy*, when they exchanged King *Richard* the third for *Henry* the ſeventh: It remaining indubitable, that however *the firſt* might be a *Murderer*, he did not with the *ſecond*,

oppreſs

oppreſs the people: wherefore ſuch as call him *Tyrant*, offer violence to a number of *good Laws* he *made*; and *ſhew too much partiality*, if they eſteem *him* the better Prince that *brake* them: *Kings* that ſucceed by *birth*, acknowledging no obligation to any but their *Anceſtors*: whereas *Richard* endeavoured to gain the *Love* of the Nation, and did ſo far prevail, as to have *an Army* appear for him againſt *the Duke of Lancaſter*, in thoſe days *the Darling of the Commons*, and wherein were divers *of quality*; a ſtrong preſumption of a juſter and milder temper in Government, than the ignorant and partial *Hiſtorians* of thoſe times are found to record; So as though *he* may be reckoned amongſt the *worſt of Men*, his *Laws* will recover *him* a place with the *beſt of Kings*, And *no bad precedent for thoſe* that may at firſt aſcend, contrary to the Guſto of a conſiderable part of the *people*, whoſe *affections* do cool or heat proportionable to their *fears* and *oppreſſions*, which none ought to *continue*; *A doubtful condition* being *the moſt terrible to Man.*

46. Though *Alexander* and *Caſar* amongſt the Ancients, And *the Kings of Sweden* in our days, may be thought to receive their Impulſes from *the Lord of Hoſts*; Yet the *damps* and chill proceedings that fell upon the *deſigns*, eſpecially of the *firſt* and *laſt* after their deceaſe, may give us leave to obſerve, How in all Ages *ſuch Nations have flouriſhed moſt and longeſt as were able to maintain the choiceſt Prudence at the Helm*: For want of which, after *Alexanders Death*, the *Grecian Monarchy* was weakened, and in a manner loſt, in the *Diviſion* his *Captains* made of it; each taking for his ſhare *ſo great a proportion*, as his own *Dexterity*, or the *Love* of the *Colony* he commanded, gave him the power to graſp: opening through

That Monarchy moſt durable, that's founded on the beſt Policy.

this means an entrance for *the Roman Conqueſt*, which followed next, and, by reaſon of *a better eſtabliſhment*, did longer endure. From whence it may be ſuppoſed, That *the Fortune of* Greece *lay more in the hands, that of the* Romans *in the heads of their Founders*: *Wiſdom* having *proved*, in all Ages *more prevalent*, at long running, than *Succeſs*; which may become ſometimes the *Dowry*, but never the *Inheritance* of a *Fool*, or the owners of no farther *diſcerning Spirits* than the preſent. The Reaſon *great Atchievements* do not ſeldome Terminate no better than in the ruine of his name, *Fame*, and *Family*, that did at firſt *bring them about*: the *advancement* of which is only able, if any thing be (an Opinion ever doubted of) to palliate the *Blood*, *Labour* and *Hazzard* ſuch undertakers run for the preſent, without caſting up what attends them in future. Nor can I readily call to mind an *Uſurper* that did ever better *compoſe his affairs*, than *William Duke of Normandy*, who, after the deſeat of *Harold*, the laſt *great Card* likely to endanger his *game*, is not reported continually to face the Nation of *England* with an *Army* (of no leſs terrible aſpect always to the *people*, than it is of dangerous conſequence ſometimes to the *Iſſue of a Prince* after the death of his Father; Their continual *readineſs in being*, affording them the faireſt opportunity to chuſe a *ſucceſſor*) yet did ſecretly maintain a convenient *militia* out of the *ſpoils* allotted to ſuch as had imbarked their Fortunes with his: not *paſſing* any *Land* from the Crown, but upon *Contract* with the owners to *aſſiſt* him at his call, with a proportion of *horſe* and *men* ſutable to their eſtate; a covenant not hard to be performed by ſuch whoſe *well-being* lay wholly incluſive with *his*. And of theſe *Tenants for Men and Arms* there are not a few as appears in the *Regiſter* yet remaining of their *Names*, amongſt whom I am not aſhamed

to

to find those of *Father* and *Mother*: Nor did the *Mustering of these* in every *County*, and upon all occasions fail to answer, though with far less expence and *universal terror*, all the ends *an Army* can serve for. Thus by concealing his *Rod* and sparing the *peoples purses*, he shewed them *the Nation might be as Happy under a forreigner, as a Native, one Family as another*: not possibly to be done but by removing out of the peoples eyes all appearance of *Oppression*. There lying so *vast a difference between the Regiment of Love and that of Fear*, as *This* may chance to *stand*, but *That* is never likely to *fall*. All which is said, *not to condemn any contrary Practice*, but modestly to shew, *where divers ways lead to one and the same end, the least destructive to the general quiet ought to be taken, in Policy, if not in Conscience.*

47. The *weight* of *Superiours* will be born with the less *anxiety* and *perturbation*, if we seriously consider, That *Oppression* and *Tyranny* is not only *Natural* but *Necessary* to preservation. For if the *stronger Creatures* did not spoil and devour the *weaker*, the whole mass of *Animals* would perish by *famine*; or *fissle* for want of *room*. Since the *Earth* and *Sea*, *Natures Magazines for Provisions*, are not able to sustain the *Stock*, a despicable *Mouse* or *Pilchard* would in a small time swell to, *did they not become* the *food* of *others*. Wherefore wise *Providence* hath matched every things *strength*, in their respective gradations, with such proportionable *Antagonists*, that they are all contained within the compass of a just *proportion* (like a a nest of boxes) through a *restraint* from such as own a greater extent in *power*. And to counterpoise the *wisdom* in *Man*, *which renders him subordinate* to none but his particular *Species*, the same *Providence* doth permit him to be actuated by such impetuous *Passions* and

Tyranny not only natural but necessary.

bruitish

bruitish *Desires*, as, through the Mediation of *excess*, *Covetousness*, and *Ambition*, he becomes the *Moderator*, no less than *Destroyer* of *his own kind*. The *Sword* receiving from these a daily *Commission* in one place or other to *kill* and slay. And *where this is too little* to ballance the *Incomes* of *Lust*, an *over repletion* calls in *Pestilence* and *famine* to turn the Scales. All which cannot be Voted *Plagues*, but in a *respective* sense, as only relating to such as perish in them; since a great, if not the most considerable part do receive benefit by it, and *Nature* her *delight*, which seems to reside in *variety*. All this considered cannot but bear witness for *Seneca*'s Truth, *That nothing would accept of Life upon such hard conditions as the Creature doth undergo, if it lay in its power to refuse*: whose *being*, together with the *continuance* in it, is imposed without any *primary consent* at all, or *future*, but for the dread of falling into a *worse*: Adorning the glorious *Chariot of Nature* in this world, till like *withered flowers they be laid aside* by the same *Hand* first gathered them out of *Nothing*, and still preserves their *Root* through the act of *Generation*, by which they are led in a bruitish Sensuality to betray *Posterity* to the same *Inconveniences*, those capable of reason cannot but apprehend uncapable of compensation from the highest tasted *content* this world affords; That whirls about in a continual *circulation*, changing the *Forms*, but not the *Nature* of things. Wherefore though it appear against the decree of *Providence* to obstruct the course of *Generation*, it may not be undecent to mind *Christians*, that the great *reluctancy* usually found in them towards *Death*, doth not only question their *integrity in Religion*, but *understanding*: else *they would never adjourn*, by so much labour and anxiety of spirit, what *Nature* hath *allotted* for all in *general*, without the exception of any thing capable of *Life*: who may

enjoy

enjoy a free prospect of all her *beauties*, though possibly not of every *Malignity*, within the revolution of a *year*, if not during the shorter space of 24 *hours*; our time being composed of *day* and *night*; the rest appearing meerly but a *Repetition* of the same thing. Now *since it is the sin* of *Knowledge*, to *undervalue what hath already passed by her in the visible apparitions* of *Experience*; so it may not unpossibly be as great a *mistake* in *Ignorance*, to *overvalue* all she never *tried*: and consequently becomes the cause of the general *Terror* apprehended in *Death*, the only deprivation of *temporal pain*, The farthest confines of the *Land of Knowledge*, beyond which nothing is discovered, but what is ingraven upon the *Pillars* of *Faith*, read and interpreted according to the *Dialect* of the *Place*, and manner of the *Erudition*, it is our luck to fall under, and out of the verge of which (without a miraculous inspiration) it is *next* to *unpossible for a man to extend* his *Belief*. Wherefore in any Condition *to leave the world unwillingly*, or with an *unsettled hope* (since 'tis the decree of *nature*, and condition of our *birth*, not to continue us here) cannot but appear in the eyes of discretion, no less *manly* than *Christian*. Yet *many* are so unadvisedly foolish, as to *multiply Deaths*, through the agonies their *fears* raise in them, *that one day they must die*: the sole means left to free us from *Oppression*, if not to attain perfect *felicity*, which no servant of *Christ* can doubt of.

48. *Our Saviour* would never have commanded, under a like Emphasis, *Innocency* and *Subtilty*, had he thought them *incompetible*, or not rather as *Necessary in things Sacred* as *Prophane*. It remaining unlikely, if not unpossible (during this total Eclipse of *miracles*, but what reflect upon the world under the potion of *Faith*, which cannot be taken for other than *Honesty and Prudence not inconsistent.*

than *Implicit*, in any thing that depends or relates to a more *forreign witness* than our own) to keep *Unity within the bonds of Peace*, but through *Policy* or (if you had rather have it so) *Prudence*: Though *Hooker*, who may be worthily placed on the highest shelf ever *Clergy-man* reached to, is not ashamed to entitle his *Works* by the *first*. Nor are the loudest bawlers against *Discipline* found to neglect it in their own affairs: but do rather back and improve the power of it through the force of the same arguments they laboured formerly to confute it. Making a like use of *Scripture* and *Reason of State*, as *Marish-men* do of their *Sluces*, by which they keep out the *Sea*, formerly owner of the place, and only employ them for the benefit of *Land Floods*. Wherefore *Discipline*, which is the same thing in the *Church*, as *Law* in the *State*, can *be no more spared* than *Government* it self; by which we are taught our *duty* to the *Magistrate*, who without this will be as far to seek *when to Command* as we *what to obey*; from whence we shall find it an easie *descent* into *war*, the greatest *Hell* upon Earth, and of most consequence to be avoided by people any degree short of mad men. Now since we are not only led by the *example*, but *Precepts* of the *Apostles*, to yield *obedience* to our *Governours*, This in my apprehension avows it presumption in any, *below the owners of a Supream power*, to question the *Decency*, *Sanctity*, or *Legality* of what the *Church* hath hithertofore, or may at this present avouch. For though really converted into *Idolatry*, which is *Treason* against *God*, as the *Brazen Serpent* was; Or into *Heresie* or *Sedition*, which imports no less in relation to his *Earthly Representatives*, The *Church* and *Prince* (as the *Mosaical Purificati-ons*, &c. were in the days of *Christ*) yet it cannot warrant the hands of any single person, no *not of the multitude in gross*, to appear in their *abolition*, unless by

unleſs by way of *Petition*: But to admit them as trials of their farther *patience*, till *God* inclines the heart of ſome *Lawful Power*, the only place ſuch a zeal can be ſafely kindled in, without threatning deſtruction to the whole frame. Men being commonly partial in their own care, elſe ſuch as ſtile themſelves *the beſt of men*, would never have exploded *the Calling of Biſhop.* (and ſuffered ſo many of *their perſons* to want, though approved of in their own hearts, for men no leſs *exemplary* in their *Lives*, than *Learning*,) under no milder an aſpect than *Antichriſtian*: yet did not at the ſame time *refuſe to themſelves* the Imperious title of the *Kingdom of Chriſt*, under which notion the *unworthieſt* amongſt them did, only in a leſs volum, though in the ſame or a larger extent, exerciſe the *like power* over the people of God (if the Nation afford any, a Blaſphemy to doubt of) as was before held Tyranny by them for the *Hierarchy* to adminiſter within the circuit of a *Dioceſs*: not remembring *the Engliſh Biſhops* have not only been *Champions* in the cauſe of *Reformation*, but have Juſtified the convenience of their *Diſcipline* through the experience of the *longeſt peace* and *greateſt felicity England* ever enjoy'd, and with the effuſion of the *leaſt blood*; which *theſe had the fortune* or *will to be aſperſed by*. I confeſs what hath been ſaid, is ſomething beyond my intent, though much ſhort of, *&c.* Yet the conſideration of this little, may furniſh out a competent proportion of *Charity* both at home and abroad to reſtrain us from taking any publick *Scandal*: ſince *the moſt*, if not the *worſt of things the rigid and preciſe blanch at in our daies, were at the beginning ſet up to as plauſible an end as they labour now to pull them down*: The firſt intention of which, cannot be quite loſt to any, but ſuch as abuſe them to a contray ſenſe to what they were at firſt intended for; any more than a Mortal miſapplication

cation of a wholsome *Drug*, by an *Ignorant Emperick* can render it *Poison* in the hands of a *Learned Physician*. The same may almost be said of all the *Controversies* in *Christendom*, where the *Priests* have reduced *our guidance to Heaven* into a *gainful Art*, by rendering the *ways thither* so *easie*, as to be *bought*, or so *difficult*, as to be little less than *Impossible to be found*.

The opinion that good works merit, very natural.

49. I have often endeavoured the contrary, yet *could never longer than during some humble ecstasie*, separate any *good work* in my self or another, from the *Opinion of Merit*; Though no mans *Education* and *Faith* did ever more bandy against it. From whence I have been often ready to conclude it as natural in *Religion* as *Reason*: For though a *pepper-corn* doth in no sense quadrate with the value of a great *Copy-hold*, yet it doth serve to answer (as far as we are able) the will of the *Donor*, and in that sense alone, through the mediation of *Christ*, *Heir apparent* to our Soveraign *Landlord*, it becomes acceptable it self, though far below our *duty*. For though, as a Christian of the *Reformed Church*, I confess the principal ingredients in our *Creed* uncapable of reaching, but by the hand of *Faith*; yet where the *seeds* of *good works* are not mixed, *Religion* grows *flatulent* and *Hypocritical*: It being far easier and *cheaper to refrain* open and *negative Sins*, *than to perform* the more *chargeable affirmative duties of Charity*: which if they were prest home, not only in *Pulpits*, but *practice*, and every one Conscientiously *examined*, whether he professeth *Sanctity to gain an Heavenly or an earthly inheritance*, you would see Hypocrisie sneak away like the *young man in the Gospel*, who was ready to *ride post to Heaven*, provided he might *carry his riches behind him*. Now to prove *Hypocrisie* and *uncharitableness* are the

the crying offences of this Age, consider how many have, with *Zacheus*, met and compounded by *Restitution* for what they may not have peradventure come by so well. And in relation to *Governours*, to whose wiser considerations I humbly offer these few following *Observations*, if they shall be pleased to cast their eyes upon the Nation of the *Jews*, and enquire *in what condition they stood* at the coming of our *Saviour*, and till *Vespasian* besieged *Jerusalem*, they shall find not only their *Sins* but *Destruction* proceeded from *Hypocrisie*; which doth wholly rob the *Prince* of that *benefit* might be made of *Religion*, by converting it into a meer outside and deceiveable *godliness*, far more destructive to *Government* than *Atheism* it self; Hiding under the *cloak of Piety* such *wicked designs* as open *prophaneness* was never found *to bring about*. Nor doth *Reason* or *experience* afford better means to devest this mask, than by restoring *Love* and *Charity* to their ancient *Splendour*, And rendring them only the *marks of confidence* and *ways to preferments*: the sense of *Honour* having been found alone more conducing to *Fidelity*, than the bare forms of an over precise Zeal in the company of *Covetousness*, with which at this day more are thought to converse than suits with the honour of their *profession* or safety of the *State*, to whom I recommend a timely *reformation* of these pretending *Reformers* of all but *themselves*.

Hypocrisie more destructive to Government than Atheism.

50. If *Lucian* found cause to upbraid the ordinary *Scribes* in his days, for owning more *Knowledge* and *Piety* to their *Gods* in their *supercilious aspect*, and spurious *censures* of others, than they were really masters of themselves: what may we judge of the no less *Hypocritical* than *Theatrical* over-actings in ours; Where it is ordinary with Men to bear the impress

Controversies weakly handled, prejudice the Truth.

impress in their *Foreheads* and *looks* (like *Mountebank Bills*) of *more Sanctity*, than the most exact Observer can note in their *Lives* or *Commerce*. Who fill those rooms, *Swearing* and *Prophaneness* was wont to take up in *Taverns* and *Plays*, with more Blasphemous and uncharitable *Censures* and *Imprecations* in the *Church*, against any judgement looking asquint upon theirs, though in things meerly *Philosophical*, and undetermined. Nor are their *Books* free from the *leaven* of *Hypocrisie* and *Malice*, especially if not able to answer the *Spirit of Reason*, he they oppose is *armed withal*, not the people willing upon their bare warrant to stone the contrary party, for then, like painted *Jezebel*, the lively image of an *Hypocrite*, they Proclaim him a *Blasphemer* against *God* and the *King*. Forgetting, that though a State may be *endamaged* through the *discovery* of an *Error*, *God* and *Nature* are not *gratified* in the *persecution* of *Truth*. Yet these *Anti-Veritarians* are such professed Antagonists to all the most probable new Ideas in *Philosophy* or *Reason*, not hitherto screw'd up to the *highest pitch*; and in the mean time advancers of *Enthusiasms* in *Religion*, *Known* through the mercy and sufferings of *Christ* to be long since sufficiently revealed; That with the *Red Dragon in the wilderness*, they seek to *destroy* both *Parent* and *Child*: Of which failing they *vomit* out *a flood* of insignificant words and reproaches against them, to the discouragement and obstructing all future endeavours. *Wisdom, like water in a Well, not exceeding an ordinary height, till pumped or allured* by *Emulation* or *Honour*. Nor is there a more probable way to stop the mouths of these railing *Shimei's* that *curse* and *cast dirt* upon those *Davids* which labour to quell Ignorance, the *uncircumcised Philistine* of the world, than by appointing all *Books of Controversies* to be garbled, and if found not strong enough for their *Adversary*, to restrain them from *silence* cannot prejudice *Truth* comparably

comparably to an over *weak defence*, Manifeſt in *Religion*, and if maturely conſidered as *palpable* in *Philoſophy*. Yet theſe bold *attachers of wits* do at firſt gain ſuch *credit* with *ordinary Readers*, upon a preſumption they durſt not aſſault theſe *excellent Spirits* but in an aſſurance of *greater Illuminations* of their own; that they buy their *Books* through which *Ignorance* becomes incouraged and *Knowledge* depraved, by a diſcovery of ſmall faults and perverting the ſenſe of more excellent things. And thus *Fools* fall into eſteem for noting the *blemiſhes* in *wiſe men*, and *they* accounted *ſimple*, for wanting that *abſolute perfection* no ways attainable in this world. The *Students of Reaſon* in our days lying under the heavy fate the *Mathematicians* did of old, in being thought *Conjurers* and *Atheiſts*; an indictment I doubt not but the more *refined Judgment*, if not of this Age, of the next, will acquit the one of, as clear, as it hath the other. Wherefore in caſe of ſuch purblinded *Cenſurers*, make them rather the objects of *Scorn* than *Anger* or *Reproof*. Such *carping natures* reſembling *Dogs*, more incouraged and better gratified by the ſharpeſt *anſwer*, than none at all; upon which they commonly give over, or meet with a ſoulet-blow from a ſtander-by, and one never thought of, than you may decently give in your own Cauſe.

51. All things quadrating with *Intereſt* or *Affection*, though in their own Natures *wicked* and *unjuſt*, do labour to be furniſhed with ſuch *fair pretences*, as may palliate the *throws* of *Conſcience*: through which uſe becomes able with the *Stomach* to convert *Poyſon* into *Nouriſhment*, and the moſt *enormous Sins* and *Cruelties* into *comlineſs and zeal*. Intereſt *never unfurniſhed of fair* pretences, *of ſuborning* Conſcience.

Oaths become Traps of the Innocent, where Conscience is unthroned.

52. No *security* can be given or taken either *single* or *reciprocal* between the *Prince* and *people* but an *Oath*; held, in all *Professions*, *Sacred*, and its breach of dreadful consequence, Till the *Pope*, arrogating the absolute power of *Christs high Chancellor upon earth*, did dispense (under the notion of *Equity*, *Justice* and *necessity*) with the *breach of* all *Laws*, both *Civil* and *Divine*, (amongst which *Perjury* is inclusive) and so from an undeniable Inference, *Religion* it self, superscribed by our blessed *Saviour* within this narrow Circuit of *Love to God and our Neighbour*, on every side invaded through *this high violation of Faith*, *no less destructive to the Conscientious than impotent*, *and only advantagious to Princes and Subjects liquorish after Prosit and Sovereignty*: who, by reason of a vaster power are able to perpetuate the greater mischiefs, and so most likely to *be aimed at* by God in his first Institution of *this most sacred bond*, in *which his own name* and *honour* is made the *pledge*: And Therefore his patient passing the *breach* of it by in this world raiseth no less *confidence* in the *Atheist* that he shall never be punished, than *assurance* in the *Godly* his *Reward* is not to be expected upon *Earth*.

The *Netherlands* after their *Revolt*, framed *an Oath for the whole League*, wherein all those formerly taken to the King *of Spain* were without exception or any manner of qualification Abjured: by which I could understand no less when I read it, but that they *called God himself to attest*, that *his name was become of no validity*. Which to speak plain *English*, was as much as *to forswear all opinion of Religion or sanctity in swearing*. I do not think my Judgement of an extent large enough to span the height of such an *Impiety* as a *National* or *Regal Perjury* extends to, No more than the temporal *mischief* it may bring to a *Common wealth*, by giving

Subjects

Subjects an occaſion to think the articles of *Faith*, virtually inclusive in an *Oath*, are of no more validity, than *Intereſt*, through the mediation of *power*, is pleaſed to afford them. Yet it may imbolden me to believe, that thoſe *learned* amongſt the *Catholicks* do not with us look upon *Conſcience* as *a diſtinct quality or Natural Indowment of man*, but meerly *acquired by Cuſtom at* the mediation of *ſhame* or *Loſs*, which upon the working or boyling of the *Memory*, is taught to approve *This*, or diſlike That, according to the eſteem *the Opinion of the place*, and *company* they moſt commonly converſe with, are pleaſed to rate it at: *the ſmalleſt morſel of fleſh taken into the ſtomach upon a faſting day clogging it more, than a whole armful of that which is more ſinful doth in a bed.* Nor are they leſs troubled at the *memory* of *loſſes* and *apprehenſion* of *Dangers*, than *Offences* againſt *God*; The which do not ſeldom produce far *greater agonies* and *deſpairs*: The *blood* of *ten Men in Italy* being digeſted with leſs reluctancy, than the *glance of a Rivals eye.* Wherefore we may *Imagine*, they do really believe no ſuch thing, but look upon *Conſcience* not only as *a Room in the memory*, that ſtood empty till *the Fall*, but a meer *bubble* in the *Imagination*, which *Fear* and *Hope* by the aſſiſtance of *Uſe*, can *blow* like a *glaſs* in what *faſhion* or *bigneſs* they pleaſe, ſhewing there, to the *Life* repreſented, good or bad according to the *tincture* a former ſuborned paſſion may have *dipped* them in: And this (wiſely viewed) will be found of no more ſolid ſubſtance, or drawn by no ſteadier hand than *cuſtom* or *Education*, nor ſet in a more durable frame than that of *Fantaſie*. And from this *undervaluing of Conſcience* (the *ſecurity* of the *good* and *terror* of the *wicked*,) the *validity of Oaths* is loſt, or converted into *traps* to catch the *Innocent* and *unadviſed*.

where Conscience *is sway'd by* Interest, *there is no true judgement of either* Faults *or* Merit.

53. *Conscience* is no less sway'd through particular *Interest*, than the rest of *passions or accidents* incident to *Memory*. Manifest in our *Henry the eight*, perhaps no more guilty than all Princes else, who at his *Death* looked upon the delivering *Empson* and *Dudly* (Instruments of his own and Fathers *Oppression*) to the fury of the people, as a *Sin* of a deeper tincture, than the number of *Murdered persons* his *Remembrance* could not but at that time present him with. From whence we may conclude our selves in nothing more apt to be abused, than in the calculation of *our own Faults* and *Merits*: And so, *much unlikely to give a just estimate of those belong to others.*

Difference of Judgment *a wrong ground or alienation of affection.*

54. *How dareſt thou* (*O Man!*) *Judge another?* carrieth such an awful sound in my apprehension, as I cannot but tremble at the general boldness One *Profession* takes to condemn another: so as none lie capable of *Salvation* under an universal consent. This *Church* Anathematizing what the next receives; which cannot but proceed from the more damnable root of *uncharitableness*; every where *Condemned* throughout all *Religions* extant. Though *equally culpable* in imposing a restraint upon every way to *Heaven*, but what *custom* and *education* hath rendred familiar to themselves; each being really, or in their suborned Imaginations supposed able to detect *Error* and *Absurdity* in all *divine worship* beside their own. Wherefore this *humour* being *universal*, if not *natural*, it ought to cut off all *particular Feuds*, and mitigate the rigor of *Law*, and severity of every respective *Prince*; who can only justifie (and that perhaps rather to his particular conveniency, than the Deities universal mercy) the raising a *persecution* upon no higher provocation than *Opinion*, in no mans power to rectifie, but upon a manifest *conviction of his Judgement*.

Now

Now since it is no prodigy in the *Schools*, for two *Disputants* to quarrel about one and the same thing, hid from them only through the nicety of *Distinctions*, why may not such *Protestants*, as measure the *Catholick Profession* by the ordinary standard of the *Court of Rome*, take, not only a *false*, but an *uncharitable survey*, and too far to the disadvantage of that *Church*, which hath professed *Christianity* ever since the *Apostles* time, and may look no more as *Canonical* upon all the *Pope* for his *Honour* and *Profit* maintains, than we take for *legal* every Injunction that passeth from the *King* or *Council-Table*? many *Ceremonies* being admitted for *order*, *splendor*, and *decency*, (which, under correction, I may say, cannot be spared in less Corporations) that are *not essential* to *salvation*, and confessed of no more validity, than what they receive from the Inspiration of *power*: wherefore *merely local*, and of no larger extent than *his Holiness Authority* doth naturally, or is suffered through the Indulgence of *Princes* to reach. Nor doth the redundant *zeal* of our *English Papists* (not to give it a courser Epithete) deserve less pity than admiration; through which they are so far blinded, as not to see the *Popes Supremacy* concerns them no more in point of *Salvation*, than it did the Subjects of *England* heretofore, *whether a Lord spiritual* or *temporal should pass the door first*. It being unpossible but such punctilio's at the beginning should result from humane institution or connivance of Kings, from whose benevolence or ignorance those *Appellations* and that *Power* reached to the *Bishop of Rome*, and not from him whose *Vicar* he pretends to be; our *Saviour Christ* owning no such *Jurisdiction* or extent of Earthly power. It is confessed, I should look upon that *Englishman* as a *betrayer* of the *honour* of our *Nation*, that denies the *Kings claim* to *France*, because his *Ancestors* once had it in Possession. Yet did I own Land and a Being there, it

The reiterdant zeal of the Papists to be pitied and admired.

were a high *folly*, if not *Treason* to maintain it upon the place: The *Title* having possibly as justly reverted to them again, as it was at first assumed by us. Yet such power hath the present *fear* of losing their interest in *future felicity*, that it doth not only stifle the sense of *Reason* and *Concernment*, but the apprehension of *Martyrdom* it self, which might altogether inform them, that since the *Bishop of Rome* converseth not here sutable to our *Saviour*, who was so far *from* [illegible]*sing* of Earthly *Kingdoms*, as he refused to divide a particular *Inheritance*, *Interest* may not unpossibly lead him out of the way in other things: For though an *Infallibility* should be granted him, in what relates to the *Church*, 'tis more than the Cardinals themselves will admit to what is purely *Civil*. It being none of the Articles of our *Creed*, that *Christ* was *an earthly Prince*, or had any other *soveraignty over Kings*, but as *God over all*. Yet since this misled people received no advantage of their *errours*, as some more hypocritical *Schismaticks* may be imagined to do, it cannot but raise *pity* in you towards them, and *charity* to your self, in case Fortune should cast you in any region under the *Popes Jurisdiction*: who owning a *temporal Power* no less than a *spiritual*, may not unpossibly punish in more Prudence than you can suffer. Wherefore, leaving behind you all *Obstinacy* and *prejudice*, consider whether the *Sign of the Cross* may not with more Piety be admitted, than *Baptism* wholly neglected, or the *Bread* in the *Sacrament* only taken, rather than that *Seal of our Covenant* quite omitted. Yet I desire you to look upon all is said under the notion of *an Advice*, not *a Command*.

The Contagion, exploding Atheism.

§ 11. I hold in *Charity* no less than *Commerce* with *all sorts of people*, that do *acknowledge a Divine and universal providence*: But *abominate* those that have the *Impudence*, no less than the *Indiscretion to deny it*, openly in

in their *words*, or *tacitely* in their *actions*; as such cannot but be thought to do, that destroy others under a pretence of *Sanctity*, meerly to enrich themselves; who *deny God* no less in *his Justice*, than the other in *his Power*. Since without a *Creator*, Man must be the product of a *Contingency*, together with all things extant, *if not the maker of himself*; or, which is *as prodigious*, an Absurdity, *Nothing, out of its own strength, must have produced all things*. Nor could so many descend into this *low and damnable errour*, were they not led by that common Calculation incident to the Creature, *through which* each in its respective gradation, is rendred out of ignorance *unable*, or out of pride *unwilling* to find a *sublimer excellency* than his own. The cause, not only that *the vertues* but *the Gods* themselves were by the *Heathen* represented in *Humane shapes*, and *their inclinations* confined to the same *Sins* and *Passions* mortals are found subject to. It exceeding the largest extent in Nature to comprehend a *higher wisdom* than its own, or to assign it a *more honourable aspect*, or furnish it with *richer indowments*, than her senses and experience *hath adorned Fancy withal*. The *Devil* being painted as *white* amongst the *Negroes*, as he is *black* here. Wherefore *knowledge* being at a *non plus* (*a thing she doth naturally abhor*) many, because they cannot decipher a Reason, *why Providence in this world appears so oft in the Favour* (to our seeming) *of wicked and unjust designs, and so far discourages the good, as to leave them in the hands of their oppressors*, they, like inconsiderate *Seamen*, do cut the *Cable* of *Hope*, and forsaking the *Anchor* of *Providence*, resign the conduct of all things to *Fortune*, who is yet so *constant* in her *vicissitudes* (familiar to *Gamesters*) that in *a small time* she doth not only take away, but returns to every man his *money* again. And the World hath, for ought we know to the contrary, been till this Age ignorant in *the Circulation of the*

blood, though *the principal Engine of Life*, and such a ne-ceſſary one, as every Creature moves not without, why ſhould we rob *our ſelves* of the *Comfort*, and *God* of the *honour* of *Managing* whatſoever happens, though yet ignorant of the *manner* and *reaſon* of his doing it, which hereafter we ſhall ſee revealed: the *Age of man* being *too ſhort* to diſcover every *ſpoke* in this *wheel*, that may within a ſpan or two be twiſting the deſtruction of thoſe that are now at the *top*. Nor can any man gueſs how another fares by an outward aſpect taken from his Moveables, but muſt ſleep with him and enter his boſom, which *God* doth; and can no doubt by *ſtacking* of *Grief* in one, and *winding up Fears* and *Jealouſies* in another, make the World even. It being the *Spring* and intrinſick *part* of the *Watch* that the *Workman* looks after, and not the *Caſe*, though it may poſſibly be *gold*, or ſome richer Materials, which *the Rabble* do uſually caſt their eyes upon, as *Children do on the Lord Mayors Pageants*; admiring the *ſplendor* of thoſe that *ride* in them, who conſidered in their own nature are but *mean* mens Iſſue, and thus adorned at the *City coſt*: yet their *external varniſh* doth ſo obſtruct the Organs of Senſe, as they do not perceive the *poorneſs* of the *people that bear them up*, no more than how long they may be *able*, or found *willing* to do it. And if men cannot, by a ſerious reflection upon their own affairs, *diſtinguiſh* the *operations* of *Providence* from thoſe of *Contingency*; yet ſince it is *the moſt univerſal Opinion*, and for ought ever I could hear objected to the contrary, the leaſt obſtructed from *Reaſon* or *Conſent*, *That every Creature holds its Production*, no leſs than Preſervation, at the will of an *Omnipotency*, by us ſtiled *God*; Though the *ways how he operates be beyond our fathom, and paſt finding out*, why ſhould not *credulity* reſt at the *brink* of this *Abyſs* (by all acknowledged the *leaſt dangerous*) rather than hazard all *hope* of *future*

beatitude,

beatitude, in the *uncomfortable Gulf* of a *wretchleſs Atheiſm*. There remaing as *little viſible loſs* to ſuch as award all *honour* to our *Maker*, as *gain* for thoſe that *deny him* quite. Nor are we bereaved totally of the ſhadow of *Omniſciency*; ſince from a far lower ſituation than *Heaven*, we are able at one glance to over-look a *whole City*, and by a ſingle *Trumpet* to Alarum an *Army*. Yet our *ſenſes* are capable to receive no ſmall *augmentation* from the aſſiſtance of *Art*: an Infallible argument that the perfection of theſe qualities doth not determine in the perſon of any Creature; but ſomething *paramount* all that hath yet riſen within the compaſs of our Experience, it being *impoſſible but a ſuperlative power ſhould reſt ſome where*. Nor can we be competent *Judges* of the *motions* of *God* that have nothing to meaſure by but *Senſe*, much too weak to diſcern the *motion of a ſhadow*, or the growth of a *Plant*, till Time hath rendred them apparent: wherefore far unable to comprehend the *Lines of Providence*, Imperceptible to every *Intelligence* but his who hath the ſole diſpoſure of all things. It not being *probable* Man ſhould comprehend the *out-goings* of *God*, whileſt he is not able to give any *Reaſon* for *his own*.

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FINIS.

Political Reflections

UPON

THE GOVERNMENT

OF THE

TURKS.

Nicholas Machiavel. The King of *Sweden's* Deſcent into *Germany.* The Conſpiracy of *Piſo* and *Vindex* againſt *Nero.* The Greatneſs and Corruption of the Court of *Rome.* The Election of Pope *Leo* the XI. The Defection from the Church of *Rome.* *Martin Luther.*

By FRANCIS OSBORN, Eſq;

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TO THE

READER.

SInce our bleſſed *Saviour* draws a Precedent for *Prudence*, from the unjuſt deportment of a wicked *Steward*; and recommends to his followers the *Subtilty of Serpents*, with a no leſs Emphaſis than the *Innocence of Doves*; I truſt (in this Juncture when the Preſs groans to be delivered of the burden ſhe ſuſtains from their more ſeditious and prophane Off-ſpring, who deſire to foment War; and *Chriſtian Magiſtrates* reckon their Subjects *Diſobedience* in the heavieſt *Item*, they account for with God, in their ſolemn *Humiliations*;) I ſhall not be the worſe eſteemed by men judicious and moderate, for taking ſome choice *Obſervations* out of the Turkiſh *Arcana*, which garbled and weighed according to the true ballance of the *Sanctuary*, may not impoſſibly mind thoſe at the Helm of *Expedients* more proper

for *Unity*, than have yet been employed among *Christians:* where though *Christ* be owned under the greatest demonstration of *Self-denial*, yet *Uncharitableness* abounds, and less awful *obedience* is given to Gods Vicegerents in Christian Common-wealths, than the Apostle *Paul* did award to Infidels. Nor doth the *Church*, set in the Firmament of Regality for the Luminary and direction of all Subjection due to our Heavenly and Earthly Guides, keep to her proper Sphere, if, from a *Medium* between us and our Maker, she becomes a sticckler in things purely belonging to the Magistrate, our Obedience, like that of the Catholicks, must still stagger betwixt two Supremes; It being impossible for the best or worst of Governours to be longer in quiet, than she is pleased to permit them: And this apprehended by some (better fitted and resolved for the discovery of Errors, than able or willing to mend them) they conclude, all the mischiefs arising through the loud Fulminations, the spirit of Contention hath, or may have, darted out of the Pulpit, flow from the Riches and Splendour of the Clergy, that upon a more serious account may be laid to the abuse and ill-admiration of their Office and Power, which duly regulated, is the wholsomest Flower in the Crown of Government: it out-reaching the ken of example to find a State happy, where the *Priesthood* is exposed to the Peoples *contempt*,

or

or Religion ſuffered to be weighed at the common Beam; which muſt needs happen, where their *Maintenance* is ſcandalous, and their *Perſons* deſpicable, or not vigorouſly protected by the hand of Authority; to whom they do, or at leaſt might bring Obedience, without putting it to the trouble of reward or puniſhment. Nor would the *Laity* ſo much grumble at the payment of *Tythes*, were they wiſe enough to weigh the great advantage they have through the Churches dependance on their welfare, which would be quite loſt, did their maintenance drop out of the immediate hand of the *Prince*, as it doth among the *Turks*; who are too well read in Policy, to break or diſmember ſo uſeful an Engine, becauſe it may or might, for want of Circumſpection, have bruiſed the fingers of thoſe it ought to preſerve. But if this points at any prejudice in Church or State, I am reſolved to remain no obſtinate Heretick, but to caſt it at the feet of the ſame Authority, Providence hath ſet me under, and for whoſe ſake I firſt took it up. And this I hope will ſatisfie the *wiſe Reader*; but for *Critical Fools*, the ordinary ſort of Book-worms, who, like Iron-moles, diſcolour the ſenſe and obliterate the natural meaning of Authors, by their ſpurious and tart Cenſures; eſteeming nothing fit to paſs current, that hath not deſcended

from their Anceſtors, whoſe fouleſt blots they paint over with fairer Gloſſes than they can find colour for in the general Ignorance (ſome few Pens excepted) that did then bleer the underſtandings of Subjects, extending in the mean time the no leſs innocent, if not more uſeful modern endeavours upon the cruel rack of a ſevere Scrutiny, till ſome pretext is found for to ground detraction upon: This I ſay, cannot diſcourage me from proſecuting what Conſcience informs me may advance *Settlement*, who have long been taught, that the way lies to the Paradiſe of *Peace*, through the Purgatory of *Cenſure*, which all muſt expect to find their Sails filled with, that ſteer contrary to the current of *Antiquity*, imagined only by idle Dunces, to have pinned the Basket: For ſince this Age hath the uſe of their Plat-forms, and the ſame Tools, it lies not in my Cap to apprehend, why it may not operate as well and wiſely. To conclude, ſuch as have, or do hereafter modeſtly proſecute a farther revelation of Knowledge, ought not to be diſcouraged, or unwillingly imploy their Talents, as many do that come betrayed to the Preſs, or led more by Friends Importunity, than their own Genius: For though their Contemporaries ſerve them as the *Jews* did the *Prophets*, yet when Death hath laid them out of the reach of Envy

and

and perſonal Contempt, Poſterity ſhall not only commiſerate the Cruelty of that neglect they lay under in their life time, but build Monuments to their Immortal Fame.

THE TURKISH POLICY: OR, OBSERVATIONS UPON THE Government of the Turks.

NOt to aſcend the higheſt ſtep of the *Turkiſh Pedigree*, (whoſe primitive *Actions*, no leſs than thoſe of the *Goths*, lie buried in the Rubbiſh their huge *Veſtation* have formerly made through the *Eaſtern Empire*, and ſince in that of the *Weſt*, upon the ſcore of whoſe eternal reproach, they keep their Royal Port in the Emperial City:) I ſhall only obſerve the prudent *Deportment of Mahomet* (owned by all for their *Founder*) without taking more notice of his or their extraction, than what may ſerve to illuſtrate the following Diſcourſe, projected rather to delineate the wiſe *Track* he hath chalked out to his Succeſ-

sors, and what exact followers they have been of it, (which few have done) than the Deeds themselves, usually found scored at the end of every street. Though I believe, with great partiality, and many omissions, in relation to the shame and terrour they have brought upon *Christendom* (through the division of whose Princes they have attained this grandeur) the Fate of their Atchievements, who want *Pens* of their own to register their *Stories*; in which this *Emperour*, no less than his Successors, have been still defective: Yet he that considers what hath followed, cannot take it for an hyperbole, to say, the main *difference* between *Alexander*, *Cæsar*, and *Mahomet* consists in a *Feather*, or the *Quill* of a *Goose*.

2. He had the happiness to set up under a most auspicious *juncture*; the greatest Politicians then extant, being more imployed in molding an *Ecclesiastical Monarchy*, and mending the *Rents* the *Schismaticks* of those times had made in the *Church*, than in improving any temporal Power, or raising Banks that might stop such an inundation, as so great a Snow-ball was likely to cause upon the face of that Earth, whereever it came to resund.

3. His *Followers* were owners of no vaster *Understandings* than might render them pliable to *Labour* and *Discipline*: Who being of a brutish and wild imployment, did not only undergo the *hardship of War*, but were ready to yield all awful Obedience to such marks of *Worship*, or religious Observations, as he was pleased to impress upon their yet unsuborned imaginations: Not so easily obtained from *acuter heads*, who are apt to pretend a sufficiency in determining the truth or falshood of that, Authority hath allotted for an unquestioned Creed: The more to be avoided by all *new Legislators*, because known so pernicious to

established

eſtabliſhed Common-wealths and Monarchies, as the *promoters of Sedition*, are ſeldom found to take Horſe at any other block than what they perceive the people apteſt to ſtumble at, in relation to *Gods worſhip*. No *Colony* having been obſerved for to dilate it ſelf, that held not at leaſt ſo long conſtant to *one profeſſion in Religion*, till Time and Succeſs had eſtated them in a power able to reſiſt any Enemy; by nothing eaſier brought about than a confident *Report of ſome Miracle*, which once rivetted into the opinion of the people, by Cuſtom and Education, cannot after be removed, without the hazard of all. This made him profeſs a daily *Commerce with Angels*, and pretend the terrible *Fits* incident to his *Diſeaſe*, as *holy ecſtaſies*, in which *God* did mind him of the way and means how to lead his People. And according to this Pattern, a *Law* was founded, ſo ſuitable to the higheſt Taſte of humane Senſuality, and obvious to a carnal apprehenſion, that it was ſwallowed by this Rabble for the undoubted and pure *Will of God*, and he looked upon for his moſt holy *Prophet*. To the advancement of which *Belief* their *Ignorance* did mainly contribute, found by experience, the ſtrongeſt aſſertor of what ſhe confidently believes, though in it ſelf never ſo improbable. And after ſome farther commerce had throughly eſtated their Conſciences in this perſwaſion, they grew zealous, that is, affectionate, and deſirous to propagate where ever they came, ſuch Opinions as their Governnours had contracted them to, out of no higher ſanctity at firſt, than to keep them entire and chaſte in their worldly obedience.

4. Neither were the Proſelytes of this *new Prophet* checked, in the earneſtneſs of their purſuit after *Empire*, by the confluence of *contrary accidents*, and the number of *rubs* the unſteady hand of ſo contingent a War, could not chuſe but caſt daily in their way; but

the

the more enflamed, as taking them rather for incite-
ments to further cruelties towards others, than any ſto-
to the unjuſt encroachments they made upon the Prin-
palities of their Neighbours; looked upon by them
Enemies to God, and ſo, like the *Canaanites*, fit on
to be eradicated, for the better eaſe and advantage
themſelves. Or if any *croſs event* was apprehende
relating to them, they put it off as if it only concer
ed their *Remiſneſs* in the intended *Work of the Lord*
which was to ſpoil others and inrich themſelves. Th
abates the wonder of their Victories, who ha
the Art to draw encouragement from the be
or worſt of ſucceſſes: For through the claſhing
theſe *contrary events*, *Mahomet* kindled ſuch a bli
zeal amongſt their over-heated Ignorance, as it co
ſumed all before them, without the leaſt conſideratio
had of things ſacred or prophane.

5. And to preſerve this child of his Ambition, fro
being ſtifled in the ſwadling cloths, through an ove
laying of Neighbours (who were called in prudence t
the cruſhing of ſuch deſigns, had they not been ren
red deaf by the janglings between the *Greek* and *La
tine* Churches) *he gathers the chiefeſt ingredents of his I
ſtitutes out of the Gardens, both of the Jewiſh and Chriſti
an Religion*; leaving his Sectariſts in groſs, to the
more looſe and acceptable primitive *Heathenism*; i
ſerting few Novelties but what reſpected his own pe
ſon, which he doth not ſtile a God, though he arro
gates to himſelf a Supremacy over all his Prophets.

6 Yet did he not only forbid the uſe of *Images*, a
may be thought, in imitation of *Moſes* (who by tha
bred ſuch a hatred in the *Jews* againſt all Nations,
as kept a conſiderable part of them from mingling
to this day) but out of as deep a Reaſon of State,
in relation to continuance: Since it is impoſſible, if a
Nation once attains an univerſal prudence, but that
the

he deceitful *knack* of ſuch a carnal adoration muſt needs grow loathſome, or lie obvious to their Reproof that ſhall make it their full employments to find faults; and after an opportunity is eaſily gained, to foment a change, by diſcovering to the people *abſurdities* in their *Worſhip*; which is better prevented in one directed, as his is, to the only inviſible and omipotent Creator, whoſe Nature and Power is ſo far remote from the weak apprehenſions of men, as the ſharpeſt reaſon is not able to batter a Faith built ſolely upon it.

7. And by this prudent Election, he hath ſo far prevailed againſt the corruption of *Innovation* (a Ruſt all other Profeſſions have contradicted in leſs time) as no conſiderable *Schiſm* hath yet broke out amongſt them: For that between the *Turk* and *Perſian*, lies rather in the *Genealogy of their Prophets*, than the body of the belief he firſt founded. At ſuch time, leſt Novelty and want of Proof ſhould detect him too apparently, he takes *Abraham* into his Party, whom he owns for the Father of himſelf and his Followers; giving a no leſs honourable Character of *Chriſt* and his Mother, to pleaſe the *Chriſtians*, than of *Moſes* to amuſe the *Jews*; yet hath no milder deſign than the deſtruction of them both: And by this univerſal *compliance*, he rendred his deteſtable *Errors* more glib to the wide ſwallow of that *Ignorance* the world did then gape withal; The cauſe his Doctrine was embraced by as unqueſtioned a Belief, as that of the *Jew* or *Chriſtian*, whom they look upon as owners of more improbable Opinions than theirs, and leſs tending to the honour of that univerſal Goodneſs which reſpects the profit and well-being of his Creatures.

8. In relation to whom the *Turks Sabbath*, no leſs than the *Jews*, was without doubt inſtituted, to give a comfortable relaxation to the poor *Beaſt*, as well as *Slaves*, whom *Moſes* obſerved to lead a life in *Ægypt*, worſe

the more enflamed, as taking them rather for incitements to further cruelties towards others, than any stop to the unjust encroachments they made upon the Principalities of their Neighbours; looked upon by them as Enemies to God, and so, like the *Canaanites*, fit only to be eradicated, for the better ease and advantage of themselves. Or if any *cross event* was apprehended relating to them, they put it off as if it only concerned their *Remissness* in the intended *Work of the Lord*, which was to spoil others and inrich themselves. This abates the wonder of their Victories, who have the Art to draw encouragement from the best or worst of successes: For through the clashing of these *contrary events*, *Mahomet* kindled such a blind zeal amongst their over-heated Ignorance, as it consumed all before them, without the least consideration had of things sacred or prophane.

5. And to preserve this child of his Ambition, from being stifled in the swadling cloths, through an overlaying of Neighbours (who were called in prudence to the crushing of such designs, had they not been rendred deaf by the janglings between the *Greek* and *Latine* Churches) *he gathers the chiefest ingredents of his Institutes out of the Gardens, both of the Jewish and Christian Religion*; leaving his Sectarists in grosse, to their more loose and acceptable primitive *Heathenism*; inserting few Novelties but what respected his own person, which he doth not stile a God, though he arrogates to himself a Supremacy over all his Prophets.

6 Yet did he not only forbid the use of *Images*, as may be thought, in imitation of *Moses* (who by that bred such a hatred in the *Jews* against all Nations, as kept a considerable part of them from mingling to this day) but out of as deep a Reason of State, in relation to continuance: Since it is impossible, if a Nation once attains an universal prudence, but that the

the deceitful *knack* of such a carnal adoration must needs grow loathsome, or lie obvious to their Reproof that shall make it their full employments to find faults; and after an opportunity is easily gained, to foment a change, by discovering to the people *absurdities* in their *Worship*; which is better prevented in one directed, as his is, to the only invisible and omipotent Creator, whose Nature and Power is so far remote from the weak apprehensions of men, as the sharpest reason is not able to batter a Faith built solely upon it.

7. And by this prudent Election, he hath so far prevailed against the corruption of *Innovation* (a Rust all other Professions have contradicted in less time) as no considerable *Schism* hath yet broke out amongst them: For that between the *Turk* and *Persian*, lies rather in the *Genealogy of their Prophets*, than the body of the belief he first founded. At such time, lest Novelty and want of Proof should detect him too apparently, he takes *Abraham* into his Party, whom he owns for the Father of himself and his Followers; giving a no less honourable Character of *Christ* and his Mother, to please the *Christians*, than of *Moses* to amuse the *Jews*; yet hath no milder design than the destruction of them both: And by this universal *compliance*, he rendred his detestable *Errors* more glib to the wide swallow of that *Ignorance* the world did then gape withal; The cause his Doctrine was embraced by as unquestioned a Belief, as that of the *Jew* or *Christian*, whom they look upon as owners of more improbable Opinions than theirs, and less tending to the honour of that universal Goodness which respects the profit and well-being of his Creatures.

8. In relation to whom the *Turks Sabbath*, no less than the *Jews*, was without doubt instituted, to give a comfortable relaxation to the poor *Beast*, as well as *Slaves*, whom *Moses* observed to lead a life in *Ægypt*, worse

worse than death it self. Therefore he derives the Institution of the *Sabbath*, from the mouth of God, to be of no less Antiquity than the Creation. And on that day men were suffered to do no labour, but to keep *holy rest unto the Lord*: by which a *Terrour* was struck into the contemners of the Law, and a great Love and mutual *Confidence* infused among *Neighbours*, no small promoters of Conquest; such standing closer in time of danger as are of nearest relations in Religion and Friendship. Besides, these *Weekly Meetings* do much civilize a Nation, satisfying no less the minds of the *zealous*, than they moderate the Passions of the *Factious* and *Disobedient*, by the great alloy received from the solemn *Devotion* observable in their *Priests*, who use such humble prostrations, and catching *Ceremonies*, in the exercise of their *Divine Rights* (which yet admit of no scandal, because prosecuted in suit of no *Representation*, but to the imploring of the only omnipotent God, in whose service all things are to be imployed) as such are terrified into an *Obedience* of the *Law*, out of a future *Fear*, that could not else be restrained by a present secular danger, or after-hope; imagining a number of possibilities to hide that from *Men*, which nothing is able to cover from the sight of *God*.

9. Of such vast concernment is a grave and prudent *Clergy* to well-being, though of late much slighted among some sort of *Christians*, not so wise as to observe that *the Eye* for the most part, *is caught before the Heart*; and that *Austerity* and *Reverence* in external Worship (if devested of all advantages else) cannot be denied to have a huge operation upon *Obedience* to the *Civil Magistrate*. It being unlikely, that such as take *Decency in Divine Worship* for Idolatry, should not soon be worn out of *Reverence* to their Governours, since the most destructive *Parity* begins always in the *Church*.

10. No

10. No *Law* is more intent upon the *Honour* and *Profit of Monarchy*, than the *Turks*: For though a *Monk* had a finger in the Pie, yet *Mahomet* was so skilful as to season it to his own palate. Neither were many *Christian Princes* less *absolute* at first, than he, till their Subjects by Money, Importunity, or Arms had moderated their power, which we do not find this Nation ever went about; *Servitude*, by Use, becoming a second Nature. But had their Ordinances, like ours, been voted by such a Composition of Estates, wherein the Priest-hood had made the principal Ingredient, for Wisdom, if not Authority, it is very possible they might have more related to Religion; which, like the *Indian Fig-tree*, is of so vast an extent, as it hath been able, not only to harbour an Host of *Churchmen*; but their Bag and Baggage, together with all the plunder they are able to make, by breaking the Hearts, and ransacking the more tender Consciences of *Dying men*: as is apparent in *Rome*, and might have been the same at *Mecca*, had he not prevented it by a choicer prudence, than our *Emperours* have formerly contributed to their affairs.

11. Nor is it a contemptible Paradox to maintain, that the *approach of Ruine or Slavery to a Nation, is visible at first in a too Rich or Meagre Face of the Church. That* causing a *Consumption*, by sucking too much from the Estates and Power of the *Laity*, as this doth a *Feaver*, by putting all into a present hazard, under the destructive pretence of an over-heated zeal. The same counsel being necessary to all Princes, in relation to *Religion*, and the guiders of it, as *Phaeton* is said to receive from his Father, when he undertook the conduct of the *Horses of the Sun*; The *Church* being a *Planet* of that nature, that if it soar *too high*, *it* choaks vertue and Sanctity in the superfluous *Ceremonies*, she is apt to produce; which like too much paint, adulterates the face

face of Truth: but if she be kept *too low*, it doth not only burn and consume all superfluous excrescencies, but *Decency and Order*; Allays, without which we can have no *Uniformity* in a Religious commerce: Since the *Mysteries of our Salvation* cannot be presented to us but in Earthen Vessels; from whence, if they do not retain some tincture, we could not so naturally own them as relating to us: Nay, an indiscreet zeal doth so far participate of the qualities of the Air overheated, that it hatcheth the Plagues of Rebellion wherever it is found, pretending their *Prince* negligent in *Religion*, or too exorbitant in his affection to *Court Minions*, or an infringer of the *Law*, and obstructer of *Justice*; weapons of *Sedition*, easily forged, if not found to lie ready before the Gates of the best of Kings; which subtil men snatch up, and put into the hands of such, as they have formerly intoxicated with a desire of *Reformation*, who seldom give over, till they meet their own ruine, or the States.

12. If *Mahomet* exceeded the Commission of Discretion, in swelling his *Alcoran* to so large a Volum, (multiplicity of words breeding, in the same plenty, *Ambiguities*, among Divines as Lawyers:) Yet he provided against this inconvenience, with as much caution as a by-past error is capable to admit, in prohibiting the *Reading* of it to any but the *Priests*, and the *Interpretation* to all but the *Mufty*. For though the *Jews* were injoyned to score the *Commandments* on the *Walls*, as they did wear them after written on their Clothes; yet none but the *High Priest* was suffered to enter into the *Holy of Holies*, or make any near approach into the innermost place of the *Temple*, from whence the *Oracles* did proceed.

13. Neither is it a slight occasion of the *Turkish Unity*, that their *Alcoran* lies patent to the *Exposition* of none but *their own Pope*: And that *Petitions* to *God* are

are frequenter made among them than Exhortations or Sermons to the People: Becauſe by the firſt they are humbled, through the repetition of their ſins and wants; and by the other, puffed up with the oſtentation of their good parts: Or, (if it may paſs in no worſe ſenſe than it is uttered) in *Praying* we beg ſomething of God we need; in *Preaching* he ſeems to demand obedience from us, which no reaſonable creature will think he can want. To ſay truth, the *frequency* of *Preaching* (to avoid the tedious repetition of the ſame thing) hath created ſuch a *Familiarity* between us and our Maker, and a Feud againſt all that ſerve him not our way; as ſome take the boldneſs to predicate, He cannot do this or that, limiting his Mercy ſo far as to exclude from Salvation, not only the *Turks*, but all the reſt of the World; ſo ſmall a ſpot excepted, as a Fly may cover in an ordinary *Globe*. Do not theſe vain pleaders give the Devil more than (I hope) is his due? contrary to the verdict paſſed by God himſelf, who ſaith, *The Earth is the Lords and all that therein is*; without excepting thoſe many and vaſt Territories, too happy, rich and fair, to be let out to the Prince of Darkneſs, by the great and magnificent Landlord of the World.

14. The whole ſcope of the more charitable *Turkiſh Doctrine*, concludes in theſe *Uſes*; The *Honour* of *God*, *Obedience* to their *Prince*, *Mutual Love*, *Reſolution* in *War*, with an invincible *Patience* in bearing all Terreſtrial wants: The laſt, as a Hoop compaſſing the reſt, by which they are rendred the righteſt Veſſels againſt *Sedition*, and the apteſt to retain all things neceſſary to compliance in Government.

15. Yet, the more to ſtrengthen this tie upon the Subject, all hope of perfect *Happineſs* in *this World* is ſuppreſſed, and their Imaginations wholly engaged on that which is to come: By this, the fear of lapſing into groſſer

groſſer *Idolatry*, or profounder *Atheiſm*, is prevented; being bred only in expectation of *Miſery here*, and ſo more guilty than ſenſible of that ridiculous folly *David* ſo much upbraids them with, that conſume time in the ſervice of *Gods that have neither Eyes to ſee, Ears to hear*, nor Wills to help ſuch as pray to them: For this Stupidneſs once found in that we have been taught to make the *Object of our Worſhip*, and joyning forces with the *Afflictions*, that do ordinarily attend the Beſt, and the *Bleſſings* not obſerved to baulk the moſt Impious; This, I ſay, doth often hurry ſuch as have had their hopes deluded, or adjourned beyond the extent of a ſmall Faith, into wretchleſs *Infidelity*, or which is worſe, a low and deſpicable opinion of their *Maker*, avoided by the *Mahometans*, who look for no remoter cauſes of Afflictions, than what reſult from perſonal miſcarriages, or the will of thoſe in Authority; aſſigning their Maker an higher imployment than the attending or accompliſhing our earthly deſires, which if attained, they might poſſibly hinder us from greater in Heaven, to which this World is but a troubleſome and dark paſſage. Nor can the *Turks* prevarications upon a moſt partial Scrutiny, bear that ſtreſs of wickedneſs the more ſeared Conſciences of ſome *Chriſtians* do daily endure, manifeſt in the *French Maſſacre*; the foulneſs of which Story hath not yet been matched by *Mahomet*, or any of his Diſciples, never found to have born ſuch bitter fruit.

But not to inſiſt upon the Equity or Reaſon of their *Law*, it gives them (as the Prieſts manage it) a ſatisfactory pretence, to eſteem all ways decent and conſonant to Religion, that are able or likely to enlarge their Empire: Not queſtioning the *Quarrel* no more than the future happineſs of ſuch ſouls as have the Fate to expire in it. And if upbraided herewith, they deſire the *Pope* to Catechize his moſt Catholick

lick Son, how he came by *Portugal*, *Naples*, *Milan*, *Sicily*, &c. And what warrant is he able to produce from *the Avenger of Blood*, that might authorize him to ſhed that Ocean he let out in *America*, upon no more ſerious occaſion than Gold, and the Converſion of the People into Slaves to dig it? Can there be a ranker blaſphemy offered againſt the Lord of Hoſts than to ſet up his *Standard* in ſo vaſt and ſanguine a field of Ambition; and the *Croſs* of his Son in a greater *Golgotha* than that wherein he was crucified? And all this under pretence of *Religion*, as if God were leſs jealous of the honor of his Church, than the *Prieſts* were of their *Temple*, into the Verge of which they would not admit the price of blood; much leſs then can the Judge of all things accept the perſons of thoſe that ſhed it.

16. The *awfulneſs* the *Turks* bear to *the Name of God* is ſo great, that they dare not imploy the paper wherein they find it written to any baſe office, but leave it hid in a hole to the farther diſpoſure of the Owners providence; and therefore poſſibly not ſo likely as *Chriſtians* (who obſerve no ſuch decency) to call it to the witneſs of an untruth; much to the *advantage of Governors* there, as it might be in *Chriſtendom*, did Cuſtom or Law ſcrew the peoples minds up to as high an eſteem of it. Neither would this leſſen, but increaſe the benefit *States men* make by diſpenſing with its *abuſe*, which is now ſo often and groſly practiſed, as it is apparent to the multitude, who are apter to follow the *example* of their *Kings*, than the *Doctrine* of their *Teachers*; and might, (if any apparition of Juſtice or Religion were extant in their Governors) have their Paſſions, as the *Turks* ſtirred up to approbation or diſlike, proportionable to the more or leſs diſmal relations their *Prieſts* read to them out of their *Mahümetan Legend*, ſo much the more excuſable, becauſe the awe born to theſe, though but *Fictions*, doth help to

ſpare the more ungrateful Rod, the too frequent uſe of which hath, in all times, produced more Fear than Love.

17. This proves, *A falſe Religion doth contribute more to ſafety, than Atheiſm*, or a ſtupid neglect of all Worſhip; and that *a Clergy is of excellent Concernment*, provided they keep cloſe in their Doctrine, to *Reaſon of State*; not to be brought about, but through the mediation of their own Intereſt, by nothing ſo eaſily *biaſſed*, as comfortable *Livings* and ſevere *Deaths* or puniſhments, in caſe their exhortations go contrary to the grain of the Civil Government; whoſe Adminiſtrators have not ſo much cauſe to complain of the *Churchmen* for their recoiling, ſince by their frequent ſetting upon the people, they taught them at laſt to worry themſelves: their Tongue like a Sword, being as well able to wound one ſide as another, and moves according as it is enclined by profit or fear: Neither can any breach they have formerly made in the affairs of their Patrons, diſparage the *Calling*, more than it doth a *piece of Ordnance*, that being loſt through imprudence and miſcarriage, doth after batter down the houſe of her *Founder*; ſince all their Fulminations tend that way, to which the Hand that fills their Bellies is pleaſed to direct them; there being none eaſier warped than they, nor more violent aſſertors of what their own Wiſdom or the worlds Folly hath given them leave to call *Theirs*, as were eaſily deducible from their frequent changings; which gives me the boldneſs to believe, that if all, which is without queſtion the *Churches*, were reſtored, and the dignity of their Tenets and Calling vindicated, the truly honeſt would comply with any Government, out of Conſcience, and the reſt, batter contrary Parties in hope of Preferment.

Such as look upon the *Mahumetan Profeſſion* as of the groſſer alloy, becauſe ſo far ſubſervient to worldly *Policy*, that the *Grandees and Prieſts*, like Jugglers, carry the

the coal of zeal only in their mouths, not being heated themſelves with what they go about to enflame others; ſuffering the Threats and Promiſes to riſe no higher, or fall no lower, than ſuits with the Politick reaches of the Prince; may find other *Courts* ſtanding in as prophane a Poſture, eſpecially that of *Rome*, (not unworthily looked upon for the Magazine from whence the reſt of the World is ſupplied, with Wiſdom, ſhall I call it, or Deceit) where *Churchmen*, like *Burning glaſſes*, caſt the Rays of a Celeſtial Fire into the Conſciences of others; carrying in the mean time, themſelves, a cold, Cryſtalline, and Fragil Creed, towards what they endeavour to inform the People; taking upon them a publick *care of Souls*, out of a no more religious reſpect, than to provide againſt their private wants; yet connived at here, as well as by all wiſe Princes elſe, becauſe *Law* can promote no *Good*, nor prevent *Evil*, but what is open to *publick cognizance*; whereas *Religion* penetrates ſo low, as to erect a Tribunal in every mind, where Imagination ſits like a terrible Judge, pronouncing the charge ſhe hath been taught from Power, Cuſtom, and Education; which, through the compunction of a tender *Conſcience*, doth ſo rack the moſt intrinſick thoughts of all prepoſſeſſed with the dread of a *future account*, as they do not ſeldom confeſs themſelves guilty of ſuch hainous offences, as none elſe are able to accuſe them for; expecting more eaſe from the ſentence of the publick *Magiſtrate*, than they can find in their private Conſciences, which daily excruciate them with the terrours of *Hell*, and the loſs of *Heaven*. To conclude, *By the heat of Religion many Vertues are hatched, and more Vices ſtifled in the ſhell.*

18. Yet little is obſervable in the *Rites* of *Mahumet*, that is *Chargeable* to perform, or *grievous* to the Nature of Man. Perhaps the cauſe why *Sacrifice* is not taken in, amongſt the number of things borrowed

from the *Jews*; as thinking it incongruous with a Divine Eſſence, to be appeaſed or delighted by the loſs and blood of poor Creatures, incapable of the will or Power to tranſgreſs, though the inclination to Oppreſſion, Covetouſneſs, and Cruelty, is no more a ſtranger to their Natures than ours; which proves *Sin an effect of Law* and Conſtraint, rather than of Liberty or Nature. But *the People of God* had a higher Proſpect from theſe bloody *Ceremonies*, than the dark Miſt about *Mahumet* would ſuffer him, or any other out of the true Church to apprehend; elſe Wolves, and not Sheep, had furniſhed their Altars. Neither did this new State Founder believe any merit could reſide in a voluntary *Maceration*, or perſecution of our *Bodies*, (as if the moſt merciful God, confeſſed to have prepared in future all cœleſtial beatitudes for thoſe that love him, ſhould for the preſent ſo far diveſt that nature, as to delight to ſee us miſerable) which makes me think, that the *putting out of their Eyes* before the *Tomb* of their *Prophet* (now in uſe among them) to prevent the ſight of any thing after, and the *wearing* of ſuch huge and painful *Rings* in the moſt tender parts of their bodies, grew not from any Inſtitute of his, but are rather Baſtards of that *Church*, reputed for nothing more juſtly, *the Whore of Babylon*, than for burning her Proſelytes with ſuch exorbitant zeal, as the *Anchorites* and *Monks* are led by, when they *whip* and *ſtigmatize* themſelves, out of hope to purchaſe Heaven: A Lunacy ſuperlative to theirs, who lend mony in this World upon humane ſecurity, to be paid in the next by God himſelf; No ways ſutable with this Founders Philoſophy, who would have thought it leſs Blaſphemy, with *Plutarch*, to acknowledge no God at all, than to imagine him owner of ſuch Paſſions, as are unworthy, and below a Divine Eſſence.

19. The

19. THe total *Abſtinence from Wine* is the moſt material Sacrament of the Turks Obedience to *Mahumets Law.* Now leſt any ſhould paſs it as a leſs pertinent piece of Prudence, than really it is, I deſire thoſe that take more delight in condemning than acquitting the actions of *Antiquity*, to ſuſpend their Judgements, till theſe Reaſons are weighed.

1. He was not ſo poor a Naturaliſt as not to know *Wine effeminates*, no leſs than enervates the body of Man; the Cauſe, *Sampſons* Mother, together with himſelf, abſtained from it; otherwiſe he might (by the Witch, his Miſtreſs) have been as eaſily charmed into Drunkenneſs as Sleep. For though it may not unpoſſibly, conjure up a preſent furious Reſolution, it was never yet famed for a friend to the Habit of Valour.

2. It is a ſworn *Enemy to Diſcipline*; rendring the moſt obedient Souldiers, during that Diſtemper, deaf to all neceſſary words of Command.

3. *Wine dries the Brain* by Nature, *and beſides, by accident, informs the Underſtanding*, though the Commerce and Familiarity it breeds with men of different Judgments: And ſo might have eaſily called up acuter Spirits, and cauſed a ſtricter *ſcrutiny* into the *Miracles*, *Life*, and *Procedure* of their *Legiſlator*, than an infantine Power was able to correſpond for: There being no humour ſo bad, but this ſtrong liquor is able to make worſe and inflame, by repreſenting miſcarriages in Commanders, and affronts from their Fellows, which in a calmer temper could never have floated in ſo weak Imaginations: And thus led on by Chimera's they, like *Sampſon*, ſnatch up the moſt improbable weapons, which they do, not ſeldom, imploy in almoſt as miraculous Succeſſes.

4. The *Transparency* of *Drunkenneſs*, able to conceal nothing to its own Shame; and *Flexibility* to all things, rather than Reaſon.

5. Being yet in an itinerant condition, and ſo not likely to find *Wine* always at hand; it could not have layn in the power of any earthly thing, but a premeditated and religious Injunction, to have kept ſuch an untutored Rabble within the compaſs of moderation, when ever they had met with it; Not ſeldom *the Fate of Armies*, who upon ſuch diſadvantages, have been all cut off by far inferiour Powers, being themſelves firſt overcome by *Drink*.

6. To end this Digreſſion, in which more might be ſaid; *Wine* could be no fit ingredient to mingle with the heat of the Country they marched in, and the labour they muſt needs encounter in the rough way, leading to ſo high Deſigns.

20. Not to preſume to vie Inſtances with the people of the *Jews*, who beſides the prudence of *Moſes*, had the unerring Spirit of God to direct them in all emergent occaſions (which, by the way, renders their frequent *Grumblings* no leſs prodigious than blaſphemous) I find few Nations more *conſtant to their Founders Aphoriſms*, or that give leſs way to a refining, by the agitation of experiences drawn from a confluence of differing events, than the *Turk*; for which he ſtands obliged to his own firm *Conſtancy in Religion*, and his Neighbours often variations, which have opened the gap to his moſt ſignal Conqueſts: It being Impoſſible to ſhake this Tree of *Paradiſe*, but to the prejudice of the Prince in poſſeſſion, and benefit of ſuch ſubtil Serpents as deſire to ſupplant him; therefore not to be done out of any wantoner inſtigation, than an abſolute Neceſſity. For though the *Change* of an opinion that is ancient, may ſtop a Leak for the preſent, it breeds ſuch a Worm, as doth cauſe a perpetual Colick in the

State:

State: Apparent in *France*, where the *Queen Mother* fomented the *Proteſtants*, to maintain her *Regency*, and could never after be free from the danger of *Civil War*. This makes me wonder to find *Toleration of Religion* ſo common an Article in the Tranſactions of Princes; ſince it no way ſutes with the complexion of Prudence to palliate a preſent *defect* by ſuch a *Recipe* as may breed for the future an incurable *Diſeaſe*.

21. Yet becauſe many *Cuſtoms*, paſſing currant in the *Minority of Power*, would prove childiſh and defective in a more *Setled Condition*, and after Poſterity is ſwelled to ſo conſiderable a bulk, as that the moſt numerous part may be allowed to exchange Battle-axes and Swords into Shares and Pickaxes; it could not be avoided by humane Providence, but ſomething ſhould be wanting in relation to ſo vaſt an *Empire*, no leſs terrible to the Ear than admirable to their Eyes, have ſeen it; a Fortune perhaps as far above the hopes of their firſt *Founder*, as it tranſcends the ordinary extent of the like endeavours. Therefore he deſerves, in my opinion, more commendation, for foreſeeing ſo much, than blame in omitting *Proviſions* againſt ſuch accidents, as none but a *Prophet* indeed could be ever able to preſage: Many Carriages being neceſſary to the *Sword*, are ſuperfluous, if not deſtructive when the *Scepter* is obtained: The firſt intending the death of Enemies, but the latter the preſervation of Subjects and Friends.

22. Whereupon his Succeſſors finding that though the *Keys of the Church can hang no where ſo quietly, as at the Girdle of the Prince*, (of which *Moſes* is an unerring Example) yet to give a greater luſtre to the beams of *Religion* (eſteemed by all, if not quite corrupted, yet far leſs pure in Secular Veſſels, than thoſe ſet wholly apart for the worſhip of God;) and to have withal a favourable *Umpire* of a ſeeming more indifferent and

sanctified alloy, ready to compose any *Discontents*, that might be fomented between the *Civil Power* and the *Subject*, either through others ambition, or their own oppression, not unlikely to result from so absolute a Jurisdiction; A Religious man called the *Mufty*, is set up, whose *Habit* is *Green*, a colour none but the Kindred of *Mahumet* are suffered to wear, of which number he is always supposed to be one. Now the better to enable him to strike an awful Reverence into the People, in case a misled Zeal should melt them into *Divisions*, or a colder Licence freez them into a chill *Atheism*, the *Emperour* honours the *Mufty* in publick, with the highest *reverence* and most solemn *attention*, Denying him nothing he dare ask; No *Malefactor* being suffered to die, hath the fortune to see him, or be seen by him as he passeth; The Prince placing him, upon all weighty occasions, next the Throne, where, by his publick *Gestures*, he acts a lively and terrible dread of those Crackers, that contain no other Sparks of a Celestial fire than what resides in true *Reason of State*: Which is the *Art of Governing* to the best advantage for Prince and People.

And though this *Circumcised Pope* yields an infallible *obedience* to all the *Emperour* inspires him with, yet being *rarely seen*, the Generality reverence him, as if they apprehended something about him more than humane. And let our new Politicians practise what they please, Experience hath made it sufficiently manifest, that *A too prostituted Familiarity breeds contempt*, not only in things Civil, but Divine. Now such as think the Prudence absolutely necessary to the Conduct of humane affairs, useless in those relating to Heaven, may be out; For since *Miracles*, and the audible voice of God is silent, nothing is so likely as a *Sanctified Policy*, to retain a competent Reverence for Religion, or maintain so much Probity, as is requisite in a general Commerce,

Commerce, to keep us from murdering one another, upon the inſtigation of Covetouſneſs and Revenge. Therefore the way for *Prince* and *Prieſt* to be thought more than men, is to do nothing unworthily, ſay nothing unproperly, nor wear any thing undecently.

23. The Turk in this is happy, that the *Mufty* his *Pope*, no leſs than *Meca* his *Rome*, are within reach of his power; ſo as he is not to ſeek for the *Oracles of Religion* out of his own Territories; denied by cuſtom to the moſt conſiderable part of *Europe*, whoſe Princes are regulated by the *Popes* Inſpirations, not only in things concerning God, but what elſe may be fetched in by his Paſtoral Crook (*in Ordine ad Spiritualia.*) And leſt this abſurd proceeding ſhould be expoſed to a general Reformation, the Biſhop of *Rome* tolerates all *Inceſtuous Matches*, and other baſe and unjuſt actions, Princes deſire to have indulged, for fear, like *Hen.* 8. they ſhould do it of themſelves. The conſideration of which makes them bear the heavy weight of ſo many *Eccl-ſiaſticks*, who ſcarce acknowledge any obedience but to the See of *Rome.*

24. Though the *Turkiſh* Court no leſs than the Common People, do afford the Gaudy plumage of Honour to the *Mufty*, the higheſt Bird in this Earthly *Paradiſe*; yet if he but offers to tune his note contrary to the true *Dialect of State*, he is ſtraight unperched: It having been long obſervable in this Empire, that neither *Friends*, *Mony*, *Sanctity*, *Love* of *People*, former *Deſert*, or any preſent need of the perſons accurate *Parts*, were ever found Antidotes ſufficient to expel the poiſon of the *Emperours Jealouſie*, who eſteems no number of Lives (though never ſo innocent) equivalent with his ſafety, or the Nations. Yet if this *Holy Man* comes to his death by an unnatural *Obſtruction*, the honour of his place is ſo far from receiving diminution by it, that his Body goes to the Grave with the leaſt

leaſt aſperſion to his *Fame*; his Life being rather commended. So as his Succeſſor mounts into his Chair untainted by any Prejudice; which *Chriſtians* contract to their *Popes* or *Patriarchs*, by the errors they diſcover after their Deaths; The Cauſe, ſuch as ſucceed are not in ſo great eſteem as their Offices require; Thought capable to be tainted with the ſame faults their Predeceſſors were owners of: not here imagined, becauſe the *Mufty*, how ill ſoever he deſerved of *Church* or *State*, is regiſtred among their *Saints*. which appears the higheſt point of *Policy*, it being unlikely, any ſhould *queſtion* the truth of his *Judgment* when he is in being, whoſe Actions they dare not arraign after he is dead. And for his *Removal*, it paſſeth without the leaſt notice given to, or taken by the Generality; who are otherways imployed, either in careſſing their plurality of *Wives*, or diſpatching the buſineſs neceſſary to their *Profeſſions*: Abominating us *Chriſtians* for *walking* to no more profitable an end, than to talk of *News*, &c.

25. This diſcourſe of the *Mufti's diſpatch* may afford ſome room by the way, to enquire into the juſtice of *Clandeſtine Deaths*; a *Cuſtom* with the *Mahometans*, but ſuch an one, as I hope never to ſee concocted into a more general practice among us: yet obſerving how our *Chronicles* lie overflowed with ſuch vaſt Oceans of Blood, ſpilt upon no more urgent and publick neceſſity, than what relates to the ends and ambition of a ſingle perſon, I will venture to ſay of it, and that only for the Meridian of *Turkey*, that a *Phyſician or a* Felton *may be cheaper imployed than an Army*, and with leſs prejudice to the *good of the Generality*, Voted by all Right and Reaſon, *the Supreme Law*, And for whoſe Salvation *Innocency* himſelf was willing to die. For where the ſole power of Life and *Limb* reſides, as it doth here, in the breaſt of the Prince, under the warran

warrant of an uninterrupted Cuſtom (the *malice* making the *Murder*, and not the blow) I cannot think it ſo hainous a Crime, that, in caſe a Subject hath juſtly forfeited his Life to the ſafety, or but the conveniency of the People, it ſhould be taken the moſt advantagious way to make the better compenſation for the damage it had or might have brought to the Publick. A *private execution* being eſteemed here no more *Murder*, where the Cauſe is juſt, than one made publick is able to expiate the blood of an Innocent.

I know, ſo many *Inconveniences* lie in the way of this *Cuſtom*, as it appears too unwieldy to be managed without danger by a ſingle perſon, whoſe Judgment cannot be ſo clearly ſeparated from paſſion, as meerly to intend his Countries preſervation, without the mixture of ſome gall of revenge; A candor not unpoſſible to be found in the State of *Venice*, by nothing ſo long preſerved in being, as a *Cuſtom* they have ſometimes to *make away* their greateſt *Senators* upon no ſtronger evidence, than what meer *Suſpicion* brings in againſt them; preferring rather the cutting off a *Limb*, in which appears the firſt Symptomes of *Putrefaction*, than to hazard the whole Body by an incurable *Gangrene*. But whether the damage of this practice, exceeds the profit, or the benefit the danger of the conſequence, cannot be eaſily reſolved; ſince *Princes* and *Stateſmen* carry often ſuch pernicious humours, as they convert that into a *daily practice*; which, like *Davids* eating the Shew-bread, is only permitted in caſe of *Neceſſity*.

26. Queen *Elizabeth*, in other things the beſt conſulted Monarch that ever filled the *Engliſh* Throne, forfeited more good opinion and honour, in uſing the *Hangman* in the death of her ſiſter *Mary* of *Scotland*, than if ſhe had imployed all the *Mountebanks* in *Europe*: for though *Princes* ſtand as near the Grave as other Mortals,

Mortals, in relation to *Diseases*, no less than *Desert*; Yet the hand of *Justice* cannot decently appear in their Executions, without debauching the Majesty of her own Power; Princes being esteemed the mouth of the Law. Now since the *Council* of *England* were too pious or hypocritical, to use the *Fig* in the sense of *Italy*, *Spain*, and other Nations, celebrated for more wisdom; they might under an higher repute of Sanctity have spared the *Leaves*, and not laid the fault on poor *Davison*, that did nothing but by Commission; an Apron that discovered more shame than it could possibly hide: All looking upon it, not only as the desire, but the act of the *Queen* and her *Council*, who by this publick Procedure dilated the reproach over the whole Nation. Now I appeal to all not indulgent to a *Form* of *Justice*, though never so ridiculous, who obligeth his Prisoner most, he that takes away the *irksom Ceremonies*, Dishonour and Expectation of *Death*, or he that accumulates them all on a Block? As if that which is *Murder* in a *Chamber*, were not only far greater, but more terrible on a *Scaffold*, where nothing but Death and her attendants appear.

27 But to return to *Turkey*. It lies not out of the way of possibility, but that the *Grand Signior*, in regard of his abundance of Wives, may have two, or more *Children* at one and the same time: Therefore to break the neck of all disputes apt to result from contrary *claims*, the *Emperour in fact strangles all that rest*; a consest tyrannical Tragedy, not to be heard without detestation; yet we fear too often acted among *Christians*, else the line of the *Catholick King*, no less than that of *France*, and those smaller ones in *Italy*, might long since have choked their Felicity in a crowd of *Rebellions*: Neither need I end here, were it my design to exceed the Counterpane by home-born examples. Yet such a *Querie* may be seasonably made, If *the good*

of

of All (as I ſaid before) be the *Supreme* Law, and grounded upon that of *Nature*, whoſe chief buſineſs is to intend the *preſervation* of the *whole*, without any nicer relation to *particulars*, than to place or remove them according as they ſuit or bring profit to the general occaſions, a duty all are born to; why ſhould ſuch be blamed as take the moſt probable ways to promote Peace, and ſtop the *Poſtern Gates* of the *Court*, by which more dangerous *Wars* enter, than do ordinarily proceed from the *invaſions* of *Strangers*? And here by the way, we may note, That *Republicks have not ſuch impulſive cauſes to ſhed innocent blood, as Kings:* eſpecially after that Sluce is ſtopt, which the moſt for their preſervation are forced to let run at firſt, till the State is reduced to an wholſom Parity, and the ambitious itch of all Pretenders cured.

28. Nothing is *penal* by the *Laws* of this Nation, but what is always, or at leaſt for the preſent, deſtructive to the *well being* of the Prince or People: By which the more active *Youth* (the ſtrongeſt ingredient to compoſe an *Army* of) remain ſo fully ſatisfied with an uninterrupted *Licence* to attain the fartheſt extent of their deſires, as they apprehend no felicity beyond the *Liberty* they enjoy: And in ſuch as Time and Wearineſs hath exchanged the humour of *Luſt*, for one more *Thriving*, the Priviledge they have to *exact on ſtrangers*, hinders their apprehenſions from finding that loathſom taſte, *Foreigners* imagine to reſult from ſo *abſolute* a *Juriſdiction*, as is, and hath been for many Ages exerciſed by their *Emperours* over them. And thus the *State* is a double gainer, this *Indulgence* affording opportunity for all to lay out themſelves to the advantage of their Country, either in *getting Wealth*, or *Souldiers* to defend it.

29. Contrary

29. Contrary to the practice of *Christians*, that plant the Canons of their *Law*, and arm the Messengers of Death and *Damnation* against the Gnats of *juvenile lapses*, but permit the weightier sins of *Oppression*, *Schism*, and *Ambition*, which never leave boyling in their heads, till they discover an opportunity, by which they may overflow the ancient Government, in turning the peoples eyes towards the *Faults* of their *Prince*, and stopping them with prejudice against his *Vertues*: which may be done under the Seal of so secure a Caution, as the Actors are often upon the Stage, before those intended to be the subject of the *Tragedy* are able to take notice of it, especially in Nations glutted with Peace and Plenty, or such as long to cast off an usurped Power; whereas it is possible, if *Nature* were not so *hard curbed*, and deprived of vent (by which she is not seldom carried through an impetuous Lust, out of the true rode of *Generation*) such minds might be taken up with less destructive diversions; *This desire* being as hard to be appeased, as that of hunger or thirst: Neither can the *defects* daily observed to increase in our *Issue*, be justly imputed to any thing else, than the meager desires, so strict a confinement breeds in us, by which the spirits are so curdled and quelled, as they rarely produce any thing admirable for *strength* or *stature*, the highest perfections of Nature, and no less useful in Peace than War; so as the *Names* and *Estates* of the most illustrious *Families* this Age affords, depend on *Children* our Fore-fathers would hardly have Christened; being fit for nothing but *Learning*; a Trade had never been so over-bid; but to find imployment for these *Changelings*; who *Fairy*-like throw about Firebrands in State and Church, upon the least apprehension of any want or superfluity in Ceremony or Decency. To conclude, Such as too rigidly expel by their forked *Laws*, any *natural desires*, forget they will return, or break

break out into a worſe miſchief; No leſs than the more prudent Advice of *Solomon*, *not to wring the noſe* of the People to avoid excrements, *leſt Blood ſhould follow*: For if *Law* did not out-wrangle *Nature*, ſhe might poſſibly be heard to plead, that our ordinary *Marriages* do rather tire than ſatisfie her deſires. And though it may not be owned as a decent *Poeſie* for the *Ring-leaders* to *Sedition*, yet the ſetting too high a *mulct* upon the Peoples *Peccadillo's*, and diſſents in Judgment, no way in their power to prevent, though poſſibly to diſſemble, is the cauſe of a loathing of the preſent *Government*, and a certain preſage of ruine to all in Authority, if not the whole State, to be brought about under the pretence of zeal to *Religion*, and care of the Peoples *Liberty*; though the firſt is no more viſible in the *Church*, than the latter is in the *civil* Adminiſtration of affairs; Far exceeding the Cheat of *Ananias* and *Saphira*, who gave a conſiderable part of what was their own, whilſt theſe ſwallow all the *primitive Charity* had laid out in *pious uſes*, belying ſo far the *holy Spirit*, as to pretend, the worſt they can ſay or do, is dictated by it. And I wiſh *Mahumet* were only guilty in this, who made not his *Religion* alone, but his loathſom *Diſeaſe* a Baud to his Ambition and Rapine.

30. *Puniſhments* in *Turkey* are *more ſharp than common*, which doth rather ſtupefie than waken the humour to *Rebellion*; and are executed on open *Malefactors*, not the *Darlings* of the people, removing the latter upon occaſion by a *clancular procedure*; As in caſe a *Madman* (one of the *Prophets* of their Rabble for ſuch they eſteem ſo) ſhould inveigh againſt Authority, they are far wiſer than to ſtigmatize or whip them through the *City* (as we uſed to do) before the people, who take themſelves not only concerned, but wounded in the general *Liberty*, through their *ſufferings*; It being their nature to take hold of, and believe any *evil report* of ſuch

Governours

Governours (at least) as are employed in *Taxes*, or any other *ungrateful Service*, though most necessary for the use of the *State*: therefore in such cases, if they cannot tempt him over to their side, by *Gold*, they stop his mouth with something *less cordial*: and if his body be found, no diligence is omitted in the enquiring after some *Ruffin*, on whom the people may be likely to father the *Murther*; or the Corps not appearing, they pretend him wrapt up into Heaven by the mediation of their great *Prophet*, at whose feet he sits pleading their cause, and guarding them from some *Plague*, they say, impends over them for their *disobedience* to the *Emperour*, the Vicegerent of God upon Earth. Nor doth this oftentimes serve, but a solemn *Fast* is appointed, where the *Statesmen* do in shew, and the *Ignorant* in pure zeal, afflict themselves; during which time, the news of some *victory*, or happy accident, is brought and owned as the *return* of their *Prayers*, no less than a heavenly approbation given to the Actions of those in Power: Thus after the multitude have been sufficiently *chastised* for the *Courtiers Faults*, they become humble and quiet, submitting their backs to any burden, out of a fear of worse, and an opinion they have that it is consonant to the will of God.

Yet in my judgement no wise Prince ought to tire out *this remedy* by a too often application, lest it should not only lose its *virtue*, but breed a worse *Disease*; an over heated *zeal* consuming not seldom the wrong end to that for which it was at first kindled, being apt to be driven by the contrary winds of Ambition and Covetousness upon the *Church*, where the *Buckets* use to hang, likelier to quench the flames of any other *sedition*, than what results from this Wild fire; which for the most part melts the *Lead*, and consumes the foundation of the *House of God*, under pretence of his Service; a course that is so far from *edification*, that

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it makes all, not acquainted with the true knack of *Ambition*, *hate to be reformed*: whose second remove is to the *Court*, where finding all things in a *rotten condition*, or at best obnoxious to be construed to a sense contrary to the prepossessed minds of the major part; the whole Fabrick is consumed, to the very *person* of the *Prince*, out of whose ashes another ariseth that proves a *Bird of the same feather*, if not a worse: The *Subjects* returning home laden, for the generality, with no more benefit than the *Beggars*, that in a drunken fit expose themselves to the danger of the Law, Wounds, Beating, and Death, only to burn the old *Whipping Post*; though daily experience informs them, they can neither be quiet or safe without it, which is the cause that in all places they set up a new one, when the fury of the distemper is over. *Thus are Subjects no less vain, that do rebel, than Governours mad, that provoke them to it.*

31. The Subjects in *Turkey* have nothing *hereditary*: All *Honours*, and *places of profit*, being peculiar to *Desert*, and determine with *Life*, without the least partiality shewed to *greatness of Birth*, unless that it produceth more jealousie than favour, to have descended from a Father formerly in power. This hangs no less weight of *Restraint* on the *Ambition* of all in actual Administration of publick Affairs, than it adds *Industry* to such as have not yet attained to that height. By which a foul errour in *Europe* is obviated, where men ascend to the *highest places* by the mediation of *Friends* and *Money*, rather than any advantage their *worth* brings to the Common-wealth: It being most ordinary for Fools to be admitted into the *Temples of Honour* and *Riches*, whilst the choicest endowments of Art and Nature are suffered to pray, if not beg, without.

32. The *Emperours* being here *Administrator to all dead mens Estates*, forceth their *Children* to be solicitous after *trades*; as having none to relie on for a future *maintenance*, but themselves. And to add reputation to this laudable custom the *Grand Signior* professeth some *Art* himself, in which he disdains not to consume his spare time. From whence accrues this benefit to the State, That *Disbanded Souldiers* (the pest of Christian Nations) are one day in Arms, the next at work in their Shops. Neither have they such confluence of *Idle men*, *Lawyers*, and *Scholars*, which among us make up a third of the people, and are, for the most part Contrivers and Fomenters of all the distractions found in *Church* and *State*: From whence results the severest of the Curses, God left to the choice of *David*; For the *Plague* and *Famine* terminate chiefly in *Children* and the *weakest* of *men*; whereas the *Sword* (like some *Monsters* recorded) makes the *fairest Women* and *choicest Men*, the object of its lust and fury, and therefore brings an incomparable infelity where-ever it reigns.

33. This Custom of *Trade* and independency on future *hope* religiously observed, doth cut the cords of such *Vanities* as draw *Christians* into *Luxury*, by a profuse expense in *Furniture*, and no less excess in *Building*, to a treble proportion of what the Owner needs, in relation to his particular Family; the burial of *Timber* and other rich *Materials*: much to the prejudice of *Shipping*, besides the *Rent-charge* it puts upon the possessors Revenue to maintain it in *Repair*.

34. Neither is this people apt to follow the *European* vanities of *Horse-races*, *Hunting*, *Hawking*, and amorous *Entertainments*: Their *plurality* of *Women* quenching with more security in regard of *Health*, and less *Charge*, the thirst of *Change* ordinarily attending the tedious co-habitation with *one*.

35. The

35. The *Turks* are very *magnificent in publick Buildings*, especially such as relate to the service of God; none of the weakest effects of their *Teachers* sufficiency; who by working upon tender Consciences, are able (like ours) to make them so unnatural fools, as to skip their nearest Relations, and to design what they got, they know not how, in providing conveniencies for they know not whom: By which means such *Baths* and *Mosques* are erected, as do encrease the ease of *Travellers*, no less than the zeal of those that make the purchase of Heaven the object of their endeavours; whilest *Christians* raise the names of *Benefactors* out of the fore-heads of sumptuous *Piles*, suffering the ill-mingled ingredients of Covetousness, and a burning desire of Change in Religion, to consume brave *Monuments of Charity*, by alienating the *Lands*, and melting the *Lead* of the Houses, which a more ancient and fervent zeal (though now indited of *Superstition*) had solder'd on: Therefore if I were worthy to give *Advice* to our *publick Spirits*, they should hereafter assign their *Legacies* and Contribution towards the mending of *Common Ways*, and erecting *useful Bridges*; more likely to carry their Names to eternity, than *Churches* or other *pious Foundations*, apter to have their conveniency questioned by covetous and ungrateful Posterity; since earthly Paths are more trodden and better indulged, than those leading to heaven: Nothing being likely to continue long, that is able to bear the charge of its own ruine. Therefore those that accumulated these rich *Donations*, on the *Church* and *Seminaries of Learning*, instead of perpetuating their own fame, laid a foundation for the ruine of that, they only intended to preserve. It being unpossible that any humane Institution should continue without so much shew of Corruption (especially if rich and splendid) as may give a pretence for the ra-

pine of those, who being inapprehensive of the sense of Honour and Religion, are instigated by Avarice, or a present necessity. This makes me, though with trembling, presage, that the ruin of *Christianity* in *Europe* is not very far off: because the greatest *Revenues* of the *Catholick Church* are looked upon with more envy than Religion; which once proclaimed corrupted, or unnecessary, she lies open to the plunder of all. Upon which consideration, the *Pope* hath not done imprudently to gather a Church in *America*, whither he may one day be forced to retire, whose Zeal is likelier to be hotter than the *Europeans*, that have had theirs cooled with the winds of so many contrary Doctrines. Thus doth *Religion* run from one *Meridian* to another, thriving best at first; for after a long abode she so far sharpens and refines the spirits of men, as they are able to discover such Abuses and Errours, as may afford them a pretence to cut her own throat for what she possesses: when, God knows it is not the *Doctrine* that is changed, but their *Apprehensions*: for if the heat of Zeal be misimployed, which is able to concoct any opinions into the nourishment of Religion, all things after will prove flat and nauseous. This might tempt *Mahomet* to stuff his *Alcoran* with such high and *mystical expressions*, to busie and amuse such as can taste no Doctrine, but what may bite the Conscience and perplex the understanding.

36. THough it be *natural* for *Founders* of *Nations* to *enlarge* their *Confines* to the farthest extent, Prodence or Power is able to stretch them; I find the *Institutes* of none suit better with such a Design, than those *Mahomet* and his more immediate *Successors* have followed: Yet to spare my own memory, no less than theirs (if any be) that will venture such a Jewel as Time, in the surveying and purchase of so wild a field

of

of Obſervations; I ſhall fix upon *Three things* they chiefly labour to *promote*: Out of which it will not only be eaſy to extract *their Firſt Principles*, but deduce the *ſubſequent materials* imployed in the edification of this vaſt *Body*, whoſe ſtride though it extends not ſo far as *Spain*, yet it is more compact, and in that better able to remove without danger of falling, any blocks that *neighbour Princes* may, out of jealouſy caſt in the way of its felicity: not to be parallel'd in any part of the world, with which Profit or Curioſity hath made us familiar.

37. The *firſt* lies in *Obedience*; which, being divided between *Religion* and *Empire*, asketh the more prudence to prevent danger; leſt ſuch as pretend to be the ſole Heirs of God, do not cozen the Prince of his Birthright, under a popular diſcovery of a too rough hand in *Government*, or errour in divine *Worſhip*, in which the poor claim no leſs ample a ſhare than the rich; all being noted to fight with the greater animoſity for the world to come, the leſs they find themſelves poſſeſt of in this: it appearing to them unſuitable with the *Goodneſs* and *Juſtice* of a *Supream power*, that the Creature ſhould not ſome where meet with *felicity*. And to prevent all ſiniſter miſpriſions incident to the *Religion* of the Prince (the gap with which the babes of *Rebellion* and *Novelty* are pampered) though the *Eccleſiaſtical* and *Civil Powers* be both radically in the *Grand Signior*, yet the pontificall *Muſty* hath ſtudied the Art to make the people believe, theſe two Streams do flow, one from a leſs, and the other from a more Sanctified fountain: By which is gained this huge advantage, that the *Emperor* hath all he *diſlikes*, condemned as it were out of the mouth of God, no leſs than what he *likes*, approved; It being upon no ſlighter penalty than death, to refuſe to acquieſce in any *Senſe*, this holy man puts upon the *Alcoran*: nor can the *Interpretation*, State-reaſon requires this day, perplex one quite contrary, the

next, if it may be more useful; because *nothing is registred* but what respects men; things relating to God being left free to the disposure of the *Prince*, who by the lips of the *Mufty* directs the knowledge of the people; himself like a weather-cock pointing only that way which the breath of *Policy* blows; the *inferiour* sort of *Priests* in the mean while screaming like Lapwings in the ears of the Rabble, lest they should observe the proceedings of the *Court*, which is the Nest wherein all their *Grievances* (as they call them) are hatched.

38. Now, concerning *Obedience* in things meerly *civil*, though the hand of *Priesthood* be not out in all emergent cases, yet the Subject having no Vote in the propolal or consent to *Laws*, all being solely at the will of the Prince, they have nothing but Patience to fly to, in the highest *exactions* he is pleased to impose; no *Instrument* appearing of any mutual *Compact* betwixt *Him* and the *People*, so as Life and Estate are meerly *arbitrary*; better endured, because the *Crown* being Heir to all men, none can be made poorer than they were born; it being the nature of all, to esteem highest of their Birth-right, a Term here not understood.

39. The second thing promoted, is an impartial *Parity* throughout all his Dominions, in relation to every thing but *Desert*, none appearing higher or lower than the rest, but according to the *Place* he fills in the *State*; all *Offices* remaining wholly in the disposure of the *Emperour*: This removes the Subjects eyes from the *Grandees*, who might else be tempted to Faction, and fixeth them upon the *Throne* as their natural Object, and most auspicious to their Fortunes. Thus are the Rich humbled into Thraldom out of *Fear*, and the rest out of *Hope*; two Reins, which whosoever hath the art to handle, may guide the world whi-

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ther he pleaſe: This keeps the Turks chaſt from *Rebellion*, either out of ſcorn to follow one of no more noble extraction than themſelves, or through the baſeneſs bred in them by receiving *Injuries*, not only from the legal *Magiſtrate*, but the *Souldier*, whoſe Authority lies in his Sword, which the common people have as little warrant to wear, as skill to uſe; yet like the *Head-Prentice* they execute the ſame Tyranny upon *Strangers*, their Maſters are pleaſed to exerciſe over them: where terrour is augmented, becauſe *Puniſhments* are not confin'd either by Law or Cuſtom, though they oftner exceed than fall ſhort of the merit of the cauſe. And here it cannot be obſerved without a ſerious reflection upon the force Imagination borrows from the religious reverence they bear to their Prince, that ſuch as will contemn all dangers in his defence, are rarely found (till of late) in *Arms* againſt him, though provoked by the moſt heavy *oppreſſions*. Thus we ſee how far they may err, that make *ſucceſs* the Touchſtone of the truth of a Profeſſion, or the peace it brings to a Nation, or the owners Conſcience; and experience can produce millions of Examples, that men only ſteeled with erroneous opinions have been no leſs daring upon fire and ſword, than thoſe marching under the Target of truth.

40. The third thing is *Fortitude*; endowed ſo richly by no Nation as the *Turks*, whoſe *Emperour* placeth all *Offices* in the *Van* of brave Actions; whileſt his *Prieſts* and *Prophets* are no leſs diligent in muſtering up the *joys of Heaven* in the *Rear*: And for *Cowards*, they have not only Poverty and Reproach attending them in this world, but Hell and Damnation in the next. Thus by baiting all the ends of his *Militia*, he doth not only catch the *covetous* and *ambitious*, but thoſe attached with the invincible humours of *ſuperſtition* and melancholy; By which, like Oxen, they are rendred

not only fit, but willing to endure both labour and Slaughter. Thus *Fantasie* but a weak shell in it self, yet if filled with Sulpherous zeal, and the opinion of truth, and future happiness, confounds not only all that dare appear in opposition of it, but the very design (if capable of so much prudence and moderation as to project one) that she intended to promote. Therefore such as consider, how far the *Turks Conquests* are indulged by their *Religion*, have more cause to wonder, they are not masters of the whole world, than that they enjoy such a proportion thereof, as they do; where the *Sisters* and *Daughters*, of the *Emperours* own blood, are often given in marriage to reward that which was bravely ventur'd by the meanest Souldier; whose *Issue* by custome can challenge no higher place in their Unkles or Grandsires favour, than they are able to purchase by their own *Desert*, he owning none for *Kindred*, beyond such as are allied to *Vertue*, *Wisdom*, or some other quality that may render them useful to the State: Unlike the practice of *Germany*, where ten or more bear the *Title* of one *Principality*, having nothing to feed on but the air of Honour, looking like solitary and demolished *Castles* quite destitute of Strength or Territory, the name of the place being only left to uphold them.

41. In the pursuit of their *Fortitude*, I shall say something more of their proceedings in *War*: and first of *Eunuchs*, by many thought less propense to valour, and therefore possibly to be noted in the *Turks* as a blemish, by such as do not warily observe, that *Caution*, and *Circumspection* are no less, if not more, necessary in the *General*, and oftentimes harder to be met with, than *Daring* and undaunted *Resolution* in the *Souldier*; it being one thing to *execute*, another to *direct*. Therefore the *Grand Signior* doth not seldome make *Eunuchs Commanders* in *Chief*, never Common Souldiers;

diers; the *Fear*, which is neceſſary in the firſt, being deſtructive in the latter; more Armies having periſhed for want of *Moderation*, than *Valour*, in the Head: Beſides, their incapacity of *Coildren* gives ſuch caution for their Fidelity, as cannot be expected from one more virile; a perfect man being in a condition to gain honour and profit by the *Change of Government*, whereas one ſo mutilated is capable of little more than ſhame and loſs. And becauſe it is unlikely to cut the throat of this *Empire* with any Sword but her own, ſuch are imployed with moſt diſcretion in theſe high places, as are leaſt apt to rebel.

42. *The Janizaries*, on whom they fix the belief of *Valiory*, are by a primitive Inſtitution *prohibited Marriage*; yet leſt this ſhould make a gap in their felicity, the wives, and daughters of the leſs uſeful, eſpecially thoſe their Sword hath ſubdued, are without queſtion ſubject to their deſires. This wings their *obedience* in the performance of Commands, though pointing at never ſo *remote Employments*. For quite unſhackled from the magnetical force of an *affection to wife* and *children*, by uſe made natural (which chains *Chriſtians*, like fond *Apes*, to their own doors) every place is fancied their proper ſphere; becauſe it cannot afford courſer *Meat*, harder *Lodging*, or ſeverer *Diſcipline*, than they have at home: Neither doth the want of *Wives* raiſe ſuch cries as are made by the *Relicts* and *Children* of ſlain *Souldiers*; the appeaſing of which ſwells in other Nations to little leſs than would pay a ſmall Army: This *Emperour* being heir as well to the Lives as Eſtates of his Subjects.

43. They ſeldom grant *Quarter* till all is ſubdued: By this they prevent fighting twice with the ſame Adverſary. Neither are they forward to *exchange Priſoners*, leſt in their abode with the Enemy, their affecti-

affections should be warped towards any more moderate discipline, observable in those they oppose: And out of the like Jealousie they seldom continue *War* long with the same Nation; *Change* not only preventing all Contagion, that may arise from Commerce with worse ordered people, but affording the Souldier at least a seeming delight, in variety. And in farther relation to *Quarter*, a Prince rich in Subjects doth rather spoil than mend his Market by such kind of bartering, by rendring Enemies the bolder, as being readier to dispense with the danger of *Imprisonment* than *Death*: Neither are any miraculous effects of *Despair* much to be feared, where there is room enough left to evade: This humour being as single and rare, as the *Phœnix*, and not to be generated but out of the ashes of hope. And he that considers, that the *Turk* is not of so poor an alloy, as some Princes, which are undone by a *victory*, if it costs too dear, may see his design in a great part satisfied by the *Employment* and loss of his *Souldiers*; the too great encrease of such Spirits being all he hath reason to fear. This makes *War* (an Art in other places) an absolute Nature and necessity here.

44. He is not yet so fond of Honour, as to lay out his endeavours in the purchase of places not able to pay for their own Chains; A charge the *Catholick King* is never like to abate so long as he is Master of *Naples*, *Millan*, &c. that cost more to keep, than the profit made of them can compense; the like may be yet said of *Ireland*, &c.

45. Their *Ordnance*, found the largest in the known world, are carried into the field in the Common Souldiers Pockets.

46. The general *Food of the Turks*, both in City and Camp, is *Rice* and *Water*; Their most dainty addition being but a *Hen*, or some small lump of *Flesh*. This

This makes them purſue victory over deſolate places, and ſtarve ſuch Armies as preſume to follow them, who are as certainly overwhelmed with an Ocean of Neceſſities, as the *Egyptians* were by the *Red Sea.*

47. Their *Expeditions* are not ordinarily undertaken, but in *Summer*; By which many great dangers are prevented, leſs adviſed Princes do daily cope withal, in meeting with *Contingences* that ariſe from *Want* and bad *Weather*, harder to be vanquiſhed than the Enemy himſelf. For though their numbers be great; yet the little *Uſe* hath taught them to be content withal, is eaſier met with at that Seaſon, and renders them ſo impregnable againſt what we call *Fortune*, as ſhe may poſſibly bend her Bow, but is not able to diſtreſs them by the ſtrongeſt Arrows her Quiver affords. Beſides the Echo the *Report* of the *Emperours ſtrength* makes in the hollow hearts, thoſe Princes, it concerns, carry one to the other, is not only Harbinger, but in a great part, Operator of his Victories; when *Chriſtians* march but with part of their ſtrength, leaving the reſt to follow in the nature of a *Reſerve*, (as if there were hope a paucity ſhould prevail when the groſs is beaten, who, if joyning, might poſſibly have warranted Succeſs) and do by this not only leſſen the *Repute* of their Power (of no ſmall conſequence in the *Art of War*) but diſcourage any other from joyning with them, who upon the ſound of an *invincible Army* would prick up their Ears.

48. If a *Shock* be given to the *Emperours Forces*, he ſtays not long enough in that place to receive another, but *returns* home without tempting his Fortune further that Summer; Wiſely concluding it much unlikely (as in truth it is) for a *diſheartned Army* to perform what ſhe could not bring about when the Souldier

Souldier was in full plight. Neither can the certain *cause* of an *Overthrow* be easily penetrated into; and till that be throughly surveyed, no Prince may in discretion hazzard the chance of a *second Battle*, though the *Commanders* appear never so confident of good success; it suiting with their *Interest* both in honour and safety, to venture all, rather than come out of the Field with so great a reproach; Considerations below a Superlative power, to whom *Security* ought to be more dear, than any thing that carries the countenance of greater loss than gain, It not being impossible but that the former disgrace might arise from some *Treachery* in the *Principal Officers*; Therefore it is good Policy to examine every *Card* in the *Pack*, before the dealing of a *new Game*, especially upon a fleshed party: Yet with this caution, that many things must be put to the venture by the *Founder of an Empire*, which suit not with the Prudence of one already *established*; For *Repute* far more necessary than *Safety* to the first, is below it many degrees in the second: since he that holds but part of a Cudgel in his hand, may retreat in quiet, but he that hath quite lost it shall be bit by the same dogs that gave way to, or fawned upon him before his force was spent.

49. The *Grand Signior* (after augmentation of the Empire) is in nothing more studious than of means to *Employ* the *Superfluous* quantity of *Souldiers*, his vast estate produceth. By this making those instrumental to the propagation of honour and dominion, that in such narrow yet fruitful Cockpits as *England*, breed nothing but *Sedition*; and for want of ease and plenty, strive like *Jacob* and his *Brother* for more room; it being possible for evil Government to convert the blessing of *Increase and multiply* into as heavy a curse, as ever yet fell from the mouth of God: therefore

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a too zealous profecution of *Peace* (which ſome Princes, not unwiſe in their ſingle judgement called *King-Craft*) is a no leſs vain, than deſtructive Art; and ſo unſuitable to the good and ſafety of any Government, that it hatcheth *Plagues*, or which is more contagious to a State, *Civil War*: Neither can this *Pleuriſie* be eaſier cured, or the Spirits of *Rebellion* better evaporated, than by opening the peoples veins in ſome *Foreign Imployment*.

50. The *Turkey Cavalrie* are ſeldom in evil *plight*, becauſe their *Horſes* are ſtill under the owners eye, who for the moſt part do ſerve upon them, and have to that end large proportions of *Land* allowed them, with other *immunities* not common to the people, to whom they are both a curb and a protection: And between theſe and the *Foot* ſuch a feud is bred, either by Cuſtom, Nature, or Art, that it is reported, the *Horſe* will (if unprevented) burn their *litter*, leſt the *Infantry* ſhould imploy it to their better accomodation: Now though this may look like a prejudice in the field, it ſecures all fear of *combination* at home. Neither is it a ſlight addition to ſecurity, that the greateſt part of this *Militia* conſiſts of ſuch as were ſelected out of *Children, paid for Tribute* by conquered Nations, who compoſed of ſeveral airs, cannot aſſociate with that eaſe as Armies made up of one *Language*; which like the *Swiſs*, do not ſeldom call for *Gheld* when they have the Enemy in view.

51. Their ſtrength lies in the *Field*, and not in *Fortreſſes*, looked upon as *nurſeries of Rebellion*, eſpecially in ſo abſolute a Tyranny, where it is more common for the *Emperour* to ſend for the *Head* of a *Baſhaw*, than to be denyed; A power that would be buried in *ſtronger Holds*, out of which few would come to ſuch entertainment, as is given to the Grandees upon the leaſt invitation of *Jealouſie*. Not to beat more upon this

this Argument, long since driven up to the head by the best of Judgements, That *fortified places suit the affairs of weak Princes, better than those of greater strength*, &c. he that hath men in abundance needs them no more, than those of narrower confines, and less populous are able to subsist without them.

52. They make not *Religion* the *cause*, or at least proclaim it not for the principal *Motto* of a *War*; which wakens the attentions and invokes the assistance of all the contrary *profession*; the poorest man taking himself so far interested in the Vindication of his *Faith*, that if he hath nothing else to venture, he will account it sacriledge to deny his life: But no sound of that being heard, the voice of hope and fear drowns that of danger and concernment, in the prejudice and hatred they bear to their *Neighbours*; Fathering all misfortune that falls to them upon divine vengeance, in opposition of which they dare not engage; no more than most Princes are willing to part with their *Gold* till it is too late; like the wretched inhabitants of *Constantinople*, who chose rather to lose all in an entire summ, than to break it for the preservation of themselves and their Country. And if any thing could have tempted *Christians* to the rescue of their own interest in the custody of others, it would have been then, when this *Imperial City* was in such danger. But *the Moderation of* Cæsar's *power* was so grateful a Spectacle for the present, as it dazzled their apprehensions in relation to any future inconveniences; yet when this *key of Europe* was lost, those that before were quiet, if not contented Spectators, began to mistrust their own doors, and bewail their ignorance, in not foreseeing that the effects of such a neighbourhood was not so easily to be resisted, as the *Siege* (which was the cause) might have been raised, had there been a cordial conjunction amongst those tied in policy to have kept him farther

farther off. Thus by preſuming more on the ſtrength of others, than there is cauſe for, moſt States at laſt come to be diſtreſſed themſelves.

53. Their *Militia* is obſerved to be more daring in their *Chriſtian Expeditions*, than thoſe undertaken againſt the *Perſian*; a people looked upon as too near of kin to them in *Religion*, to warrant their *Murdering*: The ſame ſin committed by Princes in groſs, which private perſons do by retail, yet are puniſhed for it in this world, where the other are commended; though the people I deſcribe are too wiſe and affectionate towards the more ſubſtantial part of their *Creed*, to proſecute thoſe of their own *profeſſion* to the farthеſt extent of their power, out of no more ſerious conſideration, than whether their *own*, or the *Perſian Prieſts* delude the people with the greateſt ſhew of Truth, eſpecially both owning one and the ſame ſupream Jugler, *Mahomet*. In this exceeding the prudence, if not the piety of *Chriſtians*, who make the *Sword* an Umpire in the ſmalleſt *differences* of *Opinion*; as if *ſucceſs*, (found as great an aſſertor of the deſigns of theſe *Infidels*, as ever it hath yet appeared in the favour of *Saints*) could be able to bear ſo great a ſtreſs, as the weight of *Religion*, on which depends *Salvation*, not poſſibly to be brought about by the wicked Engines, daily employed by Princes and men in power, to keep Victory faſtned to their Tent-doors: It being *Sufferings*, not the *Valour* of our Champion *CHRIST*, that can enrol us in the Heavenly *Hoſt*: For though we dare not give *ſucceſs* to *Fortune*, any more than we are able to wreſt her out of the hand of *God*; yet we find by experience, that the wheels of her Chariot are too weak, dirty, and unſteady, for *Truth* to triumph in, much leſs to be made captive to any others *Interpretation* than her own.

54. And

54. And though the paint of *Religion* is the ordinary Charm that raiſeth the impetuous ſpirits of the people into ſtorms (by which they can ſooner deſtroy others than ſave themſelves; no reparations being to be procured but out of their own purſes, who may far eaſier change their Maſters, than find better) yet is *Blood* very unſuitable to the taſt of true *Religion*, which participates more of the *Lamb*, than the *Lyon*, having been ever readier to ſuffer wrong, than do it, till the *Prieſts* of old, as ſome think, firſt, for the Princes ſake, and after for their own, had not only taught her the art of Jugling, but made her ſo tetchy, by the corroding doctrines they inſtill'd into mens conſciences, upon the leaſt worldly occaſion, that brought their Honour or Profit under queſtion; far repugnant to the firſt intent of *Religion*, which was to ſet a bar againſt ſtriſe, and all other unnatural deſires, men, without the awe of God, are apt to fall into; *Oppreſſion* being a general miſchief, all are liable to, either in childhood or old age: This brought *Government* into uſe among ſuch as had felt the heavy experiment of *Anarchy*; to avoid which nothing contributes more than *Unity* in *Religion*, and where that cannot be compaſſed without much ſtriſe, a *Liberty* to profeſs what opinions men pleaſe, provided they be not repugnant to the general welfare.

55. Wherefore *Mahomet* and his ſucceſſors, the better to gain the love of the people to *Religion*, tempered it with ſo much moderation, as it rather *enclines to Hope* than *Fear*, wiſely foreſeeing, that nothing makes Subjects recoil more from their *Obedience*, than when they are loaded with a conceit that their *Governours* lead them in the way to *Hell*. This gives me occaſion to think, that the *Goblings* armed by the *Catholicks* with ſo much terrour, may poſſibly like the *Elephants* of *Pyrrhus* fall foul upon themſelves, and bring

bring their *Religion* into a low contempt, through an apparent detection, or a panick fear; not ſo likely to attach the Creed of the *Turks*, who have no painting to communicate any thing ſubject to gather ſo much droſs, as might inform the people, they are but the effects of humane Art, nor *Prieſts* that dare be ſo bold as to put a greater *Exciſe* upon the *Sins* of the people, or the price of *Heaven*, than ſtands with the conveniency or *Reaſon of State*. Thus are the *Turkiſh Souldiers* bred in no leſs *obedience* than *Valour*; which are indeed the moſt ſaving Articles of their Belief, and though undervalued by us, that expect after death a leſs carnal Heaven; yet nothing cauſeth their *Unity* more, or is a greater provocation to *augmentation of Empire*, than the *conformity* held by their *Prieſts* in the inculcation of their *Doctrine*, not perplexing their conſciences with uſeleſs terrours or hard queſtions; making no ſins ſo damnable as *Cowardice* and *Diſobedience* to the Commands of their Leaders; Eyeing *Chriſtians* with a high diſdain, for caſting ſo many doubts, and buſhing the way to Heaven with *Purgatory* and other *Bugbears*, which they place in the dark Entry, all are to paſs between this world and the next: Though a blind man may ſee, it is not conſonant either to the belief of *Prince* or *Prieſt*: And theſe *Chimera*'s are thought, by the *Mahometans*, to intimidate *Souldiers*, by making them *Atheiſts*, and ſo in hope of no better; or *ſuperſtitious*, which keeps them ſtill in expectation of a worſe: This people being no leſs hardened with *Diſcipline*, againſt the pleaſures of this, than aſſured by *Doctrine*, they ſhall enjoy the ſame and greater in the world to come: according to an ordinary ſaying among them: That if *Chriſtians* carried the ſame opinions concerning Heaven in their Hearts, as are every where found in their Books, they would not be ſo afraid of *Death* the only way thither.

56. The *Turks* esteem *Fate inexorable*; which steels their foreheads no less against the sharpest *danger*, than it smooths them towards the severest *Discipline*; yet in the midst of this belief, admit a necessary use of *Prayer*: As if importunity could be any way prevalent, where an unchangeable Resolution is acknowledged. It cannot be denyed, there is a wide room left for *giving thanks*, and praising God, for disposing things so much to our advantage; but this perhaps cannot so seasonably be done till his will be revealed.

57. *Images*, reverenced in *Christian Churches*, bar the doors against both *Turk* and *Jew*; who count us worse than Canibals for *eating our God*, as they say we do in the Eucharist: a scandal we owe to the *Court* of *Rome*.

58. Notwithstanding the incomparable *strength* of this *Lyon*, you may find all his *Treaties* lined with the fur of a *Fox*, not tying himself up so straight by Promise or Obligation, but that he hath still a muse open to break through upon any great advantage: And in this he is not a little beholding to the manner of his *Stile*, always fuller of *Hyperbolical* Civilities than real Assurances; yet rather than leave his *Repute* under the reproach of a *broken Faith*, he lays the fault upon the mistake of some Minister of State, by whose blood he expungeth all stains of Dishonour, not leaving them legible by any of his own, but such as have learned to decypher the *Character of Princes*, who are but few in this well-composed Government, and those comfortably employed in publick service, or decently laid by, for prevention of mischief: It remaining past peradventure, That *such as have Heads apt for Counsel, may, upon a Discontent, find Hearts as apt for Rebellion.*

59. Though this *Monarch*, if he stands right in his *Subjects esteem*, is not very *solicitous* after *Repute* from *Strangers*; yet, by reason of his vast Power, he is not often necessitated to tread such *base paths*, as our *weak-*

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ir Princes are forced to walk in, that have for the moſt part nothing but *Shifts* to ſubſiſt by; which like *Mines* under the walls of Towns, bring more prejudice than gain, if they come to be diſcovered by the contrary party; from which it is not eaſie to conceal them, if once they are flown out of the boſom that hatched them: ſuch folly and falſhood is bound up in the hearts of *Embaſſadors*. Beſides the frequent *perjury* of *Princes* hath ſo vilified the price of *Oaths*, as they ſerve for little more than *Ceremony* of State, and to bait traps for their poor Subjects and other weak and ill adviſed Strangers. Which may give an occaſion for an Enquiry, that ſince all men cannot agree, Whether a *Toleration of their ſeveral Religions* may not be with more Charity admitted, than every one perſecuted, as we find they are in one place or other? And becauſe *one God* is univerſally owned, all Proteſtations ſhould be taken under that ſingle name, without any other addition; many bearing an awful reverence to *That*, who look upon the reſt as products of *Policy*, and therefore leave room for ſuch mental reſervations as the Prieſts, no leſs than the Grandees have too long abuſed the World withall. And till a reverence, ſtill begun at the Head, be real, or unapprehenſibly feigned, it is folly to expect performance of *Oaths* in the Members. This arraigns all Princes of madneſs, that reſt ſecure upon the *Fidelity* of their *Subjects*, after they have forfeited their own by illegal and exorbitant *Taxes*. Nor is *Perjury* found ſo frequently amongſt thoſe eſteemed *Infidels*, as our *dry Profeſſors*, that have *Religion* ſtill in their mouths, and the *Bible* in their Eye; Not that a practice of *holy Duties* can poſſibly be more the reaſon of *Falſhood* in the one, than *Profaneneſs* of *Truth* in the other; But having made themſelves more familiar with the Mercy, than Juſtice of God, and preſuming upon the certainty of their own

Salvation, and *Damnation* of others, for which they have no better warrant than the voice of a Spirit, conjured up only in their Imaginations; the more to be suspected, because it befriends no other interest but their own, they think to make God amends some other way; whereas a poor *Sinner*, that hath once been hunted home with the fierce conflicts of a wearied *Conscience* (sharper far than the *Humiliations*, these outward *Professors* proportion to themselves) dares not venture on so dear an Impiety, out of hope to digest it the next *Fast*. And if I am not much mistaken, the *Turks* bear a more awful reverence to *Oaths*, than *Christians*; nor are they found to alloy it with the poysonous mixture of *Æquivocation*, though the *Jews* that live among them are more indifferent what they attest. A sad thing that such as were formerly, and those that are now the people of God, should exceed *Infidels* in so foul and unsociable an Impiety. Which that they may the better prevent; Though the bare *attestation* of a *Mussulman*, or *Turkish Believer* is often taken for an authentick Proof against a Stranger; Yet in their ordinary *Tryals* between one another, they proceed with more Caution, so as not to rely upon *Oaths* themselves; but from private *Examinations*, and *Questions* so unexpected and artificially put, as no premeditated *Combination* can evade, they extract grounds for Sentence: By which, malice is defeated, and perjury prevented, frequent amongst us, where the Lives and Estates of conscientious people are without remedy exposed to their mercy, who scruple not the calling God to the witness of a Lie. Nor can there be imagined any better way how to avoid this mischief, or yield a sincere and faithful Obedience to the precept of our *Saviour*, *Swear not at all*, &c, (Which the corrupt *glosses* of *Expositors* labour much, though all in vain, to elude) than, if, instead of that slight and irreverent manner

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of *Swearing*, or rather proſtituting the Word of God to the *kiſs* of impure lips, according to the looſe cuſtom of all our *Courts* of *Judicature*, the Judges themſelves, or thoſe appointed for that purpoſe, would take the pains, by the touch-ſtone of a diligent ſcrutiny, and ſcrupulous examination of Witneſſes apart to diſtinguiſh the pure and golden *Truth*, from the baſer Alchymy of the moſt cunningly-forged Falſhood.

60. They prefer *Chriſtianity* ſo far, as *no Jew can turn Turk till he hath been Chriſtened*: The vulgar thinking God beſt pleaſed with ſuch a *gradation*, though Authority interjected this *Ceremony* to fence them againſt a too great concourſe of this *ſubtile people*, who in relation to *Circumciſion*, are apter to embrace their Religion than ours; and do by their *Converſion* leſſen the *profit* ariſing from them as *Jews*. Now leſt the Impiety of caſting blocks in the way of Proſelytes ſhould ſeem to relate only to this ſo much abominated Nation, I deſire to be informed, if there be not a Law in force here, at the *Jews* being in *England*, as there is ſtill in ſome other Nations, *That ſuch of them as turned Chriſtians, ſhould loſe all, or the greateſt part of what they had.* For which this pious reaſon was given, That many remained *Jews* ſtill in their hearts, notwithſtanding an outward profeſſion: Thus a greater *Hypocriſie* cheated the leſs.

61. I find them, though conſtant to their own, yet ſo indulgent to the opinions of *Strangers*, as to afford ſuch a ſafe paſs among them: which, beſides the profit it brings to Commerce, keeps them in ſo *moderate* a temper, as the *plague of Hypocriſie* (which like an *Iron-mole*, ſtains, and in ſhort time eats out the purity of *Religion*, by acting a ſublimer impiety than the nature of man, unſuborned through Ambition or Covetouſneſs, is able to make real, longer than a Fanatick heat inſpires it) hath not yet there broke out

farther than among some few particulars; though by such the Cockatrice of *Civil War* is ordinarily disclosed in the Bosoms of *Christians*, concluding all damned which rest not in their Expositions and Customs, how ridiculous soever: Not considering the mischief they do, that remove old uncertain *Errours*, before they have found as certain *Truth* to put in their room. The same may be said of reputed inconveniences; such as is their conniving at Courtesans (chiefly done to prevent *Adultery*, *Sodomy*, and *Bestiality*; sins infesting these hot Countrys therefore) possibly less abominable, than some Divines make it. This sort of *Cattle* being as ancient as the Patriarch *Judah*: Neither did divers others, looked upon as *men after Gods own heart*, blush to keep droves of them: Nay, if some be not foully out in their Expositions, they are reckoned to *David* in the Bill of *Gods Blessings*: And he that doth by this publick sin, as some have done by *Religion*, exchange it for a *worse* (though perhaps more solitary) I pray what hath the Nation left to brag of? Faults of greater privacy, though less natural, increasing *Hypocrites* more than *Saints*. And if our Blessed *Saviour* should now speak to the Consciences of men, as he did to the Jews, *He that is without sin*, &c. I believe *Fornication* would scape, whatever became of *Adultery*. To conclude this point, it is so much the greater boldness, to add to, than diminish from the severity of God, as we stand more in need of his Mercy than Justice.

62. The gross of their *Revenue* is imployed in securing the *Empire* at *home*, or fetching *Victory* from *abroad*: The *Grand Signior* being only luxurious in *Women*, and *domestick pleasures*; which like *Sentinels* in the body, may possibly evaporate worse humours than they foment: Though contrary to the better inculcated, than practised Doctrine of our *Theologues*, especially

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thoſe of the Church of *Rome*; *Catholick Kings* rather comiving at this miſchief, than the perpetual inconveniences reſulting from a *married Clergy*, who by giving their *Children* better *breeding* than *Eſtates*, are the cauſe they do not ſeldom fall into exorbitances.

63. REpute hath ſwell'd the *Sultan's power* to ſuch a vaſt Monſtroſity, and ſo far dazled the eyes of *Chriſtian Princes*, weakned by *diviſions in Religion*, that they dare not look upon him without a Preſent; Neither is the *Perſian* much bolder, which gives him the advantage, no leſs than Honour to be ſtill on the *offenſive*: And in this the generoſity he uſeth, to divulge the *Prince*, if not the place he meaneth next to attach, turns more to his advantage, than may appear to every eye; other Nations reſting ſo ſecure upon this, as they do not provide, if at all, a defence proportionable to the danger; which if once made ready, could not be laid out to a more probable advantage for themſelves and *Chriſtendom*, than in ſtopping the progreſs of this *Polyphemus*, who is likely, if not prevented by ſome civil Rupture, to devour all the *Italian Principalities*, if once he raviſh the *Venetian*, whoſe hands have been weakned by the longeſt War, that ever any ſingle State maintained againſt this Monſter, who for want of aſſiſtance, cannot chuſe but ſhortly yield up *Candy* to his Luſt: And then our *drouſie Princes*, who were no more affected with her Cries, than weakned by the noiſe of her Cannon, and the voice of Prudence daily roaring in their ears, ſhall lament their Errour, and curſe themſelves, and the Counſel that moved them to obſerve this unnatural *Neutrality*, and to prefer a little pleaſure they take in gratifying the envy

they have ever born to this more magnificent Republick (tyed by all reason to maintain the smaller States of *Italy* in being) before the assuring of their fears by a cordial combining against this common enemy, of whose mercy they can have no hope; Nothing being more suitable to his former procedure, or future security, than utterly to eradicate them, long looked upon by him as the only obstructers of his farther progress into *Christendom*, Though apparently known, that what the *Venetians* do, is rather by the strength of their *Heads*, than *Hands*, having not yet made themselves very famous for Valour, participating not so much of the *Lyon*, as *Fox*, with whose skin most of their Atchievements are found to be lined; being themselves, if fools in any thing, in the excessive awe they stand of Death, the cause they employ *Strangers*. Neither is it a less wonder, that *France*, *Spain*, and other potent Nations, do daily pass by greater *Affronts* received from the *Ottoman Empire*, without the least notice taken, than they are observed to fight for among themselves; as if nothing could be dishonourable or unsafe, but what ariseth from the injuries of men of the *same Religion*; an argument of as great Imprudence, as Impiety, especially resulting from the Omission, if not Commission of the *Court* of *Rome*: For did the *Jesuites* and other active *Priests* turn the tide of their *Policy* (which hath already immerged *Europe* in *blood*) towards the *Turks*, they might soon be over-flown by as great a deluge of *Schisms*, as we are now plunged in: But the fear of losing the *Bird* in *hand*, makes the Pope unwilling to imploy his Engines for the taking of this: Not considering that the *Mahometan profession* is grown up to as high an earthly *Felicity*, *Universality*, and *Consent*, as the *Papacy*; Neither

ther do they want as great an *Antiquity* for ſome of their *Tenets*, the which if they once come to be waſhed over by the varniſh of *Learning*, the *Muſty* may, aſſiſted by his Maſters force turn his *Holineſs* out of *Rome*, as that *Biſhop* did the *Emperours*; and ſo avenge *Europe* and *Aſia* both, for the rent the ſubtil *Prieſts* made between the *Eaſt* and the *Weſt Churches*, for no more religious reſpect, than to beautifie their own habit and increaſe their Power.

And if the Virgin-City of *Venice* comes to be wholly proſtituted, to the *luſt* of this *Monſter*, who hath already intangled his *Sword* in one of her ſtrongeſt *Locks*, it is poſſible the *Catholick King* ſhall not be able long to enjoy thoſe *Concubinary Principalities*, made his by no juſter Contract, than the *Procuration* of his Chaplain, the *Pope*, his own Subtilty, and the impertinent Quarrels of leſs adviſed Neighbours: But to give the Pope his due (looked upon by the dazled eyes of our *Zealots*, for a more terrible Devil than it may be he is, were he confined within a narrower Circle, in relation to temporal power) *Chriſtian Princes* are apt to take ſo much advantage from the harping irons *Luther*, *Calvin*, and other Divines (perhaps better skill'd in ſubverting *Errors*, than reconciling of *Truth*) have faſtened in the ſides of this Eccleſiaſtical *Leviathan*, not to be kept floating in a narrower *Sea* than that of *Rome*, (formerly as Magiſterial in things *temporal*, as now ſhe remains in *Spirituals*, which prudence might manage to as univerſal a tranquillity, as appeared in the days of *Auguſtus*) that he hath no leiſure to look abroad, for fear the ſame Spirit that troubled the waters in *Germany*, ſhould dry up thoſe in *Italy*, *&c.* It being in the power of every Prince to cut the Banks of the Church, which in *France* is the fear of *Schiſm*, and in the *Catholick King*'s Dominions, the *Inquiſition*. Yet in caſe his Holineſs ſhould make it a cordial endeavour to foment a League againſt the

the *Turk*, *France*, and *Spain*, would fall out who ſhou
head it, and endeavour to ſpoil the others Subject
in the mean time: Such incomparable *Charity* reſide
among Chriſtian Princes, that value *Religion* n
higher than the profit it brings; ſo as the *Roma*
Biſhop, with all his Emiſſaries, have full imployme
by adding and taking away, to keep the Scale
even, between theſe two tottering Princes, and t
heighten their ſpirits againſt *England* and other Na
tions at enmity with *Rome*; leſt we ſhould have
Great Turk of our own; that is, an *Univerſal Monarch*
under whoſe abſolute power the *Pope* and all othe
Chriſtian Princes could expect no higher places tha
thoſe of Vaſſels. And though a *Combination* were feaſible
ſmall advantage would accrue; ſince every conſid
rable *Confederate* muſt have a *General* of their own
from whence would proceed more *Cry* than *Wool*
by perplexing Councils with contrary commands
Becauſe if it were probable, Kings ſhould ſo far for
get their *Honour*, as to lay down all Diſputes abou
precedence, yet their particular *Intereſt* could no
but remember them, that the ſtrength deſigned
againſt the *Turk*, might, after ſucceſs, recoil upon
themſelves, not without a precedent in Story: and
therefore not likely to imploy any other in *Chief*,
but their own Subjects. And what contrary affect
ons, ends, and endeavours are covered under a Forc
patched up of ſo many Nations, is manifeſt in the
Maritime battel of *Lepanto*: where, though the de
ſire of all might be to eclipſe the *Ottoman* Moon;
yet it was in many ſo faint, as they could not en
dure it ſhould be removed quite out of its Sphere,
or loſe the Intereſt it doth exerciſe within the
Chriſtian Pale (which by a through perſecution of
that *naval victory*, might eaſily have been brought
about) out of fear, the *greater Princes*, by the
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ſecured, ſhould after have made it their endeavour to devour the *leſs*: And this (with ſome Umbrages of *Jealouſie* the *Catholick King* had of his brother *Don John* of *Auſtria*) made the *Confederates* return without doing more than ſhew the *Grand Signior* wherein he was defective, and by this chaſtizing to make him mend the fault he had committed in being no better provided of *Commanders* and *Proviſions for Sea*, which he hath ſince repaired at our coſt, by maintaining an *Arcenal* in *Algiers*, of which the King of *Spain* denyed his Brother to be Governour; ſo jealous are *Chriſtians* one of the other, that they have more confidence in *Turks*, than thoſe of their own Religion: yet, to ſpeak Gods truth, whoſoever ſhall command an Army againſt this Epidemical Enemy, with ſuch ſucceſs as *Don John* had, will be owner of too popular an Honour, to be leſs than ſuperlative whereever he comes; and therefore liable, like him to receive a *Fig* out of the venomous hand of *Jealouſie*. Which warrants me to think, the fitteſt for ſuch an imployment as the heading an Army raiſed by a League, is the *Pope*, who lying within Gun-ſhot himſelf, is the moſt likely to take the trueſt aim at the finiſhing of the work: But this the *Lutherans* and *Proteſtants* would oppoſe, no leſs than the Princes of *Italy*, who cannot but fear, that the power of the *Ottoman Family* being ſufficiently moderated, he could have no better imployment for the Army, than to face them with it, looked upon perhaps in his eſteem, as greater Enemies: Yet if there were an *unity in Religion*, and a total abatement of his *Holineſſes* pretences to any ſecular Power, farther than the extent of *Peters Patrimony*, it might with more probability be brought about, than any temporal Prince is able to give caution for: And thus *Policy* might not only make uſe of him, in oppoſing the *Turk*, but in reconciling ſuch *Kings*, as when they are weary of their in-

inconsiderate *Quarrels*, know no other way to bring about Peace, than by the mediation of the Bishop of *Rome*. But as things now stand, Experience hath taught us how vain a Composition of Force is, in the attempt of moderating the *Ottoman Grandeur*: Nor is any Prince yet in a capacity to undertake him alone; The *Emperour* being shackled by the links of contrary Opinions, and now utterly disabled since the *Swedes* Incursion: I confess, the *Catholick King*, upon whose skirts he sits, were the most likely to get ground upon the *Turks* Dominions, did not the *French* perplex him with the fear of losing his own: Between which Nations there can be no reconciliation, so long as the *Popes* greatness is supported by Division; An *Universal Monarchy* in *Europe* being more against the grain of the Court of *Rome*, than it yet apprehends danger from that in *Asia*; so as it is no improbable Paradox to maintain, *That the* Turk *by accident supports his Holiness*: And if the *Pope* and *Inquisition* were put down, *Atheism* would break in like a Torrent; or, which is worse, *Religion* would be divided into such destructive, bloody, and hypocritical streams, as her name would be quite lost in the dilatation, or render her Professors as odious as ever they were to the *Heathen Emperours*: especially since she hath in all places, and under every Profession, learned of Ambition to lay out the price of her Salvation in a *field of Blood*, without respect had to *Covenants*, *Oaths*, *Allegiance*, or the most natural and obliging Relations, therefore formidable to *Kings*, whose single and open bosoms render them a fair mark, not only to the forked Tongues, but the venomous tempered steel of an exasperated Zeal; so not likely to be entertained in any place, but where her own Sword shall be able to bid her welcome: The *Beauty of Holiness*, with which she was wont to allure *Proselytes*, being now shrivelled into ugliness, by her frequent application of the

the ſublimated paint of Hyporciſie; ſo generally obſerved among *Chriſtians*, as neither the *Turk*, or any other *Mahometan* Nation can, in Prudence, if in Piety barter their Faith for ours; The drought of whoſe Charity hath obſtructed the means of Converſion in relation to all Foreigners not formerly engaged by Birth and Education: ſo as no probability reſides in any endeavour can be uſed to tempt the *Turks* from *Mahomet*, unleſs (as I hinted before) ſome *Jeſuite* were able to perſonate his Ghoſt, and proclaim himſelf riſen, according to their Prophets long delay'd promiſe: for ſuch an one might poſſibly prevail ſo far upon the Rabble, as to make them fall foul among themſelves: *A breach in Religion* being found by experience the readieſt way to let in that Ocean of Calamities, we ſee overflows the Kingdoms of the Earth.

Another Expedient may lie in ſupporting ſuch *Cedars of State*, as are marked out for ruine by the fears or fury of the Prince; and if poſſible to give *ſhelter* to ſome of the younger *Royal Branches*, who are ſure upon their Fathers death to be ſacrificed to the ſecurity of the Elder; and may, as occaſion ſerves, facilitate a *Rebellion*, by landing an Army able to make good the field, whilſt the Snow-ball is gathering: A project moſt convenient for the wiſdom and Situation of *Venice*, were ſhe owner of the Power and extent of Territory belonging to old *Rome*, whoſe Heir ſhe deſerves beſt to be, ſince ſhe alone retains more of her Freedom than all the known World beſides is able to produce: Her *Government* being built on ſuch rational, if not infallible *Maxims*, as might bear the weight of a far greater frame, if *Italy* were wiſe enough to ſee it; who need not be concubinary to ſo many wanton deſires of Strangers, would all her ſmall and new hatched *Governments* ſhelter themſelves under her Wings, who are known to ſpend more ſeverally

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in hiring of Peace from the *Turk*, *Spaniard*, *Pope*, &c. than wisely laid out in an intire summ, would purchase the power to command it.

From whence may be concluded, If the *Grand Signior* do not fall through his own weight, he may live to see *Europe* under as great a thraldom in every relation to body and soul, as *Turkey* unless he be cordially opposed at his own door: *Tyrants*, like Dogs, having their fierceness rather whetted than rebated by a defensive opposition: whereas he that breaks resolutely in upon them, makes them not seldom take their heels: All *changes* in such an extremity being looked upon with delight and affection at home, by those that abroad would dye to extend the same Government over others: *Oppression* being so odious to Subjects, as all will upon any probable advantage promote its destruction to the very persons that share in their desires with the *Monarch*, wanting the power more than the will to perpetrate the like degree of injustice themselves.

64. The *Turk* deduceth this Doctrine out of the perfidiousness of the *Christian* Practice, *That it is to little purpose* (by reason of the contrary pretences) *to make Leagues Offensive and Defensive*, which he hath seldom done; yet considers his *Neighbours dangers* as his own, before delay hath rendred them incurable; Apparent in the large offers he made to *Venice*, whilst she lay under the interdict of *Paul* the fifth; and might, if her Subjects had not been wiser, through Civil Divisions have lapsed into the hands of *Spain*, as divers Nations less prudent have done, by their own folly and a stupid patience of their neighbours, whose ordinary custom is to forbear giving assistance, till it is rendred unseasonable, and that they are not able to redeem them by all their endeavours, much less by a too late repentance; as in the case of *Navarre*,

Navarre, neglected by the Crown of *France*; and Dutchy of *Lorain*, by that of *Spain*: Any Augmentation to one of these Kingdoms being an equal Diminution from the other; the consideration of which keeps *Geneva* in being. And the averſneſs the *Turk* hath towards any ſtrict *Confederation* with Foreigners, gives him not only the liberty to preſerve his friends, but to take any advantage to enlarge himſelf: His Subjects not having ſuch vaſt Eſtates abroad, as might deterr him from taking a revenge in caſe of injury, for fear of an *Enlargement*: whereas Chriſtians have Ware-houſes in *Conſtantinople* full of wealth, and to ſuch a value, as to give this Infidel caution for his uſing us at his pleaſure without danger: Nor have we more than the *Emperours* bare *word* to ſecure our *Trade*, which it is likely you may tell me, he obſerves as religiouſly as other Princes.

Neither is he prodigal in *Embaſſadors*: for, keeping ſtill the offenſive end of the Staff, he is often ſued to, but ſeldom ſends a wooing for *Peace*; which obtained, is found of no longer life than it ſuits with the occaſions and Counſels of both parties: Therefore *Confederations*, *Truces*, and *Leagues* ſignifie nothing but danger to the weaker ſide, who by theſe are not ſeldom tempted to neglect the guard that cannot in prudence be leſſened upon this ſcore, it being an infallible certainty, that nothing moves another, but Profit, Honour, or Nature; The laſt of which doth leſs concern the *Grand Signior*, becauſe he ſeeks not to *match* his *Daughters* out of his own Territories, eſteeming no blood Royal, but what runs in his own veins, and his that is to ſucceed him: Neither is he liquoriſh after the choice of the *Iſſue of Kings* for his *own Bed*, finding the ſame content in the embraces of a *Subject* or a *Slave*, that a more bewitched Imagination apprehends in thoſe of a *Princeſs*: Nor doth his modeſty

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abuse him, but acquits him from the danger of having a *Spie in his Bosom*, or a coequal in his Counsels; giving him leave to put to death or exchange his *Wives* upon occasion, without the fear of any other frown but that of *Heaven*; amongst whose joyes (according to his Creed) is *Change of Women and all carnal Delights*.

And by the division he makes of his Love among *many Wives*, he renders the Government less factious; the *Distaff* having been found no friend to the *Scepter*, opening often a back door to *Innovation*; apparent in *Christians*, who *Marrying* the daughters of more potent Princes than themselves, are so far overawed by them, as to make them Partners in their most secret designs, else they are able to distress them through the strength of their own Friends. Thus a *Prince* comes to have an *Enemy in his bosom*, and such an one as he dares not question, for fear of a shower at home, and a storm from abroad. So as if all the benefit Story can record to have (at least of late) accrued to *Kings* from the great *Allies* of their *Wives*, were put together, you shall find it inconsiderable, computed with the loss, especially if their *Religion* differs; for then she looking upon him as out of the reach of Gods mercy, can think nothing an injury to his person, or a loss to his estate, if her *ghostly Fathers* are pleased to encourage her; Considerations without bottom in this *Conformity* in *Profession*, and *Parity* in *Subjection*; where the birth of the *first Son* gives the title of *Sultana* to a Slave, the highest honour or employment a Woman can be born to: and what might abundantly content them also in *Europe*, where they are made the *Arbitrators of the Royal Lane*.

65. The *Emperour* appears not in *publick* but on *Horseback*, where all *Deformities*, if he owes any, are best concealed; And is then in such *Splendor*: as the former-engaged opinion of the multitude renders him more

more than Humane; whereas our leſs Majeſtick *Princes* become ſo cheap by their daily figging up and down the ſtreets after their pleaſures unattended, whileſt this graver *Monarch* enjoys them all under his own roof: where none are ſuffered to enter, but thoſe that are *dumb* from their Births, or are rendred ſo through fear or uſe; no action or word breathed out of the *Seraglio*, to the Emperors diſadvantage, but proves mortal to the divulger: Not poſſible to be obſerved among *Chriſtians*, whoſe *Meals*, like *Puppet-plays*, are made the object of all Eyes, and their lighteſt *Diſcourſes* (apt then to break out) the ſcorn of Strangers, that blow them over the four corners of the Earth, with no ſmall addition; whilſt their own Subjects calculate a crooked Nature from the *Deformities* of their *Bodies*; evil *Geſtures*, or a too luxurious taking in of their *Wine* or *Meat*: It not being eaſie to ſhew a man at a greater diſadvantage, than whileſt he is taking his *Repaſt*, the moſt certain *Symbol of Mortality*. This altogether caſts no leſs cloud over their *Majeſty*, than their *Cheats* and *Perjuries*, to procure money, are obſerved to do upon their *Probity*: which raiſeth ſuch a damp of *Contempt* about the *Throne*, as the Obedience they own, proceeds rather from a dread of their preſent Power, than any voluntary or natural affection their Subjects bear to them or their vertues; of which they have ſo low eſteem, as they think them eaſie to be matched, if not by themſelves, by a number their Commerce and Experience hath coped withal.

66. In *Progreſs* his *Train* is not inferiour to an *Army*; in which he receives all graciouſly that come to ſee him: And by this *ſtrength* and *affability* the remoteſt parts are not only wooed to *Obedience*, but terrified from *Inſurrections*; calculating by the Power attending

him in his Pleasures, the terribleness of a Force that should be raised in his Fury: Notwithstanding at this time nothing appears about him but *Love* in his words and *Charity* in his actions; For where he sees the Earth covered with *Poor*, he casts his Mony; which, like water put into a Pump, gives him the opportunity safely to drein the more affluent *Rich*. This makes the Generality look upon him as a God, that may give way to Punishment, never to Passion.

67. He owns not in his *Royal Person* any ingrateful *Imposition*, but appears ever before his people like the Sun, carrying in his looks no less Serenity than Splendour in all about him; and answers any clamours of *Joy* with as cordial *Blessings* and Thanks: knowing it an uncomely for a *Prince* in publick to seem *angry*, as *powerful*. That threatning no less danger to the *Lives*, than This doth presage incroachment upon the Fortunes of all that come to see him. And though none can more freely command what belongs to his Subjects, he discovers no will to imploy any *Arbitrary Power* in his *own Person*, how well soever it suits with his Nature or Occasions; Handling all *Grievances* to his People by the mediation of others, whom upon emergency he delivers up to their Fury. Neither doth this lessen the number of these *Harpies*, any more than it doth *Conjurers* to hear their Predecessors were torn in pieces by the command of those they had formerly nourished with their Blood. Thus by such *amiable gestures*, and the high price he seems in publick to set upon the *Nations content*, so great a *Love* is kindled in the hearts of his Subjects, that all the evils that fall upon them are removed from the principal cause, and attributed to such as are only instrumental in their promotion. A practice waved by our less advised *Monarchs*, who sit in *Parliament*, as *Jupiter* is painted, with *Thunder* in their hands, as if they had already the will

and

and power, and wanted nothing but their Peoples consent to make them miserable; not affording a grateful concession, but by the high and rugged way of *Exchange*; nor good words, but to usher in a more chargeable Request; scorning to reckon with the Subject, and make even for their *Minions* and Officers Faults, till they are so far run in the account of Prejudice, that all Love and Obedience is quite forfeited, and the Crown exposed to the purchase of any that hath the subtilty and power to buy it.

68. For to obviate the like miscarriage, the *Turk* gives often a favourable hearing to such as *complain* of the *Grandees*, not seldom gratifying them with the Heads of their *Oppressors*: By which he doth not only stop the mouths of his People with a shew of Piety and Justice, but fills his *Exchequer* with the real Coin he finds about those thus complained of: Yet if he takes the Parties *Life* to be more considerable to his affairs than his *Death*, he satisfies the publick discontent, by translating the Offender to some *remoter imployment*; where, being farther from the *Court*, severity may be more necessary, at least not so dishonourable, as when it appears at the foot of his Chair: Thinking it not safe to gall the many-headed Monster twice in a *Place*, with one and the same *Engine*. And by this even and constant procedure, an uninterrupted *Prosperity* hath been entailed to this *Empire*, that the voice of *Liberty* continues still such a stranger in their streets, as if their Language were barren of a word to express it. Thus by claiming nothing, he enjoys all, and by defending none of his bad Instruments, hath been secure himself, till these latter years, in which some Constellation seems to hover over the World, inclining all Nations to *Rebellion*. This imboldens me to assert it as a Maxime, That *Princes contract more hatred from the injustice and oppressions of their Favourites, than their*

own: A far less *Revenue* than doth legally depend on a *Crown*, being able to correspond for a greater sum, than the follies of a single Person can possibly consume, unless attached by the bottomless humour of *Play*, which a prudent Prince cannot choose but look upon as far below the dignity of his Person; it being impossible for him either to win or lose, but at the prejudice of his *Courtiers or Subjects*.

69. Here is no *medium* between the *Anger* of the *Sultan* and Death: A great man flea'd out of Office, being rarely or never permitted to mingle among the People, who are easily suborned out of pity, to believe such persecuted for their sakes: Therefore *Discontent* is not suffered to live; the *Power* being as severely punished, as the *Will* to do Mischief: This makes the *Grandees* to carry their bodies swimming between *Popularity* and an *epidemical Dislike*: since though the first be the most certain Messenger of Death, yet the latter doth not seldom bring the same errand; For, such as by *Taxes* or *perverting* of *Justice* (though by the *Emperours* command) are found abusers of the People, die some cruel death, to give the more publick satisfaction; whereas those who fall under his *Jealousie*, in relation to his particular safety, leave the World by a less painful *exit*; which may breed an opinion in the Multitude, That their Prince is only cruel on their behalf, and at the worst but severe in his own. Here the vanity of *Court Minions* is manifest, who like Beasts for Sacrifice are crowned and honoured, till their *Masters* sins require their blood to set him right in the opinion of the People; in the fury of whom lies all the *Hell*, the Religion of most Princes teacheth them to apprehend.

72. THe *Priests* ſcrue up to the height of *Miracles* all *unuſual Contingencies*, which make not a few in ſuch a Maſs of Events, neither is their Report wanting to augment them: And theſe are ſtill hanged before the eyes of the people, either to terrifie or allure them, as it ſuits with the preſent humour of State. And thus the *Popiſh Legend* came to be gilded by ſo many miraculous effects of *Saints*, and their *Reliques*, which, after all contradiction was buried, appeared to the World under no leſs than a cloud of witneſſes: Being capable of no ſtronger confutation than what they receive from a preſent incapacity of doing the like. Now if the *Turks* have been too numerous in their election, or hyperbolical in the predication of theſe *pious*, or rather uſeful *deceits*, the error is committed after the example of the Court of *Rome*, the moſt exact Copy for Policy the World affords. Nor is there place left for blame in relation to either, ſince what was obtruded upon the *Catholicks* heretofore, ſuited as well the Apprehenſions of thoſe times, as theſe do now the *Turks*: Therefore the imprudence lies not in the folly of the *Miracles*, but theirs, who ſuffered ſuch a Critical *Learning* to blaze out, as pretends matter of *Reproof* in all things extant: *Knowledge* being as great an enemy to our preſent felicity, as it was to that in *Paradiſe*. So as *Rome* is forced at this day to let *Miracles* fall, out of fear to find her ſelf detected by the now ſupernumerary iſſue of tatling *Apollo*; which out of too much *Wit*, or too little *Faith*, make an over-ſtrict ſcrutiny into their Truth, hanging like *Locuſts*, and croaking like *Frogs*, about all things that ſeem *green* or *rotten* in the *Church*: Nor will they fall off, till their mouths be ſtopped by *Preferment*, or their heads ſatisfied with *Reaſon*: Yet had ſhe but enough of the firſt, it might ſuffice to purchaſe

chase a competent proportion of the latter; or at worst, so much *Sophistry* as might serve her turn: But the ancient *Piety* being blended in *Laxury*, and her *Revenue* in a great porportion swallowed up by the *covetousness* of *Princes*; the *Pope* and *Clergy* hold the Remainder by no better Tenure than by rendring themselves necessary to the ambition of Monarchs, especially that of *Spain*, *Republicks* being naturally not so auspicious to the *Priesthood*. Nevertheless, lest the *Catholick King* should attain to an absolute power in *Christendom*, under which his *Holiness* would be totally eclipsed, his principal endeavour has been to foment a difference still between him and *France*, and so by their banding to keep himself up in play, *Shifts* the *Church* was never put to, during the Golden Age of Ignorance, when *Learning* and all Books lay at her mercy; so as she had power to cut them shorter, or extend their sense as best fitted the occasion: The *Laity* being so perplexed between the hope of *heaven* and fear of *hell*, that the dark entry of Death gave the Priests as opportune a way to become their Executors, as the bloody night of the *Passover* did the *Jews* to rob the *Egyptians*. But now in the absence of the ancient *Piety* and *Ignorance*, the Church of *Rome* hath no better way to keep Reason from breaking in upon her (who like a Wolf hath, this last Century, lain gnawing at the Popes honor and profit) than by sacrificing more men yearly to the fury of the *Inquisition*, than *Solomon* did Beasts at the dedication of the *Temple*: an Impiety not chargeable upon the *Turk*, who kills none for the profession of any *Religion*, though never so contrary to his own; leaving God to avenge his truth, which no question he would not be long in doing, were he so angry with the opposite Tenets, as they in their furious Sermons are pleased to represent him.

71. The

71. The *Turk* finding *Printing* and *Learning* the chief fomenters of *divisions in Christendom*, hath hitherto kept them out of his Territories. Yet whilst we try out our best time in tugging at the hard Text of a dry Book, or the study of strange *Languages* (which are but the bindings of Learning, and do often cover less Knowledge than may be had in our own Idiom) they come more adapted into *State-imployments*, and sooner furnished with clearer reason, drawn from the quicker Fountains of less-erring *Experience*; and were never yet found to be out reached in prudence by the most politick and *learned* Princes in *Europe*. Nor can any think this strange, that considers what the custom of *University* requires at the hands of Students, *viz.* knowledge in the *Arts* so called, and a nimble mouthing of canting terms, coined by themselves and so current in the commerce of no larger Understandings than their own, and such as are sworn to the same Principles: the vanity of which is in nothing more apparent than in this, that they can easier start ten Errors, than kill one; as is manifest in the differences between us and *Rome*; concerning which, though in right reason we do, and cannot but agree in many things, yet the heat and rancour of the dispute is no whit abated.

72. All *Sciences* any ways resembling those we call *Liberal*, are taught no where but in the *Seraglio*, where the *Grand Signior* hath the power to increase or diminish the number of their *Professors*, according as it suits his occasions. *Able men*, resembling wanton Boys, that rather than be unimployed, will do mischief; None attaining to any perfection but what he hath *use* for: *Idle* Valour being the Tool, as Learning and Knowledge are the Operators of all Civil Dissentions. A course quite contrary to the ill-husbandry of *Europe*, (or more particularly *England*) in whose Body *Mercury* and *Sulphur* exceed Imploy-

ment, which should be the *Salt* to fix the rest, and keep them from putrefaction: For want of which her *Schools* do man out as many Enemies as Friends, legible in the vast volumes of Controversies that lie vendible on every Stall. This results from the multitude of *Grammar-Schools* (in the building of which appears more Zeal than Knowledge) where all come that are but able to bring a *Bag* and a *Bottle*, no unfit Emblem of the future poverty of their Trade; In which, like a *Lottery* ten take their chance in *Beggery*, for one that meets with a *Prize*; and that, when it comes, is scarce worth the labour, cost, and time required in making them capable: No mens fortunes being confined in so narrow a Circle, nor built upon such shaking Foundations as those of *Scholars*: The fire already kindled in Church and State, by their clashing in Opinions, having melted the Basons and larger Plate, our Ancestors set up for the encouragement of *Learning*; which, like a Viper, doth now endeavour to eat out the Bowels of her Mother. For the Parents of *School-Boys* not being able to advance them higher, all the rest is lost but *Reading* and *Writing*, and they rendred by seven or eight years lazie living, uncapable of the labour belonging to the more profitable *Plough*, and so become *Serving-men*, and *Lawyers*, and *Justices Clerks*; by the vertue of which profession they turn cunning Knaves, and cozen their Country: A charge circumcised in *Turkey*, by mixing the expensive callings of *Law* and *Divinity* together, by which their *Priests* are so fully imployed, as no leisure is given to study *Innovation* in either profession, and consequently dries up the Fountains of *Rebellion*. Which foreseen by the prudent eye of the Divine Legislator, *Moses*, directed him to the uniting of the *sacred Rites*, and *civil Sanctions* into one *Body*, making the Law of the Land a piece of Gods Law, and the Justice of the Magistrate, Religion:

which

which ſtamps no leſs Authority upon the Law, than it procures Reverence to the Judges, and promiſeth to the Government, where it is entertained, *Length of days*, and Safety on the one hand, with *Riches* and *Honour* on the other. Which courſe affords alſo ſuch *Expedition* as gives one ſide, at leaſt, cauſe to applaud Juſtice; wheres here the bettered Party is left ſo little to boaſt of, that he returns home as ill ſatisfied, as he which had Sentence pronounced againſt him.

73. Neither are theſe *Delays* any whit remedied by the ill-husbandry of breeding ſo many to the *long Robe*, as are found in *England*: which exceſs ſprings from the multitude of *Pedants* that reign among us; who, like Flies, blow one another in ſuch quantities, over the Nation, as they do not only ſupplant thoſe of their own Calling (which in it ſelf were miſchief enough) but infect all *Government*. Their *Scholars*, if they arrive to any maturity, at length turn *Academicks*, whoſe Cloiſtered and Monkiſh *Learning* is by Stateſmen looked upon as reſembling dead Honey, which is ſtale, courſe, and leſs uſeful, none being pure and Virginal, but what is ſucked from every Flower that may be found in the wild Field of a general Commerce. For though out of the huge heap of *Univerſity-men* Providence hath ſnatched ſuch *choice Brands*, as are able to illuminate the World, yet let theſe towring Eagles ſpeak ſincerely (who like the Soul of Learning appear above that vaſt pile of *Fathers*, *School men*, *Lingaiſts*, *Criticks*, &c. heaped up by the Court of *Rome*, for a Funeral to all farther enquiry after Truth) and they muſt tell you, that the leaſt part of this excellency came from their *Mother*: The *Tongues* being at the beſt but the *Crackers of Knowledge*: the *Kernel* remaining uſeleſs, if not bitter and loathſom, till picked and dreſſed by *Employment* and *Experience*. Nor can this

this be admired by such as consider the practice of ordinary *Tutors*, who throw to their *Pupils* the dry Bones, and not the Marrow of Erudition: By which more time is often consumed in the setting out, than a wise man perhaps would have thought well spent in the whole Journey.

74. This is not said to bring any water towards the cleansing of their hands, who either have or do intend to imbrue them in the sacrilegious *Spoils of Colledges*, to the utter discouragement of all future Charity; I wish them rather cut off: For though thousands are found to bury their Talents in the Ocean of *Controversies*, and an implicit adhering to the Writings of the *Ancients* (who might possibly err out of no less policie than the Church of *Rome* hath since maintained them) yet all Ages do afford some that scorn to be tied up to Patterns, but enrich the World with such new *Inventions*, as may not only expiate for the Charge, but the Ignorance of all *Foundations*.

75. Thus I have shewn, that the *Turks* want of knowledg in our *Learning* or *Religion*, leaves him neither so Imprudent or Wicked, but that he is able to promote his own *Interest*, and willing to make his Subjects so far *happy*, as may suit with an *Absolute Power*.

AN

AN INDEX

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A

DISCOURSE

UPON

Nicholas Machiavel:

Or an Impartial Examination of the juſtneſs of the *Cenſure* commonly laid upon him.

Machiavel is *branded* by all, neither can any abſolve him quite from *Blame*: Yet, conſidering he was not only an *Italian* but a *Courtier*, few can do leſs than admire his bad fortune to ſee one man inherit, in particular the maſs of *Reproaches* due to all *Princes* and *Stateſmen* in general; ſo far as to ſtile, in way of Contempt, ſuch *Machiavellians*, who in a truer ſenſe might be termed Followers of *Charles* the fifth, *Lewis* the eleventh, or *Henry* the ſeventh. By this embracing the bare *Apparitions* of *Vertue* and *Vice*, without obſerving the true *Subſtance*, which they quite let paſs; marking for *Blemiſhes* in precedent times, what Hiſtorians note for *Prudence*, if not

not *Beauty* in ours: So as he that impartially examines the *lives* of thoſe formerly named (who are yet no Prodigies in the Nature of Government) may find more *Evil*, than can be deduced out of this mans *Scenes*, or (for ought we know) the worſt of his Thoughts: Yet they have *Wiſdom* inſcribed on their Tombs, by the Penners and Readers of their Stories, in which they lie quiet under the favour of ſome elegant *Apology*, hitherto denied to *Machiavel* by ignorant and ungrateful Poſterity.

He was *Secretary* to the State of *Florence*, of which he hath left an incomparable *Hiſtory*, with other Books ſo full of Truth, Learning and Experience, that the hand of Detraction hath not been able to aſperſe them; only it endeavours to attach ſome ſtragling expreſſions in a ſmall Pamphlet, called His *Prince*, which are with far leſs Charity remembred, than ſo many larger and better pieces forgotten.

That he was imployed in honourable *Embaſſies*, is manifeſted from Story; And what umbragious and falſe Poſitions *Embaſſadors* Profeſſions oblige them to, the *Tranſactions* of all *States* abundantly declare: For, as the *Italian* ſaith, *The beſt of Women with their Petticoats deveſt their modeſty, to render themſelves more grateful to their Husbands Embraces*; So *Publick Miniſters* can hardly pay the endeavours they owe to their *Country*, without exchanging for worldly *Policy* a great part of that Candor which ſhould be currant in the more ſacred Commerce of honeſt and religious men. Nor can any expect leſs hope of forgiveneſs in relation to ſuch as by theſe *oblique means* advance the preſervation of *Gods People*, than the *Midwifes* of *Egypt* may be ſuppoſed to have had, who purchaſed themſelves *Houſes* by ſuch uncertain Proteſtations; as, if extended on the Rack of a nice Scrutiny, could not chuſe but confeſs and appear to all, little better than

Litt.

Lies. Few humane actions can be ſeparated from the droſs of *Deceit*; only ſuch are of beſt eſteem, as carry the greateſt mixture of *Charity*; which makes me humbly conceive, this *Learned Man* deſerves leſs *Cenſure*: ſince ſuch Princes only as *Jeroboam* (whoſe Intereſt is always to damnifie others in order to their own preſervation) and not their *Inſtruments*, may juſtly be ſaid to cauſe *Iſrael* to ſin.

His was no new *Deſign*, but in all Ages projected by the moſt faithful *Hiſtorians*, who make it their buſineſs to perſonate and repreſent the behaviours of Princes, though never ſo undecent; and did ever purchaſe the more applauſe, according to the greater or leſs faculty they had to do it to the *life*. Neither can the ſtricteſt Religion condemn the *Speculation* of *Ill*, without betraying her Profeſſors, if not her ſelf: For with what vaſt diſvantage ſhould a good *David* cope with a Son of *Belial*, were there not prudent *Huſhai*'s to countermine the Inſidies of wicked *Ahitophels*, and to learn men in power the Art to catch their wily Neighbours in their own Traps? Nor do we find his *Directions* ſhunned in a leſs publick Commerce than that of Princes, ſince it lies not out of the way of Inſtance to prove ſome ſharp inveighers againſt *Machiavel* have attained to *Church Preferments*, under the favour of worſe or the ſame *Principles*, *Alexander* the ſixth aſcended to the *Papacy*.

Do any lay *obſcenity* to the charge of *Albertus*, or is he not rather ſtiled *the Great*, for having ſo plainly ſet open the Cloſet of Nature? If any ſort of men have reaſon to tax this *Author*, they are only *Kings* and *Perſons in power*: For as it is the Cuſtom of *light women*, imperiouſly to blame all broad expreſſions of what they captivate their Servants affections by; ſo *Staſemen* may with more ſhew of Juſtice, complain

of the publication of ſuch *Axioms*, that being undiſcovered, their uſe might be with more ſecreſie and ſucceſs.

Neither doth any greater *Reproach* redound to him from ſuch as pervert them to the *prejudice* of others, than to a *Fencer*, if his Scholars make uſe of his skill in the deſtruction of their Friends: It being only his aim to teach them how to guard themſelves, and reſiſt others that ſhall, contrary to the Laws of God, Nature, and Probity, endeavour to aſſault them.

Ignorance and lack of Experience in the Cuſtoms of other Nations are the Parents of theſe ſpurious *Cenſures*; for had they been where he writ, theſe *Documents* would be no more admired, than the moſt monſtrous of thoſe Chineſes we obſerve in *England*, are, in compariſon of ſome to be found at the feet of the *Alps*.

Neither will a ſmall abatement appear in his *Charge*, if the *days* he lived in be ſeriouſly conſidered. His misfortune was, to be contemporary with *Pope Alexander* the ſixth, and of intimate acquaintance with his Son *Caſar Borgia*: And what theſe were, is ſufficiently apparent to men verſed in Story: a ſtudy ſuch proclaim themſelves ignorant of, that can ſo bitterly exclaim upon *Machiavel*: For were they converſant with the procedures of Superlative Powers, his *Rules* would ſeem rather impertinent, and below the *practice of Princes*, than to deſerve ſuch ſevere *Reproofs*; the ſting of which lies in their own ignorance, not the more uſeful Knowledge, they condemn.

No *Age* abounded more with *Action*, or ſhewed the *inſtability* of worldly *Honours* plainer than that he writ in: Therefore from a man wholly converſant in *Court-Imployments* (where it is thought a Lunacy to

look beyond the ſecond Cauſes, or to act upon the credit of any higher Providence than their own) worſe things in reaſon might be expected than his; which are really no other than the *Hiſtory* of wiſe *Impieties*, long before legible, and ſince imprinted with new Additions in the hearts of every *ambitious Pretender*; yet he undergoes a *Cenſure* equal with thoſe that commit far greater wickedneſs, than his or any Pen elſe is able to expreſs.

Divers *Eſtates* in *Italy*, did in his time deſire, or actually *change* their *Lords*: A juncture opportune to teach nothing ſo naturally, nor require any thing more neceſſary than *Aphoriſms* of *Policy*. For *Naples* was torn out of the Houſe of *Anjou*, by *Ferdinand*, and the people oppreſt under Father and Son. *Lodowick* took the Dukedom of *Millan* from young *Galeas*, with the like treachery as *Francis Sforza*, Father to *Galeas*, had done from the Dukes of *Orleans*.

He ſaw the Deſcent of the *French* into *Italy* winked at by *Pope Alexander* the ſixth, in expectation of raiſing an Houſe for his Son *Ceſar*, out of the Gleanings of the *French Kings* Conqueſt; In which he *prayed without his Beads*, being ſo far *out*, in the account, as that after *Charles* had got a large ſhare in *Italy* (through the mediation of the *Jealouſie of Princes*, no leſs than the *Diſcontent* of the *People*, ariſing from the uneaſie poſture they lay in, ſo as all Changes were conſidered with delight) he entred *Rome*, forced *His Holineſs* into St. *Angelo*, from whence, after ſome time, he came out ſwearing to ſuch *Capitulations*, as the victorious King was pleaſed to proffer him: And though at his reception, the *French* King kiſſed his Foot, yet he durſt not truſt to his ſingle Infallibility, but took his Son *Ceſar* for an *Hoſtage*; and to hide it from the Envy of other *Catholick Princes*, he covered his detention with the title

of an *Embaſſie*, ſtill to reſide neer him in token of Amity: But, not long after, *Caſar* procuring an Eſcape, his Father, contrary to his Oath, contracted a *League* againſt the *French*; ſo much to the prejudice of that Kingdoms affairs, as it may not only excuſe *Machiavel*, but all writers of *Politicks*, if they labour to abate the faith of Princes, in relation to the ſtricteſt *Stipulations* made with Neighbours, found ſeldom obſerved, but broken as oft as kept by abſolute Powers, to the irreparable loſs of the weaker Party: Whereas an Errour in private Perſons may be expunged by an After-game, or helped by complaint, &c. Remedies too weak to cure the Wounds of Princes, who in ſuch caſes are ſaved only by their unbelief, and ſeldom periſh, but through unadviſed confidence, in giving too much credit to the Proteſtations of leſs religious performers of *Covenants*, which riſe and fall; not according to the more conſtant Standard of Religion, but the various ſucceſs of worldly occaſions: And he that knows not how rare a Commodity *Probity* is, in the Market of Princes, is no fit Reader, much leſs a competent Judge of *Machiavel*.

Leagues, *Truces*, *Compacts*, and *Peace*, are become ſo crack'd and invalid, through a daily miſcarriage in performance, as they ſerve for little better uſe, than to buy in ſmaller Territories, ſuch as *Loraine* and the *leſſer Cities* and *Principalities* in *Italy* and *Germany*, that have little elſe to truſt to, but the promiſes of Protection they receive from more *Potent Monarchs*, which they know would devour them, but out of dread of each other: Therefore bound by the ſtrongeſt reaſon of State, to balance them upon the acceſs of deſertion or every fortune good or bad.

Which

Which makes *Oaths* among Statesmen, upon a true survey, to signifie nothing; at best, more danger than profit: Binding only such, as, in relation to Impotency or Honesty, stand in least need; And becoming, like Juglers Knots, no ways astrictive to the more Potent, who are ever able to elude them by slights, or break them by power. Now since *Italy*, for whose Meridian he calculated his *Advisо's*, consists, for the most part, of *weak* pieces, it shews him more excusable, if not commendable, in fitting them so accurately to their practice and conveniency. And till all Kings agree (which is never to be expected) to keep their *Stipulations* and *Covenants*, you cannot think it reasonable that a Subject to the Duke of *Florence* should have advised his Patron to begin; so contrary to the examples of those times, as it was known, the *Pope* did then contract an Amity with the *Grand Signior*, which, in Charity, may be thought he meant not to observe, though for his sake, he suffered himself to be hired to poyson his *Brother* (fled into *Christendom* for fear of tasting the fate of the rest, after his Father's death) and might have been of great advantage to any, that had designed to abate the *Ottoman Empire*: Now after the breach of Faith, so contrary to the promise made to this poor *Infidel*, at his being put into his hands: and *his Holiness's* own interest, in case the *Turk* had invaded *Europe*, it cannot be more passion than discretion, to condemn *Machiavel* for his seasonable Advice in relation to the *Oaths* of Princes.

After all this, he saw *Charles* the *French King* lose *Italy*, with the like facility he had gained it, all the advantages he might have made being snatched from between his legs, by the Catholick King, And the *Pope* and his *Son*, by mistake, poysoned with the same Bottle of Wine, prepared by themselves for

others; by which the Father was taken away preſently, but the Son, fortified with Youth and Antidotes, had leaſure to live and ſee, what he had gotten, torn out of his poſſeſſion, and himſelf forced to fly to his Father in-law, the King of *Navarre*, in whoſe ſervice he was murder'd.

It were heartily to be wiſhed, that unlawful practices were only vendible in *Italy*, and not the traffick of all the Courts in the known world: where the marks, the Text hath ſet upon *Jeroboam*, who (according to the Dialect of *England*, for I find it not ſo elſewhere) may be ſtyled, *The* Machiavel *of the Jews*, cannot ſcare Princes out of the ſame path: For what King hath failed to *ſet up altars at Bethel and Dan*, when their power is in danger, by the peoples going to *Jeruſalem*? when *Saul* was but a Subject, he ſought to the *Prophet* for his Fathers *Aſſes*, but after his aſſumption to the Throne, a *Witch* is conſulted, about the ſucceſs of a *Battle*. *Chriſt* ſaith, *Not many great*, &c. *are called*: Men's *out-ſides*, at Court, are *ſoft*, but their hearts (within) ſeared and hard.

Pride is the root of all Evil; which Princes do not only foſter in themſelves, but water by preferments in all others they find able to promote the ends of it: whoſe effects cannot be comprized in a narrower circle, than the whole Maſs of Impieties, *Ambition* is able to commit: That prompted *Phocas* to kill his Maſter the *Emperour*; *Caſar* to ruine the moſt glorious *Republique* ever the Sun ſaw; It teacheth Children to pull undecently the Crowns from their Fathers Heads; it is this that fills Hell with Souls, Heaven with Complaints, and the Earth with Blood; It made *Charles* the fifth, to arm himſelf againſt him, he believed, if he believed any thing, to be the *Vicar* of our *Saviour*, and would have

have led him in triumph with *Francis* the *French* King, made his Priſoner the ſame year by a like fate of War: Neither did *Philip* the ſecond do leſs than mingle the blood of his then only Son *Charles*, with the great quantity he ſpilt upon the face of *Europe*; yet his thirſt unſatisfied, he ſet a new world abroach in *America*, which he let run, till it was as empty of people, as himſelf of Pity. Are not the Heads of Nations preſented by *Hiſtorians*, like that of the *Baptiſt* in *Chargers* of blood? Nay what are *Chronicles* leſs than Regiſters of Murders and projects to bring them about, to the beſt advantage of ambitious Pretenders? Yet none are ſo ſeverely blamed that writ them.

I would not be ſo far miſtaken, as to be thought to apologize for tyrannical Principles and practices, knowing they render both Doers and Sufferers miſerable: my aim being only to prove, that if *Machiavel* ſtood legally indicted, he could not be condemned by thoſe at the Helm in any State, who in all ages were his Peers, and could not therefore in equity take up a ſtone againſt him. Bad advice, without Execution, hurts only the Giver: Beſides, I cannot believe, the generality of thoſe that cry out upon him, in publick, ever ſaw or read his *Writings*, but take their Clamour upon truſt, as they do againſt *Julian*, ſtiled the *Apoſtate*, how truly, I leave to ſuch as are better able to judge, than thouſands of men ſo impudent as to extend incomparable Wits upon the erring Rack of *Common Fame*, in imitation of their ignorant Anceſtors, who looked upon *Mathematicians* as Conjurers; though Wiſdom hath juſtified theſe her Children ſo far, as to inform the world, that no Learning is a greater enemy to Falſhood than theirs.

Yet *Machiavel* is ſo modeſt as to ask, Who had not rather be *Titus* than *Nero*? But to him that will be a *Tyrant*, he propoſeth a way leaſt prejudicial to his temporal Eſtate: As if he ſhould ſay, Thou art already at defiance with Heaven, therefore to preſerve thee in an earthly power, no mean is left but to be perfectly wicked, a task not higher to be performed, no not by the worſt of *Uſurpers*; it being as far beyond example, that any Tyrant hath done all the miſchief requiſite to his own and Childrens ſafety, as that the beſt of Kings have, in any age, put in execution all the good. Now of the firſt he propoſeth *Caſar Borgia*, for the moſt abſolute pattern, who uſed all Artifices to remove every impediment ſtanding between him and his deſires; but his own being ſick at the time of his Fathers death, which perplexed his affairs ſo, as he could not bring in a *Pope* of his own *Faction*; for want of which, his ſo well-built Deſigns (as he fondly ſuppoſed) fell to the ground, as moſt of theirs do, that proſecute Empires by oblique means; into whoſe lap Divine Juſtice not ſeldom throws Deſtruction, or ſome louder Diſcontents, that overvote the pleaſure, Ambition takes in the accompliſhment of her ends.

But ſince it is ſometime the will of God (for Reaſons beſt known to himſelf) to give a happy ſucceſs to bad means wiſely contrived, why ſhould this *Florentine* be ſo bitterly inveighed againſt, who cannot be denyed but to have had at leaſt as vertuous Principles, for a *Member* of the Roman Church, as *Alexander* the ſixth, that was *Head* of it? with whom all impieties were as familiar as the air he breathed in, ſo far, that it could not be ſo well gueſſed, when he ſpake true or falſe, as by the abundance of *Oaths* he uſed when he meant to deceive.

Worldly

Worldly Wiſdom is recommended to us in the perſon of the *unjuſt Steward*; and, I pray, what doth *Machiavel* ſay more of *Caſar Borgia*, but that he was a *perfect Tyrant*? And if he preſume ſo far on your (better ſuppoſed) Honeſty, as to propoſe him for an *Example*, yet it is ſtill of *Evil*, and what fitter pattern can there be for an *Uſurper*, than one of his own Coat.

Neither are the *Rules* he lays down, waved by the beſt of men, if wiſe; for who executes not *ingrateful actions*, *by Deputies*, *acceptable in Perſon*? And all theſe his *Documents* he gives only to a *Prince*; for had he aſſigned this practice to a *Son*, or any elſe circumſcribed in a narrower room than a *Kingdom*, he might be more juſtly condemned: But undertaking to make a *Grammar* for the right underſtanding the *Dialect* of *Government*, why is he blamed for ſetting down the moſt *General Rules*, and ſuch as all Statemen make uſe of, either to benefit themſelves or hurt others? That they make no conſcience of falſehood, is manifeſt by *Lewis* the eleventh, that learned Father in *King-craft* who pronounced him ignorant of the way to live, that knew not how neatly to deceive.

That *Breach of Faith* in *private Perſons*, is not only deſtructive to well-being but alſo damnable, he cannot deny: but *Princes* pretend larger Charters in relation to a more univerſal Commerce; which they extend to *Embaſſadors*, and Miniſters of State; as counting all things honourable that are ſafe: and if this be an *Evil*, it is the *Kings*, and no way curable, but by the King of Heaven.

To conclude, a *Body Politick* is like that of a *Man*, which when it is altogether, ſhews outwardly a beautiful and comely ſight; but ſearch into the Entrals from whence the true Nouriſhment proceeds, and little

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tle is to be found but Blood, Filth and Stench: .Th truth is, *Machiavel* is obſerved to have raked deepe in this, than his Predeceſſors, which makes h ſmell, as he doth, in the noſtrils of the nice and igna rant; whereas thoſe of more Prudence and Experi ence, know it is the moſt natural ſavour of the Court eſpecially where the Prince is of the *firſt Head*; w which, ſuch as come in by Succeſſion may abat much.

OBSERVATIONS

OBSERVATIONS
UPON THE
King of *Sweden*'s Diſcent
INTO
GERMANY.

WIthin an Age or two, ſometimes, more, ſometimes leſs, according as the World is inclined to Happineſs or Infelicity there hath ſtill riſen up ſome *Ambitious Pretender* or other, that hath labored to build himſelf a *Name* by the effuſion of humane *Blood*: And theſe offering *fine Subjects for Diſcourſe* and *Romances*, are by the Antients ſtiled *Heroe's*, by the Moderns *Conquerours* and men of *high ſpirits*. The firſt of theſe we hear of, is *Nimrod*, branded by God himſelf; To him *Alexander*, *Ceſar*, and innumerable others ſucceeded, who for the moſt part ſtand highly regiſtred in *Hiſtorical Calendars*, becauſe they afford good *Pens* an eaſie way to render themſelves *immortal* by a near expreſſion of their Butcheries, when indeed they both deſerve rather the *curſe* of Mankind, the one for doing,

doing, the other for recommending to Posterity such *cruel examples*, without giving them the true name of *wolfish Ambition* which all merit, who infest others Territories out of no more pious reason than *Augmentation of Empire*. The principal Errand, however palliated (to purchase Partakers) with more plausible and gilded *Mato's* in their Flags, which they hold out to the People. And I believe, if God had continued the *King of Sweden* in *life* and *success*, he had gone as high in Blood, and as deep in Devastation, as his *Ancestors* and *Goths* did in *Italy*, where they ruined such *Monuments*, as Time could not have yet demolished, but that she received assistance from their barbarous hands. And now I have set him under his natural colours, I am bold to maintain, that he that looks to the end of his Prospective, shall see *his Actions reach beyond the Doings of all (in that kind) that ever went before him*, as may appear by these *Circumstances*.

1. He did not fall on men drowned in *sloth* and *Luxury*, but on a *Prince* whose *Prudence* was lately wakened with the *loss* of a *Crown* and his peoples *valour* new whetted by *regaining* it. Being so far from wanting all *necessaries for War*, that, besides new ones of his own, he was Master of all such *Magazines*, as were provided by the *Elector* and his party: So as it may with reason be believed, that if the *Swede's* little finger had been in the endeavour to lessen the *Austrian Family*, when the *Palsgrave* put in his hand, the King, long before his death, had possessed the *Imperial* Throne.

2. *No party* (in any extant Relation I have seen) is heard *to call him in*: All the *Forces* he had, or could raise, appearing to the world as *inconsiderable*; till he had shewed them such a Miracle, as a puissant Army upon one Horse. After whom they ran to gather up the Spoil, who, till then, had their heels shackled with *Cesar's* Successes.

3. The

3. The *Duke* of *Saxony*, the moſt potent Prince of the *Proteſtant* party, had no ſtronger *Title* to his *Eſtate*, than what he derived from *Ceſars* power who had placed him there for the like fault, in his *Elder Branch* (which yet remain'd in being to claim his right) he muſt have fallen into, had he yielded ſuccour or aſſiſtance to the *Swediſh* Crown.

4. He had ſeen the *King* of *Denmark*, coming on the like errand, *baffled*, A Prince inferiour to him in little but *Valour* and *Temperance*; having the *Sound* at command, not to be over-matched with any advantages the *Swede* could properly have called his own.

5. The *jealous hatred*, this and all other Nations have to theſe *Northern people*, as deſirous by nature to better their *Heaven*, with an incroachment upon *Neighbours*; that live under a more auſpicious *Sun*.

6. The new *Proteſts of Fealty* made by the *Princes* and *Hans Towns* to the *Auſtrian* Family, procured by his late *Victories*, the terror of which had ſo cooled the zeal of the people, and evaporated the heat they formerly were in to regain their *Liberty*.

7. The aſſurance he had, that *James* of *England*, who refuſed to bear his own *Honour* and the cries of his *Children*, would never liſten to the voice of a *Stranger*, that had no better Cards to ſhew for his future Succeſs, than *Valour* and good *Conduct*, in which the old man had as little Faith as Knowledge.

8. The *Hollanders*, his moſt conſiderable Friends, could not help him, but by way of *Diverſion*; being far off both in reſpect of diſtance and quality of their Power; the *States* chief ſtrength lying in *Ships*, no ways ſerviceable to the *Swede* in his *Inland expeditions*: And to counterpoiſe this, as if Fate had renounced all aſſiſtance but his own, the *Duke* of *Loraine* had caſt himſelf blindfold into the Arms of the *Spaniard*; with whom was as madly joyned the *French Kings Brother*, both

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in Alliance and Person at that time very considerable, in regard of the known weakness of the *King of France his body*, and the *surmises* of his *Sterility*, thought to be supplyed by the *Cardinal's* industry.

9. He could not expect such cordial help from *France*, as a natural Prince of *Germany*; because upon success he was ready to assume the Title of *Emperour* to himself; the only bait likely to draw in the *most Christian King*. Neither could *that Nation* be assured, that, his ends attained in *Germany*, he might not be prompted by his good fortune to invade them, *Ambition* swallowing all opportunities of gaining, without the tast of any former obligations. And for the *French King's* being chosen by the Reformed Princes *Head of the Union*; He knew that King looked upon it, rather as a scorn put upon *James* of *England*, for his neglect, than as an honour done to himself; *the Germans* being wholly compelled to it by necessity, in that juncture of occasions.

10. For *Money*, accounted by all the only *Oyl*, able to make the Engines of War move, he could not have much, being numbred among the *poorest* Kings in *Europe*. And to make this defect the more impossible to be dispensed with, he knew the *Emperour* like a *Colossus*, had not only a leg of *Iron* in *Germany*, but one of *Gold* in *Spain* to assist it upon the least offer of any motion to offend him.

11. The best he could expect at first (till Success had made him formidable) from the *Landgrave Van Hess*, *Wittenburg* and the rest of the meaner Princes, was a modest *Neutrality*: Or if they were so made as to rush themselves into a sudden declaration for him, there was a large compensation made to the other side, by the unfeigned assistance of the *Duke* of *Bavaria*, who had his affection newly purchased by the rich donative of the *Palatinate*, together with the Principal *Lay-Electorate*;

&c. which

which could hold no longer good, than the *Emperour* was maintained in Superlative power.

12. It is true, that *Walleſtin* and the Emperours *Veteran Militia* had parted from the laſt Action with ſome *diſcontent*: But this is ſo ordinary at the *Disbanding of Armies*, when there is no farther uſe of them, that it could not infuſe ſo deaf an *ill Spirit* into the generality of the Souldiery, but that the ſound of the next *Advance money* would ſoon caſt it out: And one to command in chief was not hard to be found, where the late Combuſtions had created ſo large a choice.

Had he been *beaten*, or *ſneaked* out of the Action, as *Denmark* did, ſuch *Reaſons* might have been upbraided to him, as raſhly neglected: But ſince he was able to *break* through them all, *they multiply the weight of ſtronger of his own*, which led him on againſt theſe; not to be found but in his own Head, and the confidence he had of his *Conduct* and *Valour*; doing many things wherein appeared a *Hand* more powerful than *Fortune*'s; who was not able to make her ſelf *Miſtreſs* of his *Sword*, but by taking away his *Life*: And that done, *Victory* had been ſo much *his*, that it could not be denyed to his *dead carcaſe*.

If the *ſtrength* of the Enemy adds to the Conqueſt: who could cope with a ſtronger, and upon more diſadvantages? ſo as who ever reads the *Adviſoes* of thoſe times, ſhall find that the *King of Sweden* made, not only *Rome*, but *Conſtantinople*, to tremble; the *Turk* ſtanding in ſuch admiration of his Valour, that he loſt his activity, and did not only forbear to make *inrodes* into *Germany*, which on leſs occaſions he uſed to do; But gave off all thoughts of offending others, as if he feared he ſhould have work enough to defend himſelf.

And had the *Swediſh* Sword made as deep impreſſions in his *Empire*, as it left in the *Germane*, they would have been looked upon as *Miracles*; And, inſtead of

of *Antichriſt* (which by reaſon of his ſucceſs, ſome *Catholicks* fondly call'd him) he would have been ſtyled, *The Champion of the Goſpel.*

All the advantage I can find the King had, out of himſelf, was the Emperours Ignorance of that Common *Leſſon*, ſo often repeated to the Prejudice of the wiſeſt Princes; That *Slighted parties are followed with the greateſt train of inconveniences, in relation to ſuch as deſpiſe them.*

Now if men eſteem of Souldiers, by the quantity of *Blood* and *Land* they have waſted, *King Philip* the ſecond of *Spain*, will out-go them all, in his Conqueſt of *Peru*, and the reſt of thoſe weak people: But if Reaſon may be heard, the leaſt part of *Germany* asketh more difficulty to reduce it, than both the *Indies* or all that *Alexander* and his like are able to boaſt of.

A

DISCOURSE

UPON

PISO & VINDEX.

Who both conſpired the Death of

NERO,

Though with a contrary Succeſs.

PISO a *Noble-man* born, beloved of the People, drawn into the *Action* rather out of the perſwaſon of others, than his own affection, aſſociated with the *choiceſt Wits* in the *Roman Empire*, followed by the *braveſt Spirits*, and armed with pretences that were proof againſt all the darts Reaſon or Religion could caſt at them; yet *miſcarried* in the midſt of theſe advantages, falling ſoon after into the ſame Grave, he had moſt juſtly meaſured out for *Nero*.

The foundation of whoſe Ruine was laid by *Vindex*, that had no ſtronger materials to work his deſtruction, than what he hammered out of his own invention, and the advantage he took from the love of a broken *Legion*, no way conſiderable in reſpect of the reſt of the Princes Forces, that ſtood at this time firm to him, having, had their affections newly warmed by divers *Largeſſes* and a daily *Impunity*; ſtronger engagements in ſuch corrupt times, than all the vertue and piety incident to fleſh.

It's true, *Vindex* never lived to ſee the effect of his brave attempt, as the moſt ſtately Fabricks are commonly leaſt enjoyed by thoſe that build them: Yet the Reaſons why his beginnings did ſucceed, rather than *Piſo's*, may be ſome of theſe.

1. Of which the *firſt* lies hid in the dark Book of *Fatality*, where all things are kept from periſhing till they are arrived at the utmoſt period *Providence* hath ſet them; which is for that time as conſtant in the preſervation of the Inſtruments of her wrath, as the Diſpenſers of her Clemency: But when the critical minute, appointed for their deſtruction is come, they lie level with their feet, whoſo hands before were not able to reach them.

2. The *manner* of *Piſo's* attempt, which was to *aſſaſſinate Nero*: An endeavour no leſs indecent for men of Honour, than unproper for a *Tyrant*; who as he is Enemy to all, ſo ought he to periſh by the hands of all, which, by a *Clandeſtine* diſpatch, had not only loſt the pleaſure, but the example of their Revenge. Neither was it in any degree of poſſibility likely to be concealed; and therefore the harder to ſucceed, having been communicated to ſo many, and of ſo different tempers, who out of hatred to others or love to themſelves, could not chooſe but reveal it.

3. As

As the body of Man, be it never ſo ſound, is maintained in being by contention of humours, the blood flying to the heart upon any ſudden aſſault: But if a Bruiſe be made in a *remote* place, it falls not out ſo, but affords the virulent matter leiſure to gather. Thus are bad Princes with more eaſe and ſafety deſtroyed by a remote and open hoſtility, than a ſudden and private attempt: For, near, men ſee daily ſo many effects of their cruelty, that they are afraid, ſtudying more their own ſafety than the freedom of the Common-wealth.

Beſides the *familiarity* with *Tyranny* makes it ſo domeſtical, that thoſe within the *Verge of the Court* know not well how to live without it: Therefore they muſt be tender of his preſervation, to maintain their own power, having rendred themſelves either actively or paſſively as odious to the people as their Maſter.

4. As any thing that miniſters occaſion of diſcourſe, the farther it extends, the more ſound it makes; and he that gathereth *Snow*, hath a *Ball* proportionable to the *diſtance* he rolls it: So thoſe that cry out *afar off*, upon the abuſes of the *Court*, do not only draw attention from ſome about them, but tickle the ears, and ſtir up the Spirits of all ſuch as have felt, or do fear the weight of Oppreſſion. Nay, ſuch perſons themſelves as at a nearer diſtance, would, out of hope or fear, labour to quench it, will, a great way off, look upon a combuſtion, with delight: *Novelty* being of that nature (eſpecially following things ill) that it raiſeth more expectation of good, than it can deſtroy.

5. *Open force* doth aſſure the *Malecontents*, that there is pretence made of no more than what is cordially intended; to which the ſoft whiſpers of a few Confederates cannot enough perſwade: It being the ordinary practice of tyrannical Governours, by ſuch inſtruments

to entrap others for whoſe lives and Eſtates they long. But in this caſe, *Report*, that repreſents nothing in its due proportion, inſtead of the danger that *is*, muſters up all that *may be*: And in this the concerned Tyrant ſeconds her; who looking through the falſe Spectacles of guilt and fear, reads his fortune worſe, than poſſibly it is written, and above prevention; ſo far, as though *Hope* (the laſt friend in ſuch adverſities) cannot quite be ſhook off, ſhe fixeth upon lower objects than the continuance of his former power. This flattered *Nero*, that though they drove him out of *Rome*, yet for pity, or to ſatisfie his Party, they might be drawn to leave him *Egypt* quiet: As fooliſh an opinion in him, as it had been madneſs in them, to think any power meet to be left in the hands of an exaſperated Prince; whoſe *Revenge* cannot be buried but in his grave, eſpecially if it reſpects his Subjects: For though himſelf might be of a nature to forgive it, thoſe about him cannot, but will be ready to incite him to take it upon all occaſions.

6. Where there are *many* that *conſpire*, the apprehenſion of any one will ſoon *detect* the reſt; whereas the like reſolution taken by a ſingle perſon, and not communicated, ſeldom fails, being ſecure from all fear, and haſtned by no accident but what opportunity preſents.

7. *Ill Counſel* is rather to be harkned unto, than, *none* at all; there being a poſſibility to mend it with better: whereas *dull ſuſpenſion* loſeth time, a thing irrecoverable; and doth not only aſſure the *Adverſaries*, but diſheartens *Friends*, giving them leiſure to liſten to the free offers of the contrary Party.

It may be obſerved in the *fall* of *Nero*, that *the meaneſt Conſpiracy is not to be ſlighted*; For in a crazed Commonwealth, the leaſt jangling will bring the multitude about the ears of their Governour; who, having offended all, knows not whom to truſt, that hath any power with

with the people: And this perceived by his own, they deſert him, or by his deſtruction labour to purchaſe their particular ſafety: For what hope can another have in him, that diſtruſts himſelf?

He that had loſt the *love of his people*, cannot be certain of his preſent ſafety or moderate ruine when it comes; for the moſt part ſudden in regard of his own knowledge, though preſaged and wiſhed by all the world beſides.

No prudence can maintain a *Tyrant* long in power: for though he may divert the people from making inſpection into his diſpoſition, by expoſing his Agents to their mercy; yet at laſt the ſucceſſion of the ſame *abuſes* will direct them to the true cauſe; which being once diſcovered to lie in his Nature, nothing he doth ſhall pleaſe, but be ſuſpected for more evil, than it can in probability produce: The worlds *Opinion* exerciſing no leſs authority over Kings, than meaner men. Beſides, the *delivering up men in Authority to the rage of the People*, like letting of Blood, may ſtop the progreſs of a preſent Fever, but much weakens the power of the Prince, to reſiſt a future diſtemper.

After the diſorders of a Tyrant are laid before the eyes of the people, it turns thouſands his enemies in an inſtant, that out of Cuſtom or Conſcience prayed for him the day before. Who are more ſolicitous to advance his *deſtruction*, than careful to chooſe a *Succeſſor* that might be fit to govern. Their *Diſcretion* extending no farther than their *Nouriſhment*, which they only receive from *hand to mouth*. Therefore all the uſe that can be made of this popular Monſter is, during their firſt heat: For, their expectations deluded (being incapable of honour or reward) they are ready, with the Dog, to lick up the ſame *Nero* they had vomited out. And, that it is eaſier to expel a *Tyrant*, than to find a Prince in all points worthy to ſucceed, appeared

by *Galba*: And by *Otho* we find, when the multitude are up in *Swarms*, they care not what Buſh they light on.

If *Seneca* had got the Imperial Diadem from under *Piſo*, it is uncertain, whether he had been able to have kept it: Vertue having ſhewed her ſelf as great an enemy to a *freſh Family* as Vice; to whom *Cruelty* is for the moſt part more neceſſary than *Clemency*, eſpecially towards the *Nobility*, who are obſerved to carry the moſt natural affection to the *old line*, that firſt wound them up to honour.

I would be loth to blame *Seneca* wrongfully, though the immenſe *Treaſure* he left behind him doth, not only, by conſequence, accuſe him of too much *Covetouſneſs*, as ſome Authors are bold to lay *Ambition* to his charge; which the worſe became him, becauſe unpoſſible to be ſatisfied but at the coſt of his Maker. But admit this *Stoick* in outward Profeſſion, though an *Epicure* in his Gardens, *&c.* to be as good as he deſired to be thought, yet if he had not reſtored to the *Romans* their loſt liberty, but ſought to eſtabliſh the *Government* in his own *houſe*, he had only imitated their Charity, that take a Slave out of one cruel Family to put him into another, that might in a ſmall time prove as bad: or if he had governed moderately all his life, it had been like the good day in a Fevor, which is ſo ſhort and uncertain, that it takes away all taſt of Eaſe and Delight, *&c.*

A

DISCOURSE

UPON THE

Greatneſs and *Corruption*

Of the Court of

ROME.

THere is nothing, *Idleneſs* and *Peace* makes not worſe, *Labour* and *Exerciſe* better: The *Tree* that ſtands in the *Weather*, roots beſt, and deepeſt; The running *Water*, and *Air* that is agitated, are moſt wholſome and ſweet. The cauſe of this may be deduced from Gods eternal Decree, That nothing in Nature ſhould remain idle and without *motion*: This alſo extends to the *Children of Grace*, who go more nimbly about the works of their heavenly Calling,

being driven by the ſtorms of *Perſecution*, than when they have nothing but the ſmooth voice of *Proſperity* to allure and perſwade them. The *Martyrs* profeſſed *Chriſt* more boldly, amidſt the flames of the hotteſt Perſecutions, than we dare do in the Sunſhine of the Goſpel.

God never made a larger promiſe of his continuing *Truth* in any place, than to the Nation of the *Jews*: Yet how often do we find it buried in the rubbiſh of Errours and Impiety? Their Kings and Prieſts either teaching, or at leaſt tolerating Idolatry: The Church being driven into ſo dark and narrow a corner, as the Prophet *Elias* could not diſcover a righteous man: Neither was *Jeruſalem* in better plight, which had the *Temple*, and in that the *Oracles* of God, in poſſeſſion. For if it did ſcape profanation during the worſer days of *Solomon*, his Son *Rehoboam* ſaw it plundered, and in moſt of his Succeſſors Reigns it lay neglected or miſimployed. So that if a ſtranger, led by the glorious title the *Jews* had, to be *the people of God*, ſhould have conformed himſelf to their worſhip, he had ſcarce mended his market, though he were before never ſo great an Idolater. Yet God never gave a larger *Charter* to any *Church*, part of it being contained in theſe words, *I have hallowed this Houſe which thou haſt built, to put my name there for ever.* This proves Gods *Promiſes* conditional, and that outward *Felicity* ſeldom accompanies inward *Integrity*; or if they have the luck to meet, they preſently part, mens hearts being ordinarily too narrow to entertain goodneſs and worldly pomp.

The *Churches* we read of in the *New Teſtament*, with whom the Holy Ghoſt was ſo familiar, as to direct particular *Letters* unto them, are not now to be found. Only *Rome* brags, ſhe remains the ſame in purity of *Doctrine*, though for *Manners* ſhe is as corrupt as her

her elder Sister *Sodom*, so that if *Italy* be a Circle of Impiety, the *Court of Rome* is the Center. Yet these plead their Title with God himself, grounding it upon the tottering Foundation of worldly *felicity*: Forgetting that it is against the example of all times, that any Nation, much less a Church, should so long sail under the merry gale of earthly prosperity, and not long e're this discharge herself of that rich lading she was fraught withal, when she traded for Souls, under the Fathers of the Primitive times. There having been such a succession of imperious greatness in that *Chair*, as *Rome* is now more like the proud and triumphant Chappel of *Antichrist*, than the poor and militant Church of God. All the calamities that have of late fallen upon her, may be said to have dropt from her own Ambition, in seeking to enlarge her power at the cost and prejudice of others, and therefore more naturally to be styled Punishments than Persecutions.

You cast your eyes on no Story where the *villany* of *Popes* is not at large discovered; who can then believe that the pure Spirit of God should indow with infallibility of judgement Monsters so visibly corrupted? We find, the Holy Ghost did under the *Law* hate and forbid all impurity though in meer outward *Ceremony*; how then should he under the brighter light of the *Gospel*, suffer himself to be poured out of one unclean Vessel into another; beginning again with a *Conjurer* where he left with a *Sodomite*.

Yet they say, *Rome* is *the true Church*, out of which there is no Salvation: Not remembring that the holy Scripture, Charity and Reason tell us, Gods *Church* is as *universal* as the Earth; and shall one day be gathered together under Christ the Head. Now in the mean time, that *harmony* of Opinions they pretend to, may be rather wished, than hoped for. In *Pauls* time some made conscience of eating things *sacrificed to Idols*,

Idols, others of *Circumciſion*; yet he condemns them not for ſchiſmatical. And it is but a weak evaſion to ſay, He bare with them in regard of the infancy of the Church: For in theſe days of knowledge ſhe is as infantine in ſome places, as ſhe was then: where he that taught had the ſtrength of *Miracles* to juſtifie his Doctrine, which theſe want, and are driven to this ſhift in lieu of them, to cozen the people with ſuch as are ſuppoſititious. Now if there be no ſalvation out of the *Church of Rome*, not to ſpeak of our ſelves; *&c.* what charity is it to think all the water caſt away, that is poured in Chriſts name upon the faces of thoſe Chriſtians in *Greece*, *Ruſſia*, and remoter places, to which this Ages curioſity and covetouſneſs hath taught them the way? This makes me think there is no room for ſuch monopolizing opinions: But I leave this to Divines, returning to the *Pope*.

After the *Piety* of the firſt *Biſhops* of *Rome* had purchaſed them *Reputation*, and that God had not only opened the hearts of *Potentates* to receive the *Goſpel*, but their hands to build and endow *Churches*: They being advanced firſt to the Dignity of *Arch-Biſhops*, thence to *Patriarchs*, and ſo at laſt to the *Papal* Supremacy, (a name derived from *Pater Patriarcharum*, which for brevities ſake was written *Pa Pa*) exchanged their Piety for Promotion, It being the Cuſtome of frail Humanity, to conclude goodneſs at the beginning of Felicity.

For taking the advantage of new kindled *Zeal* wiſely obſerved by them to be the hotteſt, the *Popes* were able to lead King and People whither they pleaſed, and in the interim had the opportunity to proportion what power or riches they thought fit for themſelves.

Now as *Policy* is not able to keep long the right way to *Heaven*, ſo at laſt it led them into a world of Impieties, by encroaching, under pretence of Religion, upon

upon higher Juriſdiction and Power than could naturally belong to Subjects: which wanting ſtrength of their own to maintain, they ſheltered them under the *Donation* of ſuch *Princes*, as had no better titles to their *Crowns*, than was derived from an *Uſurpation* over the weakneſs of thoſe in former poſſeſſion; glad of the *Popes* Protection, becauſe they found the generality of men either out of Religion or Ignorance, made their eſtimate of the truth or falſhood of the Titles, and legality of the *Claims of Princes*, according as they were more or leſs current in the opinion of their *Clergy*, whoſe judgments depended wholly on the Biſhop of *Rome*, who afforded his approbation to their illegitimate *Titles*, out of no weaker Reaſon of State, than they at firſt deſired it: Laying up with all diligence their *Petitions*, and his *Grants*, to remain as Precedents for their poſterity to be guided by: Therefore it is no wonder, why theſe *Tyrants* and *Uſurpers* ſhould ſtrengthen the power of the *Pope*, ſince the foundation of their own was laid upon the exorbitant exceſs of that of *Rome*: which is ſo improved, as the *Emperour* hath, for many ages, received his *Crown* from their Succeſſors, to whom his Predeceſſors had formerly given the *Mitre*.

The cloud of *Ignorance*, that did then cover the face of the world, was a great help to keep their jugling undiſcovered: For that little *Learning* extant in thoſe times was wholly included in the *Monaſtical Clergy*, (the *Laity* being intent upon nothing but Wars and Pleaſure) ſo as they had opportunity to make all *Books* and *Records* ſpeak in their favour; which being *Manuſcripts*, and ſo but in few hands, it was no hard matter to corrupt them. Beſides being prohibited *Marriage*, they did neither reſpect nor acknowledg other Poſterity or Alliance, than thoſe to ſucceed in the ſame places, of whom they had ſo religious a care,

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as they thought none merited well of the Church, that did not leave them endowed with more *Power* and *Immunities* than they found them: Making it an Article of the faith they owed to the Profeſſion, *to ſuppreſs the Laity, and advance the Clergy*: And if this was the End, they eſteemed no Means ill, conducing to it.

Thus by Time, the Indulgency of good, and Neceſſity of wicked and illegitimate *Princes*, they freed their whole *Society* from the Juriſdiction of the temporal *Magiſtrate*, not ſuffering them to be liable to any *puniſhments*, but thoſe eternal, and ſuch as their own ſuperiors ſhall think fit to lay upon them; ſeldom ſuitable to the fault, unleſs in caſe of *Schiſm* from their general Tenets: and in this their Jealouſy, no leſs than prudence makes them very ſevere. Now having purchaſed *Eaſe*, *Honour*, and *Impunity*, ſuch as were *Poor*, *Guilty*, or *Ambitious*, beſides *Younger Brothers*, and thoſe in *Debt*, entered their *Fellowſhip*; which freed them from preſent want, and fear of puniſhment for former Offences, how capital ſoever: And theſe being, for the moſt part, of the beſt natural abilities, ſoon learned the skill, ſo to work on the conſciences of Dying people, and thoſe affrighted with their ſins, that the *Church* was left Heir of the beſt part of *Chriſtendom*. And taking encouragement from the blind zeal then raigning, (which till *Printing* had opened a way to Knowledge, rendred all things poſſible unto them) they did not only make uſe of ſuch profitable *Errors*, as their Fore-fathers left them, but brought in new ones of their own contriving, gilding them with the ſplendid titles of *things neceſſary* and of *religious uſe*; Amongſt which were *Images*, brought in at firſt only to encourage others to imitate their conſtancy, whom they ſaw painted, with the manner of Death they had been put to by the Perſecutors of thoſe Times: Of the *Croſs*, wore anciently only for

a

a *Cogniſance*, they have made a Tutelary *God*, looking no higher in their Extremities: The bleſſed *Saints* were ſcandalized with the Worſhip given to them, and their *Reliques*: whom, in a full imitation of the Heathen, they made *Protectors* of their *Cattle*, and ſmaller *Pleaſures*, as *Hawking*, *Hunting*, *&c.* And becauſe the *Bible* did not, in their opinions, afford a ſtore ſufficient for all uſes, they have added a number more, as may be found in the *Legend*.

To the *Monks*, and all ſorts of *Friars*, the *Popes* have ſucceſſively given immenſe *Priviledges* and *Indulgences*, wiſely conſidering, they gain them victories, without the Sword, and are a ſtrong and faithful Militia, fed and paid by the reſpective *Princes* of Chriſtendom, who though they know they depend on a Foreign Power, yet few dared to explode them: ſo ſharp and terrible was their fear of the *Knife*, and more deeply wounding dart of *Excommunication*. And becauſe, in caſe all *Kings* ſhould have joyned, it might have gone hard with *his Holineſs*, he kept them imployed abroad at the *Holy War*, or at Enmity one with another, or at leaſt at Unity with himſelf, by maintaining their *uſurped Titles*, or diſpenſing with their *Inceſtuous* or *Adulterous Marriages*. But finding, in theſe latter days, Knowledge hath expoſed him to a *Reformation*, and that Princes would no longer make the vindication of his *Temporalities*, or what, under the notion of *Spirituals*, he is pleaſed to call *His*, a matter of Religion: and not daring to alter any thing formerly admitted by his Predeceſſors, for fear of falling under this undeniable Concluſion, That *he which hath erred in one thing, may in more*: He moſt politickly called in the *Inquiſition*, which turneth no leſs to the profit of the Secular *Prince* (who hath all he diſlikes condemned by an Authority uncapable as well of Envy as Revenge) than the Preſervation of the *Eccleſiaſticks*, and *his Holineſſes* power

power from falling under ordinary Diſpute: which Policy he borrowed of his younger Brother *Mahumet*, whoſe errours remain to this day in Credit, becauſe it is death to queſtion the truth of them.

No man can lay the *Pope* imitates *Peter*, except in *denying his Maſter*; who following the example of *Chriſt*, did in humility waſh his Companion's *feet*, which this doth in jeſt, during the *holy week*, as they call it; but ſuffers his own to be, in earneſt, *kiſſed* by *Kings* and *Emperours*. It is true, he ſtyles himſelf the *Servant of Servants*, but is content to be worſhipped under the title of *Lord of Lords*: Nay ſome of his Flatterers have given him the name of a *God*, yet with *Paul* and *Barnabas*, he doth not rend his Cloaths, ſaying *He is a man ſubject to infirmities, as others are*; but rather ſeeks to ſeem worthy of this Title, by proclaiming to the world, *That he cannot err*, a power God hath wholly reſerved to himſelf; or if communicated (which I will not now diſpute) it is only to the *Church* in general, when, in his fear they ſhall meet to determine matters of Religion, Which is ſo contrary to the nature of his Greatneſs, that no ſound is ſo terrible to him, as that of a *General Council*, a thing this Age cannot hope to ſee free and intire, by reaſon of the contrary Intereſts of Princes, who, together with Religion, mingle their covetous and ambitious Pretences: For if ſuch interruptions had not been, ſo undecent a proceeding ſhould never have taken place, as was in the *Council of Trent*; where the *Emperour* ſuffered the *Pope* to be *Party* and *Judge*, and the *Biſhops* bereft of all power, either to propoſe or determine. Nor were the *Plaintiffs* admitted to more favour or liberty or diſputation, than to remain quiet, and hear themſelves condemned: ſo as, in concluſion, though this *Synod* was deſired only to abate the power, and reform the abuſes of the *Court of Rome*, it was managed by them with ſo much Policy that

that it did rather much ſtrengthen and confirm the exorbitant power of that See.

The greateſt things in difpute between *Papiſt* and *Proteſtant*, are matters concerning *Profit* or *Honour*; which may ſatisfy any, not delighted with blindneſs, that they were brought in by diligence of the *Prieſts*, taking advantage from the ignorance of preceding Ages.

From all which I may conclude, that ſuch amongſt them as are wiſe, converſant in Hiſtory, and acquainted with the preſent practice of the Court of *Rome*, are foully to be ſuſpected of *Atheiſm*: becauſe Conſcience can never be perſwaded againſt a convincing experience: which is alſo made good by the irreligious *Italians*, from whom comes this Proverb, *The nearer the Church the farther from God*: For ſuch abhor Religion, becauſe they ſee the *Pope* makes but a politick robe of it, taking the liberty himſelf to put it on or off, as becomes his occaſions.

A DISCOURSE Upon the ELECTION OF Pope *LEO* the XI.

IN the *Negotiations of Cardinal Peron* may be found a perfect *Journal* of ſo much of the *Election* of *Leo the Eleventh*, as was poſſible to be known by one ſide; to which Diſcourſe I ſhall refer all thoſe that do believe the *Pope* can be the true *Succeſſor of Peter*: It being incongruous both to Prudence and Religion, to imagine the *Holy Ghoſt* ſhould mingle intereſts with the ambitious ends of Princes, who ſhun no impious means to make him ſucceed, that is thought the trueſt friend to their Occaſions. I know it is not only in the power, but the practice of God, to raiſe his ends out of ill means; Yet it were preſumption in men to ſhape out his work, though he be able to fit our endeavours to his own Honour.

But the *Court of Rome* ſeeks to make the people believe, that, notwithſtanding theſe Conſiderations, after the *Maſs of the Holy Ghoſt* is ſaid, he is as really

really preſent in the *Conclave*, as he was with the eleven Diſciples, when they choſe a Succeſſor to *Judas*, who betrayed *Chriſt*. In which they acknowledge themſelves either *Atheiſts*, or preſumptuous *fighters againſt God*; For if the Choice be his, how dare they interpoſe their mediation, or hope the *French* or *Spaniſh Factions* can poſſibly prevail; one ſide ever interrupting, becauſe both cannot be pleaſed. They have of late been made ſometimes by the other, which muſt conclude the Holy Spirit ſubſervient to humane Endeavours, or no more friend to this Choice, than to that of the *Grand Signior*.

Here you may ſee how they labour to hire or force the *Holy Ghoſt* to fix upon ſome ſuch ſubject, as may be moſt auſpicious to the prevalent Party, who is invoked out of Ceremony, leaving the reſt to be hewed out by themſelves. Before theſe Monarchs grew ſo potent, the troubles in the *Conclave* were rather more than leſs: For the *Cardinals* made Elections ſo tedious by their mowſing, that ſometimes the *Romans*, ſometimes other Princes, forced them to reſolve. And to avoid ſuch conſtraint, they did often pitch upon *Impotent men*, ſuch as for *Age* or *Weakneſs* were not likely to hold out long (as this *Leo* who died in few weeks after his aſſumption) during whoſe time the Pretenders are at leiſure to concoct their Deſigns better; which is ordinarily done by *Bribes*, or in caſe they prevail not, by *Poyſon*, nay the Devil is not left unſought to: So as *Balzac*, ſaith, *None, on this ſide the Alpes, labour more to look well, than ſome of them, to ſeem ſickly and weak*; hoping by that means to obtain the *Chair* which is able, of a gouty *Cardinal*, to make a ſound *Pope*.

In antient time the *Biſhops* of *Rome* were choſen by the *Pariſh Prieſts* of that City, And how, ſince, *Cardinals* came in, is no more known, (though not antient) than the date of many Novelties, that have moſt ſhame-

fully been imposed upon the Church: Yet to this day, no *Ecclesiastical Cardinal* (for they have others) but retains among his titles, the name of one of the *Parish Churches* in *Rome*, though he be ordinarily called by his own name, or else some other *Bishoprick* or Dignity, he hath in *Commendam*. By the institutions of a former *Pope*, which for shame they dare not revoke, all his Actions that gets into the *Chair* by *Simony*, are null: Now what are all these sinister Endeavours, but so many several sorts of *Simony*? If *Simon Magus* had attempted by *Policy*, mediation of *Friends*, or *Flattery*, to have obtained the Gift of the *Holy Ghost*, should his fault have been less, or not rather greater; *Money* being the richest offer he could make, and most suitable to the *Apostles* wants, which he saw others, indued with the same Spirit, daily cast at their feet? And if this be granted, when had the Church a Head able to utter any thing but Falshoods, or Nullities; All *Popes* having, for many years entered at one of these Gates? In Civil Kingdoms, the *Crown* is to be obeyed without questioning how the Wearer came by it; but to tie the Ecclesiastical power to these conditions, were to bind the *Holy Ghost* to the *Popes Chair*.

The *Bishop* of *Rome* lays an absolute claim to an erring Spirit, but is not able to demonstrate the time when he had it: If it were always, the Errors found inherent in the persons were uncapable of blame or retraction. Yet out of this Cloud of uncertainty, say they, the *Holy Ghost* dictates only to his *Church*, and such as deny it are *Heretick*s. If at any time he hath the Spirit of infallibility, it is, perhaps, at his first entrance into the Chair as *Saul* had a greater measure upon his new anointing, than in all his Reign besides; yet in the Election of this *Leo the* XI. (of the House of *Medici*, and before his Assumption known by the Title of *Cardinal of Florence*) appears no such matter, which would

would not have been omitted by the Penner of the paſſages of their *Conclave*; being an eye-witneſs and a *Cardinal*, who doth pride himſelf much in his fortune, and the policy both he and the French Party had uſed in his advance. But it may be, *Paul the Fifth*, who ſucceeded this *Leo*, had it, when he made ſo great a preſent to the Devil, as at once to excommunicate the whole State of *Venice*, with all the territories belonging unto it: But this was afterwards condemned by himſelf as raſh and inconſiderate, terms moſt unbefitting a thing done by God. And wiſe men may here juſtly take occaſion to conclude, that no *Pope* doth think, or ever thought, he had a power of not erring: For if ſuch a Spirit were an uſual companion of that *See*; *Paul the Fifth* would have expected the operation of it, and not have troubled a State to ſo little purpoſe, without the aſſiſtance at leaſt of a Revelation.

He that deſires to be informed of the *Illneſs* of Modern *Popes*, may be abundantly ſatisfied, if he conſult Hiſtorians, who are not dumb in declaring the *faults* of the *Court of Rome*. The truth is, were it not for the *ſtrict* (or if you will, call them *pious*) *Lives* of a few melancholick *Friars*, it is impoſſible ſo much wickedneſs ſhould not be hooted out of the world.

Yet the *Court of Rome* hath as ſtrong Supporters as Policy is able to bring, though her trueſt friends are *Ignorance*, the *Inquiſition*, and *Intereſts* of Princes: The firſt lies in every particular man to reform, the ſecond for the moſt part in the King of *Spain*, the third only in God.

Political Occasions

Of the

DEFECTION

From the

CHURCH of *ROME.*

AS some *Diseases*, and other *Mulcts* (but accidental in the first result) become, after a small *Succession*, *hereditary* to a *Family*; So *Opinions*, if once inveterate, render their Professours Ears, like those of the *Adder*, deaf to the wiser and more probable *Charms* of Reason. I come just now from talking with a *Papist*, and find him (though a Scholar) so wrapped up in the old rags of *Tradition*, and inspired with so strong an *Implicit Faith*, that I think it had been one of the neerest things to impossible, for the *Bishop of Rome* to have lost so many, had he not fallen into such *Errors* as these.

1. The seeking to maintain a greater *shew of Piety* in the *Church*, than was suitable to humane Frailty, and the comforts of Life: The *Friars Habit* being no less *nasty* than *unseemly*, and therefore shunn'd by nicer Judgements and those of parts, not so capable of temptation

temptation from any thing, as Pleaſure and Profit: Or if ſuch *Auſterity* was called for, in relation to external *Zeal*, (the parade of all Religions, and fit to be muſtered up often in the eyes of the people) yet the generality might have been left to more *decent Acoutrements*, by which they had become ſociable unto others, and not loathſome to themſelves.

2. Though ſuch Auſterity was exacted from the *Members*, the *Head*, and *Capital Clergy*, obſerved not the like: which alarum'd not only their Maligners, but thoſe of their own Coat, whoſe Deſert of Fortune had not raiſed them to the ſame Tranſcendency.

3. The admittance of *Printing*, unpoſſible but to prove diſadvantageous unto thoſe, whoſe ſtrongeſt evidence, for the maintenance of their Power, lay in the Ignorance and Patience of the World, which this could not but be thought probable both to inform and diſturb.

4. The ſuffering *Nations* to ſwell into ſuch *vaſt Bodies*, as *France*, *Spain*, &c. The moſt obtained under the *Churches* pretence, which in favour to one, and malice to others, did blaſt Princes titles by the thunders of *Excommunication*, and ſet the people at odds with their Natural Soveraigns. By which Exorbitances they taught the *Germans* and our *Henry the Eight* to find out a Remedy by applying to this *proud fleſh* the powder of *Reformation*; the ſtrength of which made the ſame Zeal, that ſwell'd the *Prieſts* to this height, as ready to tear away the ground from under them.

5. The mixing a deſire of *temporal power* with what is purely *ſpiritual*, put ſuch an alloy upon their *Sanctity*, that it became leſs current, than otherwiſe it might have been, had they not uſed the *Sword*, which *Peter* only drew (and yet not without a check) in his *Maſter's* cauſe, to purchaſe *Principalities* for their Children and Nephews.

6. The falling into the common Error of weaker Princes, who, to *palliate some extemporary mischief*, do oftentimes contract *an incurable inconvenience*, as was done in the case of *John Husse*, and *Hierom* of *Prague*: in relation to whose proceedings the Fathers in the *Council* of *Basil* enacted, That *No Faith was to be kept with Hereticks*. By which they have rendered themselves incompatible with any other Tenets than their own; To whom they do by this almost as much as confess, that upon the access of a power sufficient, none are to expect milder conditions, than to lay their *heads* upon the *Block*, or cast their *consciences* at the *Popes* feet.

7. The *irrepealable Authority* given to the Decrees of all approved *Synods*, opposeth the *Custom of Nature*, and course of all sublunary things, which are *apt to change*; no less than true *reason of State*, that abhors to be shackled by any severer restraint than she is able to cast off upon approach of a greater advantage: The dispensing with an *unsociable Tenet* being far less prejudicial, than the continuance of it against the grain of the generality.

8. The *Pope* should have removed at least so many of the *Hundred Grievances*, presented at the *Diets*, as he found all Estates concurred in the dislike of: The charge and trouble incident to the *Roman Religion* afflicting mens temporalities as much almost as their Falsehood could their Consciences: It being more Policy to part with things not absolutely necessary, willingly, than by constraint.

9. The open *partiality* shewed in the affairs of divided *Princes*: By which the one side is made perpetually his enemy, and the friendship of the other no longer permanent, than it receives benefit; being wise enough to see, that the same *Arts* and *Power* that are able to help now, may, upon the recoil of Interest, be as apt to hurt: All strength conjuring up jealousie in

Kings,

Kings, that is not abſolutely at their own diſpoſe.

10. The ordinary and ſlight Provocations the *Pope* took to draw the dagger of *Excommunication*: which acquainted *Princes* no leſs with the bluntneſs of his Weapons, than the keenneſs of his Malice. By which they were taught to abate, ſo much as poſſibly they could, the reach of his power, leſt it ſhould have increaſed to an univerſal prejudice; nothing being more notorious than the *Ambition* of the *Church*, not poſſibly to be moderated, but by an abſolute reſtraint, and an open diſcovery of the Arts uſed to twiſt the Intereſts of *Chriſt* with thoſe purely their own: a medly of Colours apparent to judicious eyes: with which *Religion* was ſo dapled, that it was embraced by the moſt, rather out of oſtentation than love, or pure zeal, and ſo not likely to continue long.

11. Had he turned the edge of his *Eccleſiaſtical ſword* againſt *Turks* and *Infidels*, which he hath, ſince *Gregory* the great, choſe rather to ſheath in the boſom of *Coriſtians* (whoſe differences, eſpecially if they intrenched upon his *Supremacy*, he fomented into flames) he might have inlarged the extent of his own juriſdiction by a ſupply of new *Proſelytes*, who are ever fonder of their Nurſes, than thoſe whoſe ſharper experience of the Covetouſneſs, and Ambition of the *Church* hath weaned from being ſo highly pleaſed with the *Roman Guegaus*. I confeſs it unſuitable to his Intereſt, to ſuffer all or the major part of *Chriſtendom* to fall under the juriſdiction of one perſon, for then his power would be eclipſed, as the Moon, in Oppoſition; or quite loſt, as the Stars upon the approach of the Sun: which arraigns him of Indiſcretion, for ſuffering the *German Empire* to be *Hereditary*: eaſily to have been foreſeen, when once it fell upon ſo powerful a Prince as *Charles the* V. not likely to part with any thing he had once poſſeſſed, and now too ſtrongly rooted in the *Auſtrian Family*, ever to

be eradicated but at the cost of a total subversion either by the *Turk* or *Lutheran* Professors.

12. The several *Orders*, and distinct *Names* they gave the *Friers*, known to breed *Emulation* and *Division* among them; as is evident about the *Conception* of the *V. Mary*, &c. And the irreconcilable feud between the active *Society of Jesus*, and all the other duller *Fraternities*.

13. *Ceremony* (though the *Body* of *Religion*, yet) is too weak to bear that Stress the *Priests* laid upon it; who should rather have built upon *faith*, to which nothing is impossible: Considering withal that though *external behaviour* may add warmth to *zeal*, yet a redundancy of it doth not seldom suffocate and extinguish it, by converting it into *Idolatry*, which is a palpable mistake in the worship of God, and cannot long, among knowing people, behold from clamouring for a *Reformation*; which the *Pope* should ever have prevented by a hasty doing it himself: For if once undertaken by the unconcerned Rabble, they will never leave, till the form of worship is bruised and beaten out of all comliness, so as nothing can satisfy but the molding it anew. Which the wit of no single Age, much less that contained in a few Heads, is able to make compleat: *Church Discipline*, well instituted, being the highest result of all Prudence, God hath intrusted men withal: whose materials too near scrutinized, seem to discover more Policy than Piety, by the contemplation of which mens Judgements being once dazled, they are ever after propense to *Atheism*, and a prejudicial jealousie of their Teachers.

14. The *Pope* neglected the prudential carriage of a *Miller*, who being supplied with a larger stream than the conveniency of his Trade requires, suffers it to run waste, rather than endanger the subversion of the whole Engine, he hath liv'd so long happily by. Whereas the

the *Pope* permitted the *Eccleſiaſticks*, not only to appropriate to their particular profit, all that which ignorant zeal did voluntarily and plentifully ſhower down upon them; but connived at the Miſts and Thunders they raiſed in the Conſciences of Dying men: By which they became co-heirs almoſt in every Family: Forgetting that *A great Booty invites Theft*, at beſt Envy; it being unlikely, Princes ſhould long forbear ſqueezing ſuch Spunges, out of awfulneſs to Religion, as had no better authority for their dreining their Subjects, than they drew from a foreign power; owned by the moſt, rather out of Policy than Piety, eſpecially ſince it was ordinary with *his Holineſs* himſelf to make great *Levies* upon no other reaſon, than to augment his own, or raiſe new *Empires* for his Sons or Nephews.

15. The abundance of ſuch contingencies bred a neglect of their ſurer and more legitimate Patrimony, conſiſting in *Tithes* and unqueſtioned *Church-duties*; very ſufficient to have maintained a number large enough for the loading the patience and conveniency of the moſt prudent States, without the addition of ſuch vaſt *Revenues*, not poſſible to be apprehended but under the notion of things ſuperfluous in the *Church*, ſince *Chriſt* in perſon never owned ſuch Plenty, which made it ſeem more undecent in him that pretended to be his *Vicar*.

16. *Fallacies* diſcovered in *Miracles*; which call in queſtion as well thoſe antiently and truly done, as ſuch as are reported to be new. Thus the *pious Deceits* our Anceſtors uſed to bring men to ſalvation, are not only made Stales to catch Profit? but inſtrumental to Infidelity.

A Discourse in

VINDICATION

OF

Martin Luther.

HE may be suspected of *Hypocrisie*, if not *Atheism*, that too suddenly leaps out of one Opinion into another; It being impossible for meer flesh and blood, to pull up all at once a *Religion* rooted by Custom and Education in the Understanding, which must be convinced, before it can let in another with any cordial welcome. I speak not of the antient and extraordinary Callings of God, but those experimented in our times, in which over much hast doth often times betray Deceit; As appeared in the Bishop of *Spalatto*, who in my days left *Italy* for fear of *Paul the fifth*, his enemy, and reconcil'd himself to the *Church of England*; but the old *Pope* being dead, and his *Kinsman* in the *Chair*, he resumes his former Errors, and goes to *Rome*, in hope of Preferment, where contrary to promise, he dies miserably. When Falshood is fallen out with for any other respect, than Love of Truth, it inclines to *Atheism*, and is so far from mending the Condition of the Convert, that it renders it worse.

None ever ſhewed greater ſigns of Gods Spirit, than *Luther* did; who obſerved ſuch *Gradations*, as it may appear he found fault with nothing, he was not firſt led to by the dictates of Conſcience: Falling firſt upon the abuſe of *Indulgences*, too apparent an Impiety, to paſs by ſo acute a Judgement undiſcovered; From this he aſcended to higher Contemplations, which afforded him the opportunity to take notice of remoter and deeper Errors. His *Wit* and *Learning* having that raſt advantage over the ſtupid Ignorance of thoſe times, that he bare down all before him, without any other *Oppoſition*, than the contrary Faction was able to raiſe out of power; much weakened by the deſire all *Princes* had, to ſet limits to the *Pope's* daily *Uſurpations*. And as for the *Books*, then writ againſt him, they did rather ſharpen, than blunt the deſire of Change: For the *Friers* had ſo long enjoyed a free current of the Doctrine, without interruption, that they were more intent on the reaping of ſuch Fruit, as grew from the Errors ſown by their Predeceſſors, than upon Arguments to defend them. So as if Princes, that were weary of the Yoak of *Rome*, had wanted the guidance of *Luther*, it is not eaſie to ſay, whither they might have wandered. And though *Charles the fifth*, then *Emperour*, to keep his ſubjects in obedience, did ſeem to diſcountenance the *Schiſm* (as they call'd it,) yet he was content to ſhut up the *Pope* in the Caſtle of S. *Angelo*. Which proves his ſmall affection, and the truth of this *Tenet*, that if ever *Chriſtendom* falls under one *Monarch*, or turns into *popular States*, the power of the *Pope* will be loſt or confined to *Rome*; being at this day only kept up, like a Shittle-cock, by the bandying of Princes.

'Tis *objected* againſt *Luther*, that *he was too paſſionate*, uſing *irreverent ſpeeches* towards ſome in Authority? Yet ſo much of this fault, as *Zeal* leaves unexcuſed, may

may be imputed to his *Education*. All can be ſaid is, He was but a *Man*, and ſubject to Common Infirmities, And becauſe his enemies do ſo often object this, it is ſtrongly to be preſumed, his worſt fault (could have wiſh'd, he had not *married a Nun*: but I believe he did it to ſhew People, The Quarrel was irreconcilable, as *Abſalom* projected when he polluted his Fathers bed: And in this ſenſe, the benefit takes away much of the blame; which lay not in the *unlawfulneſs*, but the *inexpediency* of the fact. And to ſhew, God did not curſe his *Match* (Though he might participate of the fate of other *learned men*, who ſeldom find their *Abilities*, repreſented in their *Iſſue*; yet) he left *three* ſuch *Sons*, as did not give his enemies occaſion to upbraid his memory with them.

For the *Real Preſence*, maintained by him in the *Sacrament*, it doth not ſo much condemn his *Judgment* in this, as it juſtifies his *Integrity* in all the reſt: He being as reſolute to vindicate what he thought true, againſt the perſwaſions of his Friends, as he was againſt the threats and promiſes of his Enemies: For if any by-reſpect could have warped him, it would have been a deſire to appeaſe the hot Diſpute, the retention of this error raiſed in his Own Party; wholly of his Judgement but in this particular, in which *Zwinglius*, and the *Helvetian Church* did oppoſe him. And if this be not enough to waſh him clean from the imputation of Self-ends and Covetouſneſs, the Proverb uſed in *Germany* may, That *Poor Luther made many rich.*

As he was *protected* from a number of *apparent miſchiefs*, ſo the ſame had freed him from many *hidden*, in reſpect of the eyes of the world, it being impoſſible, that he, who had gall'd ſo many *Grandees*, ſhould not have Revenge laid in wait for him, in every cor-

ner:

ner: Experience proving, that *Kings* themſelves can ſcarce whiſper againſt the *Court of Rome*, but the *Knife* is ready to give them a final Anſwer. His *Death* was with as little Moleſtation, as his *Life* was full: For being call'd to the Country of *Manſfield*, the place of his birth, to determine a Caſe in controverſy between two *Princes* of that *Family*, he *died* there in the ſixty third year of his Age.

Had the *Apoſtles*, nay our *Saviour* himſelf been alive, and maintained what *Luther* did, they had been perſecuted by the *Clergy*: Therefore the *Crucifying of Chriſt* is no prodigy in Nature, but daily practis'd among men: For he that can find the heart to ſtigmatize and whip his Brother, for an *Error meerly in Judgement*, would never have ſpared *Peter* or *Paul*, coming with no more viſible Authority than they had. But this is not the way to ſuppreſs an *Hereſy*, ſince moſt are jealous of that opinion, which uſeth the *Sword* for her *Defence*; *Truth* having been long ſince determined to be *moſt ſtrong*: And where Oppreſſion is, there for the moſt part, ſhe is ſuppoſed to be. This ſhews as little Diſcretion as Charity in ſuch as *perſecute* thoſe, that may be in the Right; or, if not, ſhall by this means, be kept the longer in the Wrong. If a Horſe ſtarts, the more he is beaten, the harder he is kept in the way; but let him ſtand, and have leiſure to conſider what he blanched at, and he will perceive it is a Block, and ſo go on. Yet it is neither cruelty nor imprudence, to reſtrain ſuch furious Spirits (as they do Dogs) that will bawl and fly at all they do not know: But I ſhould be utterly againſt *burning their Books in publick*, if they have once gained the light: which only adds to their price, and ſaves them a labour; becauſe, if the State did not put them in credit, by their notice, they would perhaps, after a while for ſhame, burn them themſelves.

The

The *Whip* reforms not ſo much as he that endures it, but is taken as a triumph by the Faction, increaſes their animoſity, if not their number; So that in effect it proves a puniſhment to none but the honeſt and tender-hearted of the people, who cannot chooſe but be ſcandalized, to ſee the Image of God defaced, by *cutting Ears*, and *ſlitting Noſes*, &c. And this raiſeth a ſtrong ſuſpicion, that the Hand of Juſtice would not lie ſo heavy only on the preciſer ſide, but that ſomething inclines it that may at laſt turn to the ſubverſion of the moſt moderate part.

The *Dutch*, though they *tolerate all Religions* and Tenets, yet none increaſed to their prejudice, till they ſtrove to ſuppreſs the *Arminians*, who are in taſt as like the *Papiſts*, as Scallions are to Onions; all the difference is, that the latter is the ſtronger: Yet ſince they have let them alone, this Opinion is obſerved to be leſs numerouſly attended.

Had the *Pope* ſeaſonably reformed the Error *Luther* diſcovered ſo apparently, in the publication of *Indulgences*, and rewarded him with a *Biſhoprick*, for his *Learning* and *Zeal*, let him afterwards have ſaid what he pleaſed: it would have been looked upon by the people as of no credit: who like nothing ſo well, as what goeth croſs to the grain of Authority.

The Lord *Treaſurer Cecil*, having been unſufferably abuſed by *Libels*, ſent for the *Poet*, and, after he had ratled him ſoundly, began to take notice of the poor fellows good parts, ſaying, *It might be, vexatious poverty compelled him to make uſe of falſe, though common Rumours, given out by ſuch as hated all in Authority*; To eaſe which he gave him 20 pieces, promiſing to take the firſt opportunity to advance him. This favour (moſt contrary to his expectation, who would willingly have given one ear to have ſaved the other) did ſo work with him, and the reſt of the *Paſquillers* of the

the time, that, till the *Treaſurers* death, none uſed the like Invectives. *Bancroft*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, uſed the like demeanour towards ſome Gentlemen that had laid the imputation of *Sodomy* to his Charge, *&c.*

Clemency ſeldom cauſeth repentance in an eſtabliſhed Kingdom, or if it proves a fault, it is eaſily mended; Whereas *Cruelty* can never be recalled, raiſing a far greater Party out of a thirſt of *Revenge*, than ever yet could be muſtered up from the hope of *Impunity*.

Therefore to conclude, ſince *Luther* alone had the power to do ſo much, let us not be thus ſevere againſt others, that having their zeal kindled (though perhaps at the wrong end) run madding through the world; but rather pity them, if they be in an errour: Becauſe they ſomething reſemble the firſt Meſſengers of Truth.

FINIS.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRES ON THE REIGNS OF Q. *ELIZABETH*, AND KING *JAMES*.

By *Francis Osborn* Esquire.

LONDON,
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THE EPISTLE.

My Dear *Lucilius*,

I Do here leave to your better *Education* another *Daughter* of my *Brain*; that may not unpoſſibly paſs with the leſs *Scandal*, becauſe *Chaſte* from any deſire after *new* and *forbidden Diſcoveries*, or of diſturbing that huge Trade *Antiquity* and Cuſtom drive; the *firſt* amongſt *Scholars*, who think it a ſufficient excuſe in the juſtification of a *ſtunted Knowledge*, to maintain an impoſſibility of tranſcending the *Abilities* of *former Ages*, yet cannot gainſay a viſible *improvement* in their *own*; which haply would be greater, were *Learning* left *free* to every ones ſenſe, and not confin'd to *Patterns* and *old Forms*, harder many times to be imitated or made uſe of, than *new ones* found, which being *our own*, would appear more natural and

adapted to the preſent underſtandings, in many things ſtrangers to the Uſances of *the Antients*: whereas the *ſecond* ſerves as *an univerſal Chain*, by which the generality are led to approve or diſlike the *Words*, *Actions* and *Geſtures* of others. Whoſe judgments, as I have long ſince not much valued, ſo have I a little wondred at *Age*, to find it ſo tetchy, when *Youngers* in years lay any claim to *Knowledge*: Since the goodneſs of the *Eye*, and advantage of *Place*, and not a long poring, diſcovers the *Proſpect*; more of *London* being ſurveyable in a *minute* from *Pauls Steeple*, than can be ſeen in an *age* out of *Cheap-ſide*: There remaining nothing in this world *Preſcription* hath a weaker title to than *Wiſdom*, *the legitimate Daughter Experience brings forth to an able and active Underſtanding*. For though all things are found to own, in proceſs of time, a publick *viciſſitude*, yet for the moſt part it is *too ſlow* and *cunningly carried*, to be diſcerned at any diſtance (eſpecially in relation to the preſent) which way it *turns*. The ignorant *Traveller* may ſee by the *Dial*, the *Time* is in a *declenſion*; but, without entring the *Church* or *Court*, ſhall be never the wiſer as to the knowledge of the true and proper *Cauſes* of the *Motion*. For *my ſelf*, I confeſs I am more highly bound to *Letters*, than any *acquired advantage* or *natural endowment* ſelf-partiality or others indulgence hath hitherto been able to eſtate me in. Now if ſome, owners of ſuch

parts

parts as I am conſcious of the want of, did proſecute the like *Study*, having a *purſe* and *will* to purchaſe a ſight of the *Intelligence*, *Negotiations*, *Conferences* and *Tranſactions* of all thoſe that have reſided in *Embaſſy* with *our Princes*, they might no queſtion be able to compoſe a more exact *Chronicle* than *this Nation* ever ſaw of her own: and for *Elegancy*, it would, like *honey*, drop out of the ſame *leaves* he gathered his Information from; *Epiſtles* being the *quinteſſence* of the *Writers judgment*, as they are undoubtedly the *Elixir* of his *Rhetorick*. And he that deſires a more exemplary manifeſtation of this infallible (though for ought I ever obſerved, ſeldom practiſed) *Truth*, may find it in that *learned Italian's Hiſtory of the Council of Trent*; a Piece that challenges all the *veneration* our partial *Modern Readers* do or can offer at the *Shrines* of *Antiquity*; a folly ſure not ſo converſant in the world before *Printing*, otherwiſe the moſt part of *New Books* from time to time had ſtill been buried in their Swadling-clouts for want of *Tranſcription*, which few or none would now foul their fingers ends about, as not eſteeming it worth the labour, out of ſloth or contempt: So far, as the *Stationers* meer *zeal to Gain*, rather than any propenſity to the *advancement of Learning*, did for a while keep *Bacon*, *Raleigh* and divers incomparable Spirits more, from periſhing at the bottom of Oblivion; Good *Books* (anciently

written in the *Bark of Trees*, and now) running, in their progreſs, ſo exactly the fate of *Acorns*, that if their chance be to withſtand the *Swiniſh Contamination* of their own *Age*, and *trampling* into the *dirt of Contempt*, they do not ſeldom afterwards become the *Gods* of the Nations, and have *Temples* dedicated to their *Worſhip*; As their *Authors* in this participate with other *good men*, who attain not to a ſtate of *Glory* till *after this Life*.

To

TO THE

READER.

THough the ſtudy of Hiſtory be an ancient Preſcript for the avoiding of Ignorance, and production of Knowledge, and to this day far more in uſe than any other Politick Aphoriſms: Yet with reverence to this confeſſed excellent Doſe of others approved Experiments, I doubt not but Princes and men in power might find a readier, if not a more infallible way to Prudence, by being converſant in all ſorts of Letters relating to Embaſſadors, and ſuch Spies and Miniſters (of Commonwealths eſpecially) as are employed abroad or at home in the Tranſactions of Treaties, where all things appear bare-fac'd and at firſt hand, not ſmutted with Intereſt, or adulterated by the red and white

paint of Envy, Fear *or* Flattery. *Nor is the frequent opportunity of* diſcourſing with Contemporaries (*who having enjoyed a nearer* Light, *cannot but have ſeen more than thoſe by* Time *and* Birth *placed at a* remoter *diſtance*) *any deſpicable* Ingredient *in the* Compoſition *of an exact* Stateſman; *of which I find few that deſerve* (*in my judgement*) *the title, commonly forfeited to an* over-remiſſneſs *or* exceſs *in* Sanctity *or* Profaneneſs; *or, if you will, to* Hypocriſie or Scandal, *which at long running will meet both with the ſame* Inconveniences. *To be ſure*, my ſelf *have as little* propenſity *as* ſufficiency *in* this Art; *being no leſs obſtructed through* mulcts *received from* Fortune *than* Nature; *the latter of which is as uncapable of amendment, as the firſt is unlikely to find it*: (*For after the death of a* good Father, *being driven into a corner of the world by* Injuries *received from the* neareſt of Kindred and remoteſt of Friends, *I was not only invited by* Leiſure, *but compell'd through* Neceſſity *to ſeek theſe* Diverſions: *In which if I be miſtaken, the* Pardon *cannot be long in ſuing out, ſince I hope they ſhall not meet with a* ſeverer Judge *than my ſelf, for whoſe* Recreation *alone they were intended.*) *Though the ſmall inſight I have had into* Affairs *did not ſeldom gratifie my ſpleen with as much* delight, *as it may have not unpoſſibly affected leſs ſanguine Complexions with* fury *or* diſdain, *to ſee the* Valet *brought into* play, *where*

where diſcretion called for an higher and more exact Courtier *: or to hear the* People *wrangle and caſt about their* money, *through a fanatick deſire to* diſcard *a preſent* Government ; *not foreſeeing their hopes may poſſibly be deluded in the ſame, if not a worſe* Stock *than they* make out *and* lay by ; *often bartering* a pack of Fools *for a like quantity of* Knaves *and* Mad-men*: The giddy multitude being far likelier to be out in their account, than this adviſed Adage,* Seldom comes a better ; *eſpecially if no wiſer heads be found in the Election than their own.*

Nature hath employed three Senſes *chiefly to wait on the* Body, *and but* two *on the* Mind ; *yet under this advantage, that theſe laſt are diſtinctly* double : *For which of them we ſtand moſt obliged to Nature, is not yet paſs'd deciſion ; ſince, though in regard of* Pleaſure, Sight *may have the* Royalty, *yet in reſpect of* Wiſdom, *the* Prerogative *muſt not be denied to* Hearing : *It being* the far greater Wonder to find a prudent man Deaf, than Blind ; *ſo as ſome are recorded to have* put out their Eyes, *as enemies to* Contemplation. *It is ordinarily affirmed,* I have ſeen this or that, *when the moſt of it hath arrived at us from* Report. *And in this ſenſe I may be ſaid to have ſeen* theſe, *and a number more, which out of reſpect to* others Fame, *or* mine own Safety, *I wilfully omit.*

mit. But lest this Confession *might seem to cast a vail of prejudice over the face of the* Truth *I here expose to the curious* eyes *of* this Age, *as* nakedly *as* Modesty *will give a toleration for, I shall say in behalf of* Tradition, *That all* Books *are* her Tenements, *and contain little of* History, *whatever they may do of* Invention, *but what they* hold *from the* manner *of some* Report *or other. Nor hath the* beginning, *to be sure, if possibly the* end and period *of any* Nation *God in his love did establish, or fury destroy, a more faithful* Register *than* Traditional Reports; *not commonly loading its memory with the exact* calculation of Time, *which rightly weighed, is but the* pedantick part of History, *and so not unlikely the cause we find such* differences *arising amongst our* Chronologers; *the main* sons *or bottom of her account being no farther corresponsible, than for a just and even balancing her layings out with what she hath received. To conclude with an* Answer *to those that may require some* account of the present Undertaking; *I think it far on this side such Impudence as Ignorance is found to plaister her* Libels *with against incomparable Queen* Elizabeth, *to own a strength able, by* rubbing off such dirt (*especially where* Desert *lies so* thick *upon her Tomb*) to gild her Name, *though the* manner of doing it *may stain mine own;*

ſince the few ſpots *diſcernible in* her Government *are hidden, like thoſe this Ages curioſity hath detected in the* Sun, *from any farther notice, by the* ſplendor *of the reſt.*

The

mit. But leſt this Confeſſion might ſeem to caſt a vail of prejudice over the face of the Truth I here expoſe to the curious eyes of this Age, as nakedly as Modeſty will give a toleration for, I ſhall ſay in behalf of Tradition, That all Books are her Tenements, and contain little of Hiſtory, whatever they may do of Invention, but what they hold from the manner of ſome Report or other. Nor hath the beginning, to be ſure, if poſſibly the end and period of any Nation God in his love did eſtabliſh, or fury deſtroy, a more faithful Regiſter than Traditional Reports; not commonly loading its memory with the exact calculation of Time, which rightly weighed, is but the pedantick part of Hiſtory, and ſo not unlikely the cauſe we find ſuch differences ariſing amongſt our Chronologers; the main ſons or bottom of her account being no farther correſponſible, than for a juſt and even balancing her layings out with what ſhe hath received. To conclude with an Anſwer to thoſe that may require ſome account of the preſent Undertaking; I think it far on this ſide ſuch Impudence as Ignorance is found to plaiſter her Libels with againſt incomparable Queen Elizabeth, to own a ſtrength able, by rubbing off ſuch dirt (eſpecially where Deſert lies ſo thick upon her Tomb) to gild her Name, though the manner of doing it may ſtain mine own;

own ; ſince the few ſpots *diſcernible in* her Government *are hidden, like thoſe this Ages curioſity hath detected in the* Sun, *from any farther notice, by the* ſplendor *of the reſt.*

The

THE

PRINCIPAL HEADS

Of the following

MEMOIRES

On the Reign of

Q. *ELIZABETH.*

QUeen Elizabeth *her* moderate carriage *at firſt, till exaſperated by the* Popes raſhneſs: *Why the* Infancy *of her Reign continued* quiet, *notwithſtanding ſo great a ſhake and turn in* Religion.——

2. ——*To which ſhe was in a manner* neceſſitated.——

3. *How the Parliament confirmed* It *and* Her.

4. *She breaks with* Spain, *aſſiſts the* Dutch, *makes* Leagues *abroad, ſuppreſſes* Conſpiracies *at home*: Papiſts *proſecuted*; *The* Popes *too late* Conceſſion—— *being* refuſed—— *is ſeconded with an* Interdict,—— *which proves* fatal *to the* Papiſts, *and* —— *Queen of Scots,*—— *Her* death *and the Duke of* Norfolks, *&c.*——Cenſured.

5. *Queen*

5. *Queen* Elizabeth *galls the* Spaniard: Cales voyage *under* Eſſex ——*gets him* Love *and* Envy.

(6. *The* Queen *foments* Factions *at home, and what uſe ſhe makes of them, and of*——her own Inconſtancy. *The* Spaniſh Armado *in* 88.)

7. *The* Queens favour *to* Eſſex, ——*how often by him* hazarded: *His* quarrel *with* Blunt ——*deſigned for his* Rival.

8. *His* Enemies *reſtleſs endeavours to* ruine *him*—— *by ſetting him on* high; *his ample* Iriſh Commiſſion.

A Character *of the Queens* Court, Majeſty, Thrift: Proviſions *rated*, Exactions *of* Purveyors *puniſhed*.—

9.——*A witty* Example *thereof in* Kent.

10 *Her* Houſhould Servants *the goodlieſt of Perſons*, &c. *that could be got*.——*as*

11. ——*Her* Council *the choiceſt for* Prudence:—*apparent in her* Marriage-Treaties *with* Spain *and* France.

12. *Her* Councils Integrity. Offices *the reward of* Merit. *Her exact* Intelligence. *Biſhop* Bancrofts *Art in dividing the* Jeſuites *and* Regulars ——*afforded him* Popiſh Intelligence: *His* Character: *His endeavours for* Uniformity of Worſhip——*hindred by the influence of the two claſhing* Factions at Court *upon the other* Biſhops, &c.

13. Letters of State *writ in a* plain Stile,——*involving ſometimes an* obſcure ſenſe, *as thoſe about her* Marriages *with* France.

14. Court Hoſpitality.

15. *Her prudence in receiving* Treats *from her more* ambitious Subjects; *how ſhe diverted their humour of* Popularity.

16. *She oppoſes the Declaration of a* Succeſſor, *and why*: *Denies the* Parliaments *Petition for her* Marriage.

17. *Contrary* Reports *about her* Concupiſcence. *Her* Art *of* Government *and* choice *of* Miniſters: *Why ſome of* leſs Abilities *were taken in afterwards*: *Earl of* Nottingham

tingham Admiral; *his* Character. *The* Queen *ſparing in giving* Honours, *or ſuffering her Subjects to accept them from* Foreign Princes; *Examples thereof in Sir* Francis Vere, *Sir* Walter Raleigh, *Sir* Matthew Arundel, *Sir* Philip Sidney.

18. *Her modeſty in point of* Augmentation of Empire; *refuſing the* Dutch *as* Subjects, *though ſhe took their* Cautionary Towns; *and* Havre de Grace——*to regain* Calis. *The* Spaniard *by cutting off the* Heads *of the* Dutch Nobility, *makes way for the ſpringing up of their* Hydra *of* Popular Government.

19. Leiceſters *hopes of* marrying *the* Queen; *his freedom of diſcourſe with her about* it, *and otherwiſe*, *His* Character.

20. *In* Foreign injuries *ſhe never precipitated* Revenge.

21. Parliaments frequent, *and conſequently* moderate: *She reſtrains their Debates about* Succeſſion *and* Religion: *Keeps the* Church *humble, and carries fair with her* Parliament. *The* Schiſmaticks *leave* England; *how it might have been (ſafely) prevented; what hindered it; the fatal inconveniences of thoſe proceedings.*

22. Ireland *neglected, and why: The Lord* Mountjoy *ends the War: The baſeneſs of the* Natives, —— *how made* Prieſt-ridden.

23. Eſſex's *unfortunate* Expedition *thither*;——Cecil's *artifice to fetch him back, to*——*his* Death;——From *which, neither the* Love *of the* People, *nor of the Queen his Miſtreſs, could bail him, and*——After *which ſhe never joyed*;——*The occaſion of her* Death——*reported to proceed from the* Counteſs of Nottingham's *not delivering the Queen a* Ring, *ſent her by* Eſſex, (*to whom ſhe had formerly given it as a* Pledge *of* her Affection *and* his Safety) *which the* Counteſs *on her Death-bed diſcovering to the Queen, was by her ſent with Curſes inſtead of forgiveneſs, into another World.*

24. *After*

24. *After* Eſſex *death*, Cecil *being left without controll, not only urges the Queen to declare* James *her Succeſſor, but uſes other endeavours to effect the ſame.*

25. *The* happy condition *Queen* Elizabeth *left* England *in.* No *conſiderable* Enemy. *How we ſtood related to* other Nations——Spain, Ireland, France, Netherlands, *&c.*

26. *How* at home, *as to* Parliaments, Credit, Treaſure, Debts, Juſtice, *The* Church.

27. *The Concluſion.*

SOME

SOME
Traditional Memorials
ON THE
REIGN
OF
Q. *ELIZABETH.*

1. AFter the death of *Mary*, eldeſt daughter of *Henry the Eighth*, had delivered this Nation (for that time) from an imminent danger of becoming Tributary to the *Spaniſh King* (who owns none for a natural Subject, indued with leſs pride and Auſterity than may ſerve to face a Tyranny equal to the *Grand Signiors*) and left the Crown to her Siſter *Elizabeth*, not only ſwept and waſhed from all Competition or Claims by the blood of *Queen Jane*,

but garnished with the applause and consent of the People; no less amazed at the huge fires she had daily kindled to devour the enemies of the *Court* of *Rome*, than jealous of the partiality shewn to the *Priests*, whose exactions were become no less odious in things temporal, than their Latine *Mamsimus* had made them appear in what related to the Worship of God; *Edward* the Sixth's Reign being too short to give them a satiety, or make all the inconveniences appear, likely to follow so total a defection from a *Church* reverenced by all Christian Princes besides; It might be no weak motive to the new *Queen*, so faitly to demean her self at first, that though she entertained the *Protestants* in hope, no perswasions could tempt her to cast the *Papists* into despair, till the *Pope* (better seen in the Dignity belonging to his greatness, than the Arts his Predecessors had used in their conduct to it) did, by denying her *Embassadors* a favourable *Reception*, reduce her to a present necessity of renouncing the *Roman Mitre*, or her pretence to that Crown she had without any considerable opposition so happily possest: There being no way so probable to continue her in power, after the *Popes* so publick manifestation of a blemish in her Birth, as by adhering to a Party, which during the Reign of her Sister, did justifie in the flames of a hot persecution, That the Authority of his Holiness was spurious it self, and the owners of it no better than *Anti-Christs*, which attempt of hers might possibly have worse succeeded, but for the protection *Philip* the Second afforded during the infancy of her Power, flattered to it in hope of *Marriage*, no less than compelled out of a fear to see *England* possessed by the *Scots*, a People ever in conjunction with *France*, and therefore likely to prove malignant to his affairs. And as these considerations had made him solicitous of her safety during his Match with her Sister,

they

they continued ſtill ſo prevalent as he did not only forbear himſelf, but reſtrained others from making uſe of that advantage, ſo total a defection could not but afford. Nor was the aſpect of a *Council* then ſitting in *Trent*, (to which ſhe omitted not to ſend her Miniſters) of ſmall conſequence to her deſign; Becauſe not only this Nation, but all *Europe* were in the ſtrongeſt of their labour to produce a *Reformation*; though far ſhort of the pretences of *Luther*, to whoſe memory the *Queen* had an unappeaſable feud, ever ſince he upbraided her Father with the *Repudiation* of *Charles* the Fifth's Siſter: whoſe birth by this became ſo unhappy as to be not only diſapproved by the *Catholicks*, but the Founder of that Profeſſion ſhe meant to eſtabliſh. Nor were the *Religious Houſes* and *Lands* poſſeſſed promiſcuouſly by thoſe of both Tenets, a weak ſhelter to this new Princeſs, looked upon by all as the likelieſt and moſt obliged perſon to keep them from reverting to their ancient uſe; And therefore in hope to be vigorouſly aſſerted by the *Proteſtants*, and at worſt but weakly oppoſed by ſuch as had not yet quite relinquiſhed the *Roman* yoak.

2. And that the Penners of this Story, may be as free from the imputation of Malice as Ignorance, though they acknowledge her rather thrown, than of her ſelf fallen from the obedience of *Rome*, is deducible from the *Ceremonies* uſed at her *Inauguration*, all purely *Catholick*, and the retention of the *Ring*, *Croſs*, and *Surplice*, contrary to the grain of her ſtrongeſt Aſſertors: From whence her aim may be gueſt as not pointing at a greater diſſent from the Doctrine of *Rome*, than her Fathers proceedings had chalked her out; Commanding the *Common-Prayer-Book*, (which contains moſt of the *Maſs* in Engliſh) to be publickly read; And its Oppoſers, the *Browniſts*, *Anabaptiſts*, *Family of Love*, with a number of other crawling Errors,

but garnished with the applause and consent of the People; no less amazed at the huge fires she had daily kindled to devour the enemies of the *Court* of *Rome*, than jealous of the partiality shewn to the *Priests*, whose exactions were become no less odious in things temporal, than their Latine *Mammona* had made them appear in what related to the Worship of God; *Edward* the Sixth's Reign being too short to give them a satiety, or make all the inconveniences appear, likely to follow so total a defection from a *Church* reverenced by all Christian Princes besides; It might be no weak motive to the new *Queen*, so fairly to demean her self at first, that though she entertained the *Protestants* in hope, no perswasions could tempt her to cast the *Papists* into despair, till the *Pope* (better seen in the Dignity belonging to his greatness, than the Arts his Predecessors had used in their conduct to it) did, by denying her *Embassadors* a favourable *Reception*, reduce her to a present necessity of renouncing the *Roman Mitre*, or her pretence to that Crown she had without any considerable opposition so happily possest: There being no way so probable to continue her in power, after the *Popes* so publick manifestation of a blemish in her Birth, as by adhering to a Party, which during the Reign of her Sister, did justifie in the flames of a hot persecution, That the Authority of his Holiness was spurious it self, and the owners of it no better than *Anti-Christs*, which attempt of hers might possibly have worse succeeded, but for the protection *Philip* the Second afforded during the Infancy of her Power, flattered to it in hope of *Marriage*, no less than compelled out of a fear to see *England* possessed by the *Scots*, a People ever in conjunction with *France*, and therefore likely to prove malignant to his affairs. And as these considerations had made him solicitous of her safety during his Match with her Sister,

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the unnatural heat of *Luthers* diſputes had produced like Inſects over all *Germany*, to be reſtrained under no ſlighter penalty than death or imprisonment. Nor was ſhe tempted to this out of a vainer hope than to draw her neighbour Princes to the ſame reſolution, already in deſpair of procuring good from any milder endeavours than thoſe of Power. (The *Roman Courtiers* participating ſo much of the nature of the Mules they ride on, as they will rather indure through a ſullen obſtinacy, the laſt extremity, than remove never ſo little out of their track of Honour and Profit; no leſs manifeſt through all Ages, than in their carriage towards this Princeſs and their latter proceedings with the Republick of *Venice*.) From whence more connivance than love, fell to the ſhare of the *Puritans*, that abhorred the lenity of the Queen, in not countenancing ſuch as bent their force againſt the *Church* of *Rome* (betwixt which and the *Court* there may be a wider difference than our groſſer Diſputes will ſuffer us to diſcern) from whoſe practice, though ſome deſired a *Reformation* a far greater part thought it damnable to reject it quite. few yet acknowledging any *deſcent* or *ordination* but what was derived from the *Catholick Church*, a term of too great a Latitude to be concealed for a day, much leſs for whole Ages as many endeavour to prove. But leaving theſe diſputes to Dr. *Juel* and the reſt of her Divines (at that time better able to play the Scholars prize, than any amongſt the Friars, were found in their Anſwers) Her Juncto, in which ſhe had a choice number conſiſting of both Factions, did think it prudence not to ſtray farther than the inexorable neceſſity of the time compelled, from that union of Doctrine which had a *Council* to vouch, That *no faith was to be held with any but themſelves*; which muſt have rendred all her Leagues void or uſeleſs to the very Oaths ſhe took of her Subjects: yet notwithſtanding theſe Shackles ſhe ſpun

ſpun out a long and as happy a Reign as ever this Nation did enjoy.

3. The precedent Reaſons joyning Forces with the deplorable condition ſhe lived in during the Government of her Siſter, and meeting with ſo fortunate a Cataſtrophe, cauſed a no leſs conſternation in the hearts of the *Papiſts* (already much broken and unſetled in their paſſage through ſo many ſuddain and unexpected changes) than it produced joy in thoſe of the *Reformation*, who apprehending her *ſucceſs* as iſſuing out of the immediate care God had of their affairs, became ſo far encouraged and ſedulous, that whilſt the other Party ſtood amazed in an expectation which way this new Princeſs would incline, the enſuing *Parliament* was wholly made up of ſuch perſons, as had already voted in their words and actions every thing the Queen could deſire to have confirmed in the Houſe: ſo as no ſide but were miſtaken in their account, the *Proteſtants* gaining more, and the *Catholicks* leſs than could be expected, to the taking the title of *Head of the Church*, and conferring it on her Majeſty, which was thought unſuitable to her Father and Brother, and therefore far more unbecoming the perſon of a woman: the cauſe a *Declaration* was not long after iſſued out, to ſhew in what ſenſes it was to be underſtood. And to prove they more intended the limitation of the *Roman Power*, than to ſecure themſeves from Tyranny at home, an *Act* was paſſed inabling the *Queen and Commiſſioners* for the time being, to alter or bring what *Ceremonies* or *Worſhip* they thought decent into the ſervice of God, without excepting that formerly exploded: whereby a return, (likelieſt to be made uſe of) or a farther remove was left arbitrary at the will of the Queen: whoſe Succeſſors not being mentioned in the Act, left room to queſtion, It ought to be no longer in force than her life. For whoſe gratification

alone her Privy Council (that did then, and indeed almoſt all her time govern Parliaments) had intended it. But King *James* and the *Biſhops* finding the advantage it brought the *Crown* no leſs than the *Church*, did not only own it amongſt the Statutes unrepealed and in force, but did print it with a Proclamation to ſtrengthen it, at the beginning of the Book of *Common-prayer*. Neither had the High Commiſſion any better Vizard to face the Tyranny daily practiſed by the Clergy, but what the Authority this Act did afford; which may one day tempt the people to a new, if not a more diſmal *Reformation*, after experience hath taught them how pernicious it is to entruſt either Prince or Prieſt with any power capable of abuſe: yet to the honour of this Princeſs it may juſtly be ſaid that ſhe never made uſe of her own liberty to enſlave the Nation, but repaid, or rather exceeded in thanks and acknowledgements all Power they gave her; an Art loſt in theſe latter Times, or thought unkingly. But I leave this her Wiſdom to be juſtified by the happy ſucceſs.

4. After the Queen had in Parliament, cleanſed her *Birth* from all the ſpots the poiſon of Tongues had aſperſed her with, and received for the future from the *Houſes* in the name of the *Three Eſtates*, a promiſe of aſſiſtance, together with an Oath of Obedience, by which ſhe might reſt ſecure from within; her next endeavour was to line and fortifie her *out-works*: In the proſecution of which ſhe was forced through Reaſon of State upon a deeper ingratitude than I believe any thing but an impulſive neceſſity could have caſt her into: For after a firm ſettlement ſhe became the ſevereſt Scourge to *Spain*, that it ever had, ſince emancipated from the *Moors*. The occaſion of which ſome lay at the haughty and proud Gate of the *Spaniard*, who grew implacable after he found he was deluded of his hope to marry

marry her; others to a nature reſiding in all Princes, not to acknowledge any friends or kindred but what are allied to a capacity of doing them ſome future good, which *Philip* the Second was not likely to do upon any remoter occaſion than the poſſeſſion of her perſon, his ends being intent upon an abſolute Monarchy: which obliged not only *England*, but all the Princes in *Europe* to oppoſe him. Nor could any favour received in the relation of a private perſon bind her more to requital, than greater injuries did to revenge. Therefore ſince ſhe forgave the latter, when ſhe had power to have taken it without danger, ſhe ſeems more excuſable in omitting the firſt, which could not have been done without loſs, and expoſing her Subjects to a viſible inconvenience, if not a total ruine.

Yet this is manifeſt in the Hiſtories on both ſides, that the Queen did by way of mediation, long endeavour for a milder Governing of his *Dutch* Subjects (of whoſe oppreſſion both Heaven and Earth are witneſſes) before a Sword was drawn in their defence. And for the *Treaſure taken at Sea*, and at firſt owned, but as borrowed, it was not more than the Faith of *England* might have been a ſufficient ſecurity for, without being made the ſubject of a War. Nor did the *Catholick King* remain long in a condition able to diſtreſs the affairs of *England*, his power being diverted through a malecontented party that ſtood up for Religion in the *Netherlands*, at firſt fomented by *France*, and after more cordially aſſiſted by our *Queen*; who delighted more from her firſt aſſumption to Power in raiſing broils, and making herſelf an Arbitrator of others differences, than in any quarrel contracted of her own: by which ſhe did not only keep her ſelf in plight at home, by ſparing money (harder parted with by the Engliſh than blood) but gained ſo much reputation abroad, as no publick or private

indeavours of *his Holineſs* could ſtop other Nations (already ſcandalized at his baſe and unworthy Jugling in the *Council*) from confirming or making new or ſtreighter Leagues with *England* than formerly they had done: looking upon her *Defection* as a precedent they might one day be forced to follow, in caſe the *Court of Rome* continued ſtill her Contumacy towards Princes: And therefore likelier to meet her with comfort and aſſiſtance, than any force to oppoſe her. From whence *his Holineſs* was neceſſitated, in vindication of his Honour, to imploy the *Jeſuites*, his own Emiſſaries, by Artifice, Poyſon, or the Knife to bring about that his Sword was not able to execute; ſo as the Peace of her Kingdom was at firſt more interrupted through *privy Conſpiracies* than open force: which according to the guiſe of all unſucceſsful Treaſons turned to the diſadvantage of themſelves and their Party, the poor *Catholicks*; againſt whom nothing in relation to the generality remains upon due proof ſufficient to juſtifie the ſeverity of the Laws daily enacted and put in execution againſt them; wherewith they were ground in pieces between the *Popes* Obſtinacy, and a Jealouſie theſe practices bred in their natural Prince; by whom they were without queſtion proſecuted rather out of fear than malice: which *his Holineſs* at length perceiving, did offer what he before denyed, which was to *confirm her Title, and ratifie the uſe of the Common Prayer*, with the moſt of what the *Parliament* had confirmed upon her; provided ſhe would receive them as favours from the *Apoſtolical See*. But after this his too late compliance had caſt him into their condition that have unadviſedly outſtood the Market, he in no ſhallower Malice than deſpair, caſt not only the perſon of the Queen, but the whole nation under a bottomleſs *Interdict*, which was thundred out at *Rome*, and hung like a Squib by one *Felton* upon the

Biſhop

Bishop of Londons Gate, where after the execution of the party that did it, all other malignancy ceased, but what fell upon his own creatures, who till then were not forbidden to communicate (in publick Service) with the *Church* of *England*, and so harder to be discovered, than since this open rupture. Nor was the *Queen of Scots* (whose Tragical History is to be found every where written at large) more obliged to her Catholick Father, through whose encouragement she was tempted to assume the *Title* and *Arms of England* very unseasonably during her Husbands sickness, and before her own Kingdom was settled, or any considerable force manifested, in her favour: It not pleasing *France* it self (of whose King she was after the Relict) to see all *Britanny* united under one Crown: and from whence dropped so much of the venome of Jealousy into the hearts of *Elizabeth* and her Counsel, as no means was left unsought likely to distress her, especially by the *Puritan party*, whose safety lay in her destruction, and who shunned no undecency carrying any probability of being instrumental in her remove; forgetting that the persons of Princes have been thought by all wise men too sacred to have any hand or Justice appear in their death but Gods. Now as these studied all ways to destroy her, so there was as considerable a Faction in the *English Court* that desired her preservation, the cause not only that held her long captive (many wishing her restraint that abhorred her execution) but deterred all who had either Estate or Honour to lose, from attempting in their own person, or conniving at any other likely to be so wicked as to make her away: though our Queen may be found in many of her Letters intimating so much to such as kept her, who were so wise as not to understand what was meant, else they might have fallen into the fortune of *Davison*,

who

who unadviſedly venturing between the honour and ſafety of his Prince, was ground to nothing betwixt the fury of one party and ſhame of the other: Thus becauſe no body either would or durſt do it alone, the reproach was intayled upon the whole Nation, by the apparition of a mimical and counterfeit Juſtice: Reaſon of State in ſuch nice points as theſe being ſo contrary to that in the Schools, as it is moſt ſafe and honourable when it hath the leaſt Authority to vouch it. And if the Actors of this Tragedy had not found more ſecurity from the long Reign of *Elizabeth*, than the applauſe they had from *Scotland* was able to have afforded them upon the next change, I believe ſo many of their race had not ſat in the Houſe of Lords. Nor was the amorous rather than trayterous blood of the *Duke of Norfolk*, ſpilt on the ſcaffold for her ſake, more conſonant to Juſtice or the affections of her Subjects, though quietly endured, as a number of other particulars which happened in her time, that were not able to make anſwer or give a perfect account, ſome to Juſtice, others to Diſcretion. This proves that the common people are like Rivers which do ſeldom grow ſo impetuous as to tranſcend the banks of Obedience, but upon the overflowing of an epidemical and illegal Oppreſſion.

5. Not to wade any farther in this, the greateſt blur I find objected to her honour, or prudence of thoſe aſſiſted at the helm, whoſe miſcarriage lay more in the Ceremony than ſubſtance of the thing, no leſs grateful to the preſent affairs of the Proteſtants in *Scotland* than *England*: it being the policy of thoſe times, as I believe it ought to be of theſe, to render Alliance no leſs acceptable to friends, than terrible to enemies through a ſeaſonable ſupply of men and money before delay (the betrayer of all confederations) hath rendered affairs deſperate: not omitted by her, who by

Sea

Sea and Land made it her conſtant practice to annoy the *Spaniard* through the conduct of thoſe Sons of *Neptune*, *Drake*, *Furbuſher*, *Cavendiſh*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, &c. and in that ſucceſsful firſt expedition to *Cales* under the Command of *Eſſex* (a man of a contexture not only ſuitable to a Camp, but grateful to Ladies) by which the *Catholick King* was ſo unexpectedly alarmed, as *Cardinal d' Oſſatt* owns it for the moſt univerſal Opinion, that the whole Nation or a great part of it might have been gained, had he proſecuted his immediate fortune to the extent of their fears; a number of the *Moriſco race* deſiring in that Juncture to change their Maſter for one more Chriſtian, though leſs Catholick, and under whom no *Inquiſition* was exerciſed. This made his coming back ſo ſoon thought as miraculous as his ſucceſs, by thoſe that were ſtrangers to his *Commiſſion*, which he exceeded upon the temptation of a preſent terrour his landing cauſed in the Inhabitants, who in a confidence of their *Caſtles* had removed none of their goods, which rendered the booty ſo far conſiderable as few returned empty handed, and many by their future living made demonſtration of ſo great an abundance, that he gained ſo much love on all ſides as his enemies durſt not impute to him for a fault, any direction he had tranſgreſſed, in being too prodigal in expoſing himſelf and the Army to danger; though his abuſing that Article of *making Knights* ſo apparent, had produced this Libel,

A Gentleman of Wales,
With a Knight at Cales,
And a Lord of the North *Countrie*,
A Yeoman of Kent;
Upon a rack't Rent
Will buy them out all three.

This

This happy ſucceſs did not only eſtate him in the affections of the Militia and thoſe addicted to the ſervice of *Mars*, but put a no leſs high eſteem on his counſels and endeavours, than it abated the price of his oppoſers, the moſt of whom belonged to the ſide-robe (not ſeldom at odds in War, but ever at enmity with Souldiers during peace) who grew jealous that this ſpark, worn already in the ſame place of the Queens affections, from whence *Leiceſter* that terreſtreal *Lucifer* was caſt for abuſing his Soveraigns favour to Pride and Murther, might through the Queens mediation or his own arts one day gain the Crown, to the prejudice of their intereſt, who had already vowed the uttermoſt of their indeavours to the *Scottiſh Title*, of whom he had this advantage, that whereas *Leiceſter* was hated by the people for the death of many, and amongſt the reſt of the Earl of *Eſſex* his Father in *Ireland*, this abounded in their Love, no leſs than in the favour of his Prince, in whoſe heart his perſon had made as deep an impreſſion, as his valour and affable nature had won upon her Subjects.

6. That ſhe fomented Diviſions abroad I hinted before, And now I muſt tell you ſhe was not wanting in her indeavours to maintain *Factions at home*, by which ſhe attained to the knowledge of all things that happened: ſo as no ſuit or deſign paſſed the Royal aſſent, before ſhe underſtood as much of reaſon as enemies or friends could bring for and againſt it; hearing the judgments of all, to her very Ladies and ordinary Servants: nor did this freedom of communication betray her future reſolutions to diſcovery; for through a ſeeming *unconſtancy*, or, as others will have it, one more natural, ſhe did ſo often vary, as it was not eaſy to diſcover where or when ſhe would conclude her buzzing, and give the blow:

by

by which unſteady carriage ſhe ſo befooled the Spyes and Penſioners of foreign Princes, as they were at a loſs what to inform their Patrons of, or themſelves, how to reſolve: The cauſe of the *Spaniſh Armado* in eighty eight, an attempt held ridiculous by the *Flemings* and all acquainted with our Seas, and only brought about through the overconfidence his Holineſs had in a Catholick party, which he aſſured himſelf would appear upon the approach of a *Navy* ſtiled by him *invincible*. Here may be noted that counſels grounded upon foreign advice or any thing but a viſible experience, do rarely ſucceed; for Intereſt in ſuch as deſire a change doth not ſeldom make them apprehend more advantages than really there are, and cover doubts and dangers they are privy to, out of a fear to diſhearten the Prince they endeavour to imbark in their defence; as it fell out here, where not one man appeared in favour of the *Spaniard*, the very *Papiſts* themſelves being no leſs unwilling than the reſt to ſee their native country in ſubjection to the ordinary cruelty found in Strangers.

7. But to be ſure the former mentioned art of *diſſembling with others* had ſtamped ſuch a deep impreſſion upon the Queens own nature and paſſions, as ſhe fixed upon nothing with precipitation: The diſtruſt ſhe had of all ſides obliging her to the Juſtice of equal bearings, which few in Soveraignity will be at the trouble to afford: And from hence grew the infinite indulgence that appeared ſo long in favour of *Eſſex*; who becoming wanton from his late Succeſs, though after moderated by ſome leſs happy, he grew into ſuch heats and inſolences towards any his Jealouſy had marked for enemies, that the Queen, to keep even the ſcales between him and thoſe of the *Cecilian Party*, not only forbore to pamper him with new favours, but did not ſeldom frown upon him;

him; though he had yet ſo true a friend of her affection, that upon the leaſt ſemblance of ſubmiſſion and promiſe of return to a better temper, it did mediate for him: *Love like a bone, becoming more ſtrong by breaches*; he being certain upon every reconciliation to receive from her double the value of that her anger had coſt him; till theſe frequent repetitions of his faults and her forgiveneſs had ſwelled him into ſuch a Confidence of his own mediation, that he looked upon all as enemies, that in their words or actions acknowledged not his friendſhip, or, which was very ordinary in reſpect of his profuſe Liberality, did not wear ſome badge of his favour. And amongſt a number of theſe Sir *Francis Bacon* was one, who in an *Apology* he printed to vindicate his fame from the imputation of ingratitude to *Eſſex*, confeſſeth him *far richer in Obligations than payments*; the fate of all that ſet too high a value upon friends purchaſed by any other coyn than what bears the impreſs of an intereſt depending upon a future hope, *It being the policy of Courtiers, if not the nature of Love, to conclude where it begins, which is for the moſt part in Expectation.* Now becauſe the generality of ſuch as deſired his ruine might think that the favour his Miſtriſs ſhewed him proceeded from a nearer familiarity than I have been informed it did, by ſuch as reported her after both in her ſelf and others to kindle the flames of Love, than quench them, They placed *Blunt*, a gallant Gentleman, and of an honourable extraction, in the ball of her eye, hoping by his application to draw from her heart the affection they thought mortal to them and their deſigns: but the whole reſult concluding in a Duel, did rather inflame than abate the former account ſhe made of him; The opinion of a *Champion* being more ſplendid (in the weak and Romantick ſenſe of Women, that admit of nothing fit to be made the object of a quarrel but

but themſelves) and far above that of a Captain or General: So as Sir *Edmund Cary*, brother to the Lord *Hunſden*, then *Chamberlain* and near Kinſman to the Queen (from whoſe mouth I have moſt of this) told me, that though ſhe chid them both, nothing pleaſed her better than a conceit ſhe had, that her beauty (of which her flatterers had bred in her a higher eſteem than an impartial ear or eye can think due from others report or her own pictures) was the ſubject of this quarrel; when God knows it grew from the ſtock of honour of which then they were very tender, and ſome mean expreſſions *Eſſex* uſed of *Blunt*, about his being imployed in *Ireland*, and not her amorous careſſes, which age and in a manner an univerſal diſtribution of them had by this time rendred tedious, if not loathſome; intimated in a modeſt expreſſion uttered in my hearing by Sir *Walter Raleigh*, none of her leaſt reſpected Servants, who upon ſome diſcourſe of the *Duke* of *Buckingham*, ſaid to this purpoſe, *That Minions were not ſo happy as vulgar judgements thought them, being frequently commanded to uncomely, and ſometimes unnatural imployments.*

8. But his enemies finding all complaints made to his diſadvantage, though true, neglected, or hung upon the file amongſt ſuch as ſhe reſolved at her better leaſure to enquire into the proofs of; And remaining as obſtinate in a reſolution to deſtroy him as ſhe did yet appear in his preſervation; did indeavour, as a laſt refuge, to actuate his deſtruction by accumulating upon him ſuch high favours and honours as they obſerved moſt ſuitable to his humour, and fortunes of the Sword-men through whoſe counſels they found him the moſt eaſy to be led, and amongſt whom many were placed near his perſon by themſelves; And from theſe they received upon

upon all emergencies advice of his carriage: It faring with him as it doth ordinarily betide honeſt and generous Natures, that periſh oftener through confidence, than diſtruſt. Nor could any other means have removed this *Court Leviathan* (too deeply ſtrook with the harping irons of malice) from the ocean of favour he lay in, but ſo *ample a Commiſſion* as might give his Ambition full power and room to expatiate in, by which he was moſt likely to be tugged a ground; Not wiſe enough to apprehend Many things he found inſerted in his Patent, as *liberty to Pardon or puniſh the Iriſh Rebels ſutable to his own will; and power to reward with Lands or Honours all he eſteemed worthy*, were ſuch flowers of the Crown as his enemies (to the diſadvantage of whoſe friends he might imploy them) could not in reaſon but have found cauſe to oppoſe, had they been picked out for any milder deſign, than to deck a *Garland* for that head they meant to ſacrifice to their malice and revenge. But this being acted (though long before ſtudied) amongſt the laſt Scences of her Tragedy, I ſhall defer the concluſion till ſome other time, endeavouring here (according to my weak fancy, prompted only by Report) to draw a *proſpect of her Court*: where, all her Reign, *Majeſty* and *Thrift* did ſtrive for preheminence without incroaching upon any confine either of Baſeneſs or Prodigality. Nor can this be wondred at by ſuch as know the power ſhe derived from Law or Cuſtome to be furniſhed with all *Proviſions* at a *ſet price*, By which a heavy Impoſition was cut off, found by experience to load *Greatneſs*, *ſeldom admitted to a cheap Market*: Sellers recompenſing their want of honour, by the Exciſe they put on ſuch as own it. And becauſe this was Arbitrary at the will of the *Green Cloth* (a Court only intending *Proviſion* and *Carriages*) The *Purveyors* upon whom lay

lay the execution; And ſo by conſequence the envy, were, if guilty, at the mercy of every accuſer, being not ſeldom hang'd or put in the Pillory upon the diſcovery ſometimes of ſmall abuſes: Her Government appearing ſo full of policy, as ſhe was rarely found to interpoſe the power of the Crown in her own cauſe: Who by turning her face towards the ſins, and countenancing the puniſhment of ſuch Harpies, did beſides ſtop the future current of their Corruption; Through which ſhe became not only better ſerv'd, but gained an opinion of Juſtice, and Mercy towards her people: it being the male adminiſtration, more than badneſs of any Office, I ever knew during her Reign or her Succeſſours, legally erected, that raiſed murmuring in the people, the ill-boding voice of Sedition; which if heard, is not to be neglected, but like the Sea ſtopped by the banks of Juſtice; for if it once grows epidemical, all endeavours do rather enflame than moderate it, as thought to proceed more from neceſſity than love.

9. And here I think it not impertinent to inſert a Story as it was related by an eye witneſs. A *Purveyor* having abuſed the *County of Kent*, upon her remove to *Greenwich* (whither ſhe often reſorted, being as I have heard the firſt air ſhe breathed: and therefore moſt likely to agree with her) a Countryman watching the time ſhe went to walk, which was commonly early, and being wiſe enough to take his time when ſhe ſtood unbent and quiet from the ordinary occaſions ſhe was taken up with, placing himſelf within the reach of her ear, did after the faſhion of his coat, cry aloud, *which is the Queen?* whereupon, as her manner was, ſhe turned about towards him, and he continuing ſtill his queſtion, ſhe her ſelf anſwered *I am your Queen, what would'ſt thou have with me? you* replied the Fellow, *are one of the rareſt Women I ever*

ſaw, and can eat no more than my daughter Madge, *who is thought the propereſt Laſs in our Pariſh, though ſhort of you, but that* Queen Elizabeth *I look for, devours ſo many of my* Hens, Ducks, *and* Capons, *as I am not able to live.* The Queen, no leſs auſpicious to all ſuites made through the mediation of her comly ſhape, of which ſhe held a high eſteem after her Looking Glaſſes (long laid by before her death) might have confuted her in any good opinion of her Face, then malignant to all Oppreſſion above her own, inquired who was *Purveyor*, and as the ſtory went, ſuffered him to be hang'd: after a ſpecial order for his tryal, according to a Statute formerly made to prevent abuſes in this kind.

10. This Princeſs, in imitation of her Father *Henry the Eighth* did admit none about her for *Penſioners*, *Privy Chamber men*, *Squires of the body*, *Carvers*, *Cupbearers*, *Sewers*, *&c.* (that were not a few in number) but *perſons of ſtature*, *ſtrength and birth*, refuſing to one her conſent (demanded before any could be admitted to the meaneſt place in her houſe,) becauſe he wanted a *tooth*; yet was never known to deſert any for age or other infirmity after once inrolled, but either continued them, or, upon their diſcharge, gave them conſiderable and well paid penſions. As for her *Guard*, *Uſhers*, *Porters*, and all attending *below Staires*, they were of a no leſs extraordinary ſize, than activity for Shooting, throwing the Bar, Weight, Wreſtling, *&c.* So that ſuch as came hither from beyond the Seas upon Embaſſie or curioſity (who calculate the ſtrength, wiſdom and honour of a Nation by the apparitions they behold at Court) had no other cauſe but to report at their return, That though a Feminine Conſtellation governed the Fate of *England*, yet there remained little hope to any Foreign Malignity of operating with ſucceſs; becauſe he

her deſigns were begotten under *Mercury*, and brought forth by the aſſiſtance of *Mars* in caſe of oppoſition: She owning Souldiers no leſs able to act, than Counſellours to adviſe; In whoſe choice (for the moſt part) *wiſdom* was ſolely looked upon, not putting by Sufficiency though accompanied with a *mean Birth*, and *Crooked perſon*, as it chanced in a Father and Son of the *Cecils*, both incomparable for Prudence. It being ſometimes neceſſary to make wiſe men Noble, where Noblemen are too lazy and addicted to pleaſure to indeavour to be wiſe.

11. It is the higheſt ſtep of advantage a Prince can meet with, To have for *Counſel* about him, perſons whoſe fortunes are of the ſame piece with his own. The conſideration of which may abate the wonder *Queen Elizabeth* proſpered ſo well at the beginning, when incumbered both within and without by ſuch difficulties, or how ſhe came to out-reach (before ſcarce able to ſtand upon her own leggs) ſo exact a Maſter in *King-craft*, as the *Spaniard*. I confeſs her being a woman did render the delay of *Marriage* more ſutable to his patience and her honour, than otherwiſe it could have been; But the dexterous management of this advantage muſt be attributed to the great wit of her *Junćto*, amongſt whom her greateſt Confidents were of the *Auguſtan Confeſſion*, and therefore unlikely to continue in favour, if in being, after ſuch a Conjunction as *Philip the Second* deſired. Nor could diſtance of place, the deluder of eyes, hinder the inſpection of that Prince, who having commanded in *England* ſome years under the right of *Mary*, could not but in probability hear all that was to be known. And if we may gueſs at the *Queens* carriage in this, by her proceedings in the two *Treaties of Marriage* after with *France*, we may preſume ſhe did purchaſe this delay, (if not buy off the diſcovery of ſome

Infirmity) with the Articles of her Opinion contrary to those of *Rome*, and to which, as appears by an old letter, the *Catholick King* was not at that time averse. Though upon her deluding him, to avoid such a Schism in the lower *Germany* as had happened in the upper, he did indeavour to introduce the *Inquisition*: Fortune having rendered him so indulgent from the beginning to the Queens preservation, that he sold the *Low Countries*, the only place able to purchase her peace, a bargain (as I have heard from the *Earle of Leicester*, the last English man Governour of *Flushing*) fomented by those that treated this Match for her Majesty: which found, *Pope Pius* darted out the former mentioned *Excommunication*, till then restrained through the mediation of *Philip*. I shall not determine whether it was Godly zeal or worldly interest that prompted their judgments to these accurate Counsels, since I find both in some part gratified by future success: Though I see cause enough in the latter to imploy all the brains, both of the *Protestants* and *Papists* in power about her; the one owning their lives to her well being, and the other *Abby Lands* to the continuance of it: for though Sir *John Parsons* told me he had seen a *Bull* amongst Mr. *Seldens* Antiquities, by which *the Pope confirmed the Lands of the Church in the hands of their present possessours, provided they in other respects continued under his Obedience*, yet whether this might be safely trusted to, I leave in suspense, and to their consideration that may remember they were fifty years ago valued much below other Titles and Demeans.

12. The cause, It may be thought Interest as much as Love in her *Privy Council* that till *Leicesters* dayes, none are found to have received *Pensions* from foreign *Princes*, or to play Looty or deal treacherously in his Imployments

Imployments either at home or abroad: nor were honourable and *gainful Offices* during her abode at the Helm given to men of no larger capacities than were meerly requisite to the execution of the place; But bestowed upon such publick Spirits as were able to advise in the most crabbed affairs, by which the charge of their support was born and the Common-weal served with men under a double Capacity. Now though we must yield to *Solomon*, that *safety is to be found in a multitude of Counsellor*; Yet *Secrecy* is commonly absent in all Assemblies, but where a few resolve: for which and perfect *Intelligence* from abroad (the light and director of the bark of Prudence) if any age before, I am sure none since can be compared with the days of *Burleigh* and *Walsingham* in this particular; whose steps Archbishop *Bancroft* followed so close, as by fomenting a difference between the *Jesuites* and *Regulars*, he made a breach in their Unity, the strongest argument they have to support the *Papacy*; And illuminated by so clear a judgment, did through their clashing make so perfect an inspection into the secular practices of the *Consistory in Rome*, as he prevented many dangers might have other wayes fallen upon the Nation: for which *Blackwell*, the then Popish *Metropolitan*, lay under some suspicion from the contrary Faction, how justly I know not. Yet have heard, that no Priest was landed any time in *England*, but the *Bishop* had a perfect Character of his temper and relations; The easier brought about by him that (in the estimation of the *Puritans*) owned most of the Tenets, being beside no rigid persecuter of any who had not in his composition the gall of Treason mixed with Religion: the *Regulars* being then in a high esteem, because their opposers the *Jesuits* were about that time banished *France*, and their *Cells* demolished, with a *Pyramid* erected to their

infamy; for an indeavour to Aſſaſſinate *Henry the Fourth*. And from this Indulgence of the *Arch-Biſhop* grew more ſecurity than danger, becauſe ſuch *Prieſts* as were connived at (the moſt of other *Orders*) looked upon the *Jeſuits* as enemies, and all new-comers of their own under a no milder aſpect than intruders on their profit; And therefore the more inquiſitive after their conditions, and if found pragmatical, it was no hard matter to purchaſe their remove by the mediation of one ſo near the helm as the *Biſhop* was, who beſides the quality of Secreſie remained ſo conſtant to his promiſe, as it was more ſafety than danger for them to rely upon his word. And that ſome cunning *Seminaries* did endeavour the monopolizing amongſt themſelves all the profit to be made by the *Engliſh Catholicks*, I have a preſumption of mine own from a *Prieſt* I met with on the other ſide the Water, who told me he lived far better during the Tyranny (as he was pleaſed to call it) of *Queen Elizabeth*, than ſince the licence afforded under *King James*, by which divers young Scholars of both the Univerſities were daily tempted into Orders, and many (reſtrained before out of love to their ſafety) did now go over in ſhoals, to the great detriment of the old ſtanders. Yet notwithſtanding the incomparable diligence of this Prelate, under two Princes, for the preſervation of peace and unity, He was abominated by the preciſer ſort, the heat of whoſe zeal appears the more unnatural, becauſe their mouths were furred with bitter and unſavoury Invectives, which followed him after the hand of Death had laid him out of the reach of all other favour but what is due to his deſert from Charity and Gratitude; Therefore to be ſtrongly preſumed the worſt malice could invent. And inſerted by me, according to the Mode of an Hiſtorian, whoſe Plough (for the ſake of Poſterity) I wiſh I were able to drive; However

ever I am no ways correſpondent for the praiſe or blame due to any verſes found here, ſuch as theſe,

Here lies My Lords Grace *at ſix and at ſeven*;
And, if I do not lie, His Soul is in Heaven:

I wiſh with my heart it may be to his leeking,
Since all the World knows it was never his Seeking.

Another.

Bancroft *was for* Plays,
Lean Lent, *and* Holy-days,
But now under goes their Doom:

Had Engliſh Ladies ſtore,
Yet kept open a Back-door
To let in the Strumpet of Rome.

I confeſs I have heard him Charactered for a *Jovial Doctor*, but very Jealous of the Clergies Revenue, no leſs than his Countries ſafety, which he endeavoured to bring about through a reduction of *Britanny* into one Form of Worſhip, by the train of *Calvin* moſt rigidly oppoſed: But the *two contrary Factions at Court* (one of them thinking all things fit to be deſtroyed, the other laboured to preſerve) did, upon the vacancy of every *Biſhoprick*, put one in ſuitable to their humours that had the luck to prevail: The cauſe the preſent Incumbent did, like the Web of *Penelope*, unravel what his Predeceſſor had with more policy and charity twiſted: By which means the Dioceſes of *Canterbury* and *York* were at one and the ſame time of contrary Judgments. And the beſt of Clergymen (driven into a *medium* by

the ſcorching heat of the one ſide, and chill indifferency of the other) loſt their labour and all hope of preferment in a vain indeavour for a reconciliation, unpoſſible to be brought about, the one party being fomented by hypocriſie to bear out their Ignorance, and the other from Power and a fear of reverting into the primitive Auſterity: which held ſo long in this unconſtant viciſſitude, till what was continued meerly out of Policy at Court, did in a ſhort time branch forth in City and Country into divers popular differences, ſuitable to the mold of every head, and the intereſt of ſuch perſons as had the ſubtilty to fit them to their occaſions: *Zeal like Lead, being as ready to drop into Bullets, as to mingle with a Compoſition fit for Medicine.* So as in thoſe days it was unpoſſible for men in Power, but to be ſcandalous to one ſide or other.

13. *Diſpatches* from the *Council Table* (of which I have ſeen Volumes) began and held on throughout in a plain and the ſame Stile, not ſeldom admitting of ſeveral conſtructions, if of any interpretation at all where the buſineſs related to a thing whoſe conſequence could not eaſily be ſeen into: as appears at the beginning of all Treaties; and eſpecially in the *two offers of Marriage* with *France*, which the Queen managed with ſuch dexterity and ſecreſie, that wiſe *Walſingham* (as appears by his *Letters*) through whoſe hands the whole buſineſs paſſed, did not know certainly whether ſhe was real or no: But in what was thought proper for Tranſaction, all things were plain drawn in *Latine*: This put together did much facilitate the Office of her *Secretaries*.

14. Now as Wiſdom and Secreſie appeared in her Council Chamber, ſo *Hoſpitality*, *Charity* and *Splendor*, were dilated over the whole *Court*; where, upon the leaſt

leaſt acquaintance, all Strangers from the Nobleman to the Peaſant, were invited to one Table or other (of which ſhe kept abundance, whereever ſhe removed from one ſtanding houſe to another, unleſs ſhe returned to *White-Hall* at night) the leaſt conſiderable ſuiting with three, four, or five hundred pounds *per annum* expence; And for Bread, Beer, and Wine, (commmonly called by the name of *Budge*) though the Purveyors that brought it in, were called to ſtrict accounts, ſuch as iſſued them out were rarely queſtioned, but in caſe they ſold it: And by this Generoſity the ordinary ſort of people were ſo endeared, as I have known ſome brag of their entertainment at Court twenty years after; ſuch, like Dogs ſeldom biting thoſe have once fed them, Though with the ſame meat they have been at the pains to catch themſelves; It coming all out of the Country mans Barns or Yards, The Wine being little when Cuſtom was abated.

15. Yet though ſhe was thus plentifully provided of all things at home, ſhe did not ſeldom fetch an *Entertainment* at ſuch *Grandees* houſes as were underſtood to be moſt *popular*: By which ſhe removed her Subjects eyes from intending wholly the influence of theſe inferiour Stars, and fixed them upon a greater ſplendor of her own: beſides her out-doing them in the Art of Popularity, acting to the life the Pageant of the People (which all Princes really are, and the wiſeſt the moſt Gaudy) from whence it is far more indearing to throw Flowers than Wild-fire: And if this her *affability* did not work upon the will, the greatneſs of their Expence did not fail to render them leſs able to hurt: And in caſe this was not ſufficient to moderate their ambitious thirſt after Popularity, ſhe found them diverſions in foreign *Imployments*, whither they were ſent *Embaſſadors* or *Agents*, by which their e tates were gelt, and the owners rendered the leſs rampant and

unable

unable to maintain their former bewitching humour of *Hospitality*; so as in *Parliaments* they became asserters of the profit of the Crown, in hope to have such debts refunded as had been contracted by themselves in the service of the State; whose honour she preserved at the lowest expence that ever Prince did, and not seldom at their charge who might otherwise have imployed their revenues in fomenting Sedition.

16. The *Parliament* knowing not where to fix upon a Successor to the Crown without the hazard of Religion, or danger of a Civil War; the *Regent* of *Scotland* having yet no Child, and being too strongly supported from *France* to miscarry under a title so firmly built as the Catholicks maintained hers was to this Nation (if not in present) upon the death of the Queen, did in the first *Petition* they made, invite her Majesty to take a *Husband*: In which they minded more their future, than present felicity, not so likely to result from a married as a single Prince, whose expence cannot chuse but swell proportionable to the off-spring produced: And in this they were so moderate as to pass by all mention of a Successor, ever ungrateful to her ears during the whole Series of her Reign, and not seldom fatal to such as were so hardy as to move it: So as it cost some dearer, and *Paget* and *Wentworth* their Liberty, though they proposed it in *Parliament*; The safety she her self found in the concealing her intent, out-voting the danger of a Civil War, which in all humane reason could not but impend the Nation, in case of her death: For whilst she observed this impartial neutrality, none could pretend cause of complaint. And in case any one had made ostentation of a *Title* before the People, she had the rest ready to asperse it; there remaining none free from Objections, the most legitimate in appearance passing for an *Alien* and so

ſo uncapable, or an Enemy and ſo incompetent to govern: It being as impoſſible to pleaſe, as dangerous to oppoſe the weakeſt intereſt of the *Papiſt*, *Puritan* or *Proteſtant*. But to this requeſt of her *great Council* (which ſhe could not hinder, being the deſire of the *Court* as well as the ſenſe of the *Parliament*) ſhe returned a ſtout, though but an uncertain *Anſwer*, as is legible in the common *Chroniclers*, whoſe recitals I profeſs wilfully to ſhun, feeding my Pen rather with ſuch ſcraps as I have picked out of *Letters* and *Diſcourſe*, the Store-houſe of *Tradition*. Not ſo likely to flatter, if to lie, as the Writings of thoſe mean Contemporaries, that for the moſt part have imbarked their Pens in our *Engliſh* Affairs; who had ſtill ſome fear or hope at their Elbows ready to jog them towards the intereſt of the preſent or future Governours: Confeſſed by learned *Camden* himſelf, whoſe lines were directed by King *James*, and he led rather to vindicate the honour and integrity of his *Mother*, than to do right for a *Miſtreſs*, that had from a *School-maſter* raiſed him to a capacity of being the *firſt King at Arms*.

17. Her Sex did bear out many impertinences in her words and actions, as *her making Latine Speeches in the Univerſities*, and profeſſing her ſelf in publick *a Muſe*, then thought ſomething too Theatrical for a Virgin Prince, but eſpecally in her *Treaties* relating to Marriage; towards which ſome thought her uncapable by nature, others too propenſe, as may be found in the black relations of the *Jeſuits*, and ſome *French* and *Spaniſh Paſquilers*, that pretend to be more learned in the Art of Inſpection than wiſe *Henry the Fourth* their King, who in a jovial humour told a *Scotiſh* Marqueſs, *there were three things inſcrutable to intelligence*: 1. *Whether* Maurice *then Prince of* Orange (who never fought battail, as he ſaid) *was valiant in his perſon*. 2. *What Religion himſelf was of*. 3. *Whether* Q. Elizabeth *was a Maid*

Maid or no: which may render all reports dubious that come from meaner Men: yet it may be true that the Ladies of her Bedchamber denied to her body the ceremony of *searching* and imbalming, due to dead Monarchs: But that she had a *Son* bred in the State of *Venice*, and a *Daughter* I know not where nor when, with other strange tales that went on her, I neglect to insert, as fitter for a *Romance*, than to mingle with so much truth and integrity as I profess: In which if I am in any thing mistaken, let it be laid on mine own want of knowledge, or their Ignorance that misled me. This I may safely attest, that the smallest chip of that incomparable Instrument of Honour, Peace and safety to this now unhappy Nation, would have been then valued by the people of *England* above the lostiest branch in the *Calydonian* Grove. Who as she was the choicest Artist in *King-craft* that ever handled the Scepter in this Northern Climate, so she went beyond all her Ancestors in adapting to her service the most proper tools, in whose fittest application she was seldom mistaken; The only cause can be given why she so rarely changed her *Secret Counsel*, especially those she made privy to any of her last results, which did not weakly contribute to her safety: Such resembling *Keyes*, that once lost or misplaced, no future security remains but in changing the *Lock*. And though this hath already fallen under my consideration, yet I am forced to resume it again in the vindication of the *choice* of some *Officers* about the middle of her Reign, accused since for weakness; wich if not a mistake made by Envy, or for want of an exact understanding of the Parties use; some being placed after the *Council* grew numerous, only to tell tales and ballance Votes she disliked in publick, without the least understanding of what was thought necessary to succeed in private, a multitude of hands adding dignity to Inland affairs, it being

dinary with the generality to esteem wisdom according to measure rather than weight. And amongst these few can be found out of her Kindred or such Friends as her *Fathers* Honour or her own Gratitude for kindness shewed during the life of her *Sister*, kept her from excluding them the Lists, though the stronger heads of others were wholly imployed when her occasions called her to grapple with any difficulties. Nor was there more than the honour and profit of *Lord High Admiral* intrusted with the *Earl of Nottingham*, but executed by a *Commission* selected out of the ablest Seamen that age did afford; he being imployed for his *fidelity*, known to be impregnable in relation to Corruption: neither was there a goodlier man for *person* in *Europe*, as my eyes did witness though they met not with him before he was turned towards the point of eighty, no youth being more celebrated for *gallantry* and *good fortune* than he. I confess that in his age he *married a young Lady* allied to *K. James*, which set his Wisdom many degrees back in the repute of the world.

But to discharge this cavil from any farther dispute, No Prince then extant took an exacter estimate of her *Subjects abilities* to serve her; or made a deeper inspection into their Aptitude, Nature, and Humours; to which with a rare dexterity she fitted her favours and their Imployments: as may be instanced in *Francis Vere*, a man nobly descended, *Walter Raleigh* exactly qualified, with many others set apart in her judgment for military services, whose Titles she never raised above *Knighthood*; saying, when importuned to make *General Vere* a *Baron*, that *in his proper Sphere and in her estimation he was above it already*; therefore all could be expected from such an addition, would be the entombing of the spirit of a brave *Souldier* in the corps of a less sightly *Courtier*; and by tempting

tempting him from his charge, hazard that repute upon a *Carpet*, his valour had dearly purchased him in the *Field*. Nor could she indure to see her Subjects wear the Titles of a Foreign Prince; the cause she committed Sir *Matthew Arrondel* of *Warder* in the West, for accepting from the *German Case* the Dignity of a *Count*; and denied Sir *Philip Sidney* the Crown of *Poland*.

18. The example of *modesty* her *Souldiers expres* in the *Netherlands*, rarely found amongst Auxiliries, with her refusal to own or impose the name of *her Vassals* upon the *Dutch*, gained her a huge confidence amongst her Neighbours, that her complexion was pure from the contagion of any more destructive *Ambition*, than the preservation of her Honour and those Nations her Birth no less than Desert had presented her with: which made them unapter to offend her; none but *Catholicks*, and they for the most part *Priests*, wishing her remove, as not knowing where to find a Prince less offensive and more *debonaire*; the cause many *Treasons* concluded in the loss of their Heads that projected them, or sought to put them in execution. Yet in this her temperament of desire in relation to *augmentation of Empire*, her prudence so minded her of the Nations future safety, as that Friends under persecution do not seldom face about upon the approach of Security and Power: Wherefore she made sure of *Flushing* and *Brill*; which in regard of situation were so full a *Content* of their whole strength, as the application of it could not, upon their miscarriage in relation to the *Catholick King*, or their own future Ingratitude, obliterate the advantage that *England* might make of that Revolt, though the money lent covered it in Reason and Justice from much of the envy it might have contracted, had she imployed

ployed force or fraud in their purchaſe. Nor did the receiving from the hands of the *French* Hugenots, *Haver de Grace*, (upon a like exigency) ſignifie more ambition than the reduction of *Calis*; which might have undoubtedly ſucceeded, had ſhe not according to her uſual cuſtom ſtarved the Deſign for want of Money and Men; a fault the more excuſable, becauſe it relates to the tender care and reſpect had of her Subjects Lives and Eſtates. And here by the way it is worth noting, That the *Hollanders* could not ſo eaſily have attained *Freedom*, but through the help of the Miniſters of *Spain*, who by eradicating the ancient *Nobility* and *Gentry* reduced them into a *Parity*, and ſo by conſequence made them capable of Unity, the Nurſe of all Combinations.

19. Amongſt all her *Minions* none (according to report) bad fairer for *the Queens Bride-bed* than *Leiceſter*, who, finding by the continual high beating of her heart, that ſhe would never allow of ſo great an abatement of Soveraignty as a *Match* with a Foreign Prince, could not but in honour have made the Sails of his expectation ſomewhat ſwelled therewith, would in her gaieties (which till the death of *Eſſex* were very frequent) ask her, 'If ſhe did not think ſhe had ſome 'Subject of her own, able (though it muſt be confeſſed 'none worthy) to make an Heir for the Kingdom of 'England? Since her *Father* was *known* to do it, yet a 'Man, and ſo uncapable of any eclipſe of honour by the 'higheſt Princes; Neither did his often repeated con'deſcentions in making Subjects his after-wives breed 'him that danger that he ſuſtained by the firſt glorious 'Match (according to expectation) that he made 'with the *Siſter* of *Charles* the *Emperour*, which all the 'Prudence he owned could not unravel without ſtrain'ing the Cords of Government, if not Conſcience, by

'that

'that desperate leap he made out of the Church of *Rome*,
'and separating himself from the union of other Prin-
'ces. Nor did *Philip the Second* prove more happy
'to your Sister for the present, nor to the future
'expectation of the Nation that lacked nothing to
'entail servitude upon them but an Heir of her body;
'which yet had not been wanting, according to report,
'but supplied by a Cushion, but that the generosity of
'the *Spaniard*, and the perswasion of a better success
'from your embraces (which his hopes flattered him
'with) did for the present make him to detest it:
'The cause it was after voiced to be a False Concep-
'tion. All which I have heard often, and read some-
where, though the Author hath escaped my memory:
Nor could *Leicester* render his Bed vacant to a more
thriving end (as he is rumor'd to have done) than
to make room for the greatest and most fortunate
Princess the Sun ever looked upon without blushing in
relation to Oppression or Blood: This may be allowed
upon the score of probability, that his Lordship would
hardly have been so *rampant* and *uncivil* without some
extraordinary invitation, as to draw a *blow* in her pre-
sence from another *Privy Counsellor*, more zealous pos-
sibly than discreet, to whom when the Queen said, *He
had forfeited his hand*; his reply was, *he hoped she
would suspend that judgement, till the Traitor had lost his
head, who did better deserve it*: But this accident bor-
dering so near the confines of her Honour did admit no
farther debate; it being no other than she in a less
sprightful humour might have given him her self, none
being more flexible to all kind of Jollities than the
minds of Princes when unbent from publick affairs.
Now whether these *Amorosities* were natural, or meer-
ly poetical and personated, I leave to conjecture, that
may ever find imployment in the actions of Kings. This
I am sure of, these gaudy gleams of favour shone not
long

long upon any ſingle perſon, but were ſoon eclipſed upon the apparition of freſh Spark. And here to conclude any farther diſcourſe of *Leiceſter*, he was a man of eminency for Perſon, but branded by his Enemies (of which he had not a few) for a defect in Wiſdom or Integrity during his aboad in the *Netherlands* where with no good ſucceſs he executed the place of the *Queens General*.

20. This Princeſs uſed never to precipitate a *retaliation* in reference to *Foreign Injuries*: by which her Enemies had leiſure given them to conſider of a *reparation*, no leſs than her ſelf of Revenge in caſe of Contumacy, and time to put her ſtrength in the better array; Manifeſt throughout her whole expedition into *Scotland*, where though ſhe had fomented ſuch a Party of the *Nobility* of that Nation as were able to receive and ſecure a force of her own, which upon their interceſſion ſhe ſent, yet was it without any Commiſſion to fight or take notice of the Crown of *France*, from whom the *Scotch Queen* was immediately aſſiſted, but only againſt the Houſe of *Guiſe* that were meerly inſtrumental in behalf of their Siſter *Mary*. Contrary to the moſt ordinary practice of our leſs adviſed Monarchs, who to gratifie the clamor of a few *embarked Merchants*; and to vindicate an honour capable of the diminution, but from a total neglect or viſible incapacity of being ever able to right it ſelf, do, like inconſiderate *Bees*, in a raſh and paſſionate Diſtemper, by miſimploying their *Stings* (all the natural force they have) render themſelves (for the future) weak and contemptible, by an unſeaſonable demonſtration of the worſt they can do; which, till experimented, is for the moſt part imagined greater than in truth it is.

21. Her frequent calling *Parliaments*, and not ſtaying till ſhe was compelled, kept them in ſo moderate a temper, as they were more awfull to the Country than the Court; where ſome grievances might be connived

at, but never approved, ſo the eaſier accounted for when called to queſtion: nor do I find her conceſſion granted to any *Statute* for her peoples good, by way of exchange, but purely out of grace, and for the moſt part before it was deſired: Wiſely projecting, that when *Neceſſity is the Chapman, the Market doth naturally run high.* Therefore being chaſt from all other intruſion upon the Nations Liberty, but what reſpected common ſafety and the honour of the Crown; ſhe was able without murmur to *commit ſuch of the Houſe of Commons* as preſumed to meddle or enquire who was moſt fit or had the beſt right to ſucced her. Neither was ſhe leſs tender and jealous of Diſputes in *Religion*, an apple in the eye of Government, which if once ſuffered to roll and grow wanton, will render the Peoples minds unſteady betwixt the obedience they owe to God and their Prince: fondly imagining the firſt may be gratified at the prejudice of the latter. Zeal being the Flint, and Ambition the Steel out of which the Sparks of Rebellion have in our days kindled the moſt fatal miſchiefs; which ſhe kept during her reign from claſhing, by denying the *Parliament* all farther debate of *Eccleſiaſtical Ceremonies*, and ſhewing them their no leſs injuſtice than levity to queſtion what they had ſo firmly eſtated in her Perſon, who was yet reſolved to introduce no more than what was lately confirmed by themſelves, or their Fathers; ſo notorious to all, as the Doctrine profeſſed moſt generally in *England* bore in foreign nations the name of *Parliament-faith.* Nor was this her prudent reſtraint looked upon with any great reluctancy by any but *Cartwright* and ſome ſuch addle-heads, whoſe Judgments were trimmed according to the mode of *Amſterdam*; of whoſe diſtempered paſſions the *Q.* made ſo much advantage, as to keep the *Church* humble and quiet whilſt ſhe gelt their *Sees* by exchanges, and other mortifications of their power, and

and eſtates, which during her life were not ſuffered to blaze out in their *Eccleſiaſtical Offices*, as ſince they did: which is the only viſible cauſe can be given, why ſo much worth as reſided in this Princeſs is ſo little celebrated. And all this wheeled about with the leſs diſturbance of the higher Orbs, becauſe few oppoſers of *Church Diſcipline* were in her days eligible, or ſo much in favour with the people, being for the moſt part oppreſſors, or indicted of hypocriſie; the moſt eminent for Parts, Titles, or Eſtates (as it falls out in relation to new Schiſms) growing weary or full ſatisfied with the profit already gained by the great leap themſelves, or their Anceſtors had made from *Rome*: Nor were the poorer ſort better apaid when they compared the preſent hoſpitality with that reported of old before the *Religious houſes* were demoliſhed, the cauſe I have not ſeldom my ſelf heard them wiſh a return to the *Catholick Church* under the title of *the old Learning*: Not ſo well pleaſed with the *ſaving doctrine* of the *Proteſtant* profeſſion, as they formerly were under the more liberal diſtributions of the *Monaſteries*. Nor was it the guiſe of theſe prudent times to *diſſolve Parliaments* in diſcontent (by which a quarrel ſeemed to be picked with the whole nation) But to *adjourn* them in Love. Wherefore having to do with the ſame men, ſhe was ſeldom compelled to alter her courſe; it being unpoſſible that a Prince who had her peoples affection in groſs, ſhould find it wanting in their *Repreſentative*. And it is no leſs remarkable, that in ſo long a reign ſhe never was forced (as I have heard) to make uſe of her *Negative power*; But had ſtill ſuch a party in the *houſe of Lords* as were able to ſave her that labour. Neither was ſhe ever terrified by fear, to beſtow *Office* or *Honour* upon any out of no other reaſon than to draw them from the contrary party; unleſs *Seminaries*, and of this ſhe grew at laſt weary, ſaying once in publick,

ſhe would not ranſom her ſelf from enemies at the price of their preferments that lov'd her. But in caſe ſhe found any likely to interrupt her occaſions, ſhe did ſeaſonably prevent him by a chargeable Employment abroad, or putting him upon ſome ſervice at home ſhe knew leaſt grateful to the people: contrary to a falſe Maxim, ſince practiſed with far worſe ſucceſs, by ſuch Princes who thought it *better husbandry to buy off Enemies, than reward Friends*: which once obſerved, it tempted ſome that were ambitious to lay out the ſtrongeſt of their endeavours againſt their Prince only in hope to be bought off. And for ſuch as deſired a farther recoyl from the *Pope* than was thought fit to be made, they were not ſo numerous or well agreed yet, as to actuate any diſturbance, being for the moſt part poor, and, as all *Schiſmaticks* do at firſt, glorying more in Suffering, than in any other oppoſition but what they are able to raiſe with their pens or tongues, in which they were no leſs laviſh than bold and indiſcreet: yet meeting from the moſt in power only blame and contempt, they ſought out new habitations for themſelves and vent for their opinions in *Amſterdam*, where the *Dutch* allowed a general *Mart* for all *Religions* (the *Papacy* excepted) without any nicer limitation than obedience to the Magiſtrate in things purely Civil: And by this they did not only draw much of our *coyn* thither, but our *Manufactures* of *Weaving*, *Dying*, *Fulling*, *Spinning* and *Dreſſing of Cloth*, *Stuff*, *&c*, Eaſie to have been prevented, by affording them an *Amſterdam* in *England*, ſome ſmall *City of Refuge*, over which her Majeſty might have ſet a diſcreet *Governour* with a *Garriſon*, whoſe charge they would willingly have born, beſides the payment of a large exciſe for their folly. Nor was there any danger in this, it being unpoſſible to make them unanimous: But the *Hierarchy* had been ſo bitten already by the Covetouſneſs of Princes, and the ſharp and diſcerning Learn-

ing

ing of the Laity, who unintereſted in the general Controverſies might have moderated to their diſadvantage or ſet on foot a farther and more rigid *Reformation* (which, though a terror to thoſe in power, is moſt delightful to the ears of the people) That they perſwaded the *Queen*, it was *againſt Prudence and Piety to give them harbor*; yet in the mean time connived at *Lecturer* and *weekly Preaching*, through which they let in more by the Poſtern, than they could croud out at the great Gate. Wherefore, this found out, wiſdom ſhould rather have left the attempt in the hands of Time, the Moderator of all things diſputable, Than rendered them incorrigible through Oppoſition, the promoter of Error. I am the larger in this, leſt poſterity ſhould be to ſeek for the foundation of the moſt deſtructive Revolution the Sun ever held light to, which was begun by thouſands who never intended it, and wrought the ruine of *that* both ſides labour'd to preſerve, with an exceſſive advantage to ſuch as could neither expect or deſerve it.

22. Amongſt the greateſt things laid to her charge, as caſt behind the door of *neglect*, was the conduct of the *affairs of Ireland*; a place lying, all her Halcyon days, under ſo great a contempt, (before *England*'s leſs future felicity had brought it to eſteem) that wiſe *Walſingham* thought it no Treaſon to wiſh it *buried in the Sea*, conſidering the charge it brought: yet ſhe kept *the Pale* in good order, not ſuffering the *Spaniſh party* to grow more potent in the *North*, than convenient to conſume his forces and divert him from nearer and more dangerous attempts. It being unpoſſible for her, without appearing grievous to her people (a Rock ſhe chiefly ſtudied to avoid) at one time to maintain ſo dreadful a Navy at Sea, and foment the *Dutch* and *French*, towards whoſe aſſiſtance ſhe was

called by a louder Neceſſity, than to render a Nation quite deſolate: None being willing during her life to exchange the preſent Government of a Natural Princeſs, for the leſs happy Tyranny of a *Viceroy*; of which the moſt did ſtudy more their reſpective grandure by extending the war, than the eaſe of the Inhabitants and leſſening the Queens expence: Till the Noble *Lord Mountjoy* was imploy'd, who had no other deſign than the concluſion of the work, which he had not yet ſo eaſily brought about but that the *Spaniards* found themſelves betrayed through the covetouſneſs and cowardiſe of the *Natives*, that for ſmall ſums would ſell not only ſuch foreigners as came to help them, but their neareſt Relations: Wherefore unlikely to keep faith with their Prince, being of ſo falſe and unconſtant a Nature, as by a continual relapſing into Seditious practices they did with the ſame breath demand Pardon, and yet panted to accompliſh ſomething worthy of Death. Nor was it poſſible to reduce them to more Civility (the inhabitants being of ſuch an amphibious education) but by curing the *Boggs* and *Faſtneſſes*, or building more Caſtles and Garriſons than ſhe could ſpare Money or Men from her other occaſions to furniſh: But that which raiſed the greateſt difficulty in relation to an abſolute ſubjugation of this Province, was the power the *Prieſts* exerciſed over the Natives Conſciences, who not able to reſolve themſelves, were implicitely led by their perſwaſions to caſt off the Engliſh yoke and diſtreſs the Queen, who in the Roman dialect was ſtiled *Heretick*, and in whoſe favour no compact could be made, much leſs kept without Mortal Sin in the performer, eſpecially upon the offer of any (though but ſeeming) advantage. Nor was the *defection of Ireland* one of the ſmalleſt inconveniences that reſulted to this Crown from the *Proteſtant Profeſſion*.

23. In

23. In this miſerable Nation, that wanted not only wiſdom and vertue to purchaſe her own Freedom, but a competency of patience quietly to ſubmit to the Engliſh Civility, the former mentioned *Earl of Eſſex* baried his fortune. For after his more ſubtil Enemies, prompted by malice and his own deſtructive Ambition, had placed him ſo far off, it proved no hard matter (working upon her Majeſties age and parſimonious humour) to diſtreſs him, for want of coyn and other neceſſary proviſions for ſo expenſive an expedition: which caſt him upon diſadvantagious Treaties with *Tyrone*, the capital Rebel, And might occaſion the private diſcourſe he had with him alone on horſe-back in the middeſt of a River: which hinted to the Queen the firſt cauſe of that fatal ſuſpicion, *He might through the aſſiſtance of the Iriſh and Engliſh Army* (already wholly at his devotion) *attempt ſome novelty*; a diſmal whiſper the contrary Faction did hourly inſpire her withal: And to give it a deeper tincture of probability, Sir *Robert Cecil* gained leave of the Queen to advertiſe *Eſſex*, firſt of her being paſt hope, and after of her Death, ſtopping in the mean time all ſhips elſe, but what came loaded with this fatal intelligence: And to ſecure her perſon no leſs than his own, in caſe he took the wiſer counſel of his friends to land in *Wales* with all the power he could raiſe, the Engliſh Militia were put in a poſture of defence: of which no uſe was made; for the *Earls compoſition* having always participated more of *truth* and *loyalty* to his Soveraign, with more zeal to the *Proteſtant Religion*, than prudence or Reaſon of State, He, not only contrary to the will of his friends, but beyond the higheſt hopes of his Enemies, came over attended with ſome few Gentlemen; and in this naked condition finding the report falſe, he caſt himſelf habited as a traveller at the feet of his Miſtreſs, whom after he never met (unleſs face

in heaven) being presently *confin'd*, yet to no stricter prison than his *Chamber*, and under no other guard but the obedience he owed to his Soveraigns Commands, who though daily importuned, could not be brought to sign a warrant for any severer Commitment, til after *his passage through the City*, In which he did not only exceed the extent of his own ordinary rashness, But the highest and most extraordinary plots of his Enemies. And thus was the *Earl* snatched out of the arms of his Mistris, and torn from the hearts of the people that were his Servants, by the subtilty of his Enemies, and in the sight of both brought to an *untimely death*: it appearing no less wonder that Prince and Subject did meet in their affections, than that they should both be so quiet spectators of his ruine. But as God shew'd in his death the weakness of the arm of flesh, so not long after he declared as plainly the power of his Justice in a strict account he took from those that were the principal agents in it: For after the blow given, the *Queen*, presaging by a multitude of tears shed for him, the great drouth was likely to appear in the eyes of her Subjects, when the hand that signed the warrant for it should be cut off, fell into a *deep Melancholy*, whereof she died not long after. And for the Fame that immediately followed her (if multitudes were not foully mistaken) she was more beholding to *her successors miscarriages* in the general opinion, than any popular esteem attending her to the grave: *her death* being reported to proceed from an occasion that would have been thought ridiculous in an ordinary Lady, much more in a person of her magnitude: But such as take *Princes* for other than Men, shew they never saw them in true light: who, like the Gods of the Heathen, cannot in their actions or speeches during Life be discerned from ordinary Mortals but by the worship given them; being so remote from owning any real Divinity, As with the Crown they put

put on greater frailties than they do diveſt: For during the critical minute of the *Queens ſtrongeſt affection* (which was upon *Eſſex* his return from *Cales*) he had importuned her for ſome *ſignal token*, which might aſſure him, that in his abſence (to which his own Genius, no leſs than the reſpect he bare to the promotion of her honour, and obedience to her commands, did daily prompt him) *his Enemies* (of whom he had many about the Chair of State) ſhould not through their Malice or Subtilty diſtreſs him, or render him leſs or worſe deſerving in her eſteem: upon this, in a great deal of familiarity, ſhe preſented a *Ring* to him; which after ſhe had by oaths indued with a power of freeing him from any danger or diſtreſs his future miſcarriage, her Anger, or Enemies malice could caſt him into, ſhe gave it him, with a promiſe, that at the firſt *ſight* of it all this and more if poſſible ſhould be granted. After his *commitment to the Tower* he ſent this Jewel to Her Majeſty, by the then *Counteſs of Nottingham*, whom Sir *Robert Cecil* kept from delivering it: This made the *Queen* think her ſelf *ſcorned*, a Treaſon againſt her Honour, And therefore not unlikely to be voted by the pride of ſo great a Lady more Capital than that pretended againſt her Perſon, which power doth rarely ſuffer to ſcape unpuniſhed: beſides he had been tempted through paſſion to ſay, or his enemies to deviſe, That *ſhe now doted, and owned a mind no leſs crooked than her body*; A high blaſphemy againſt ſuch a divine Beauty, as Flatterers, the Idolizers of Princes, had enſhrined her in. And from theſe his misfortunes, led on by the weakneſs *Jealouſie* and *Age* had bred in her, his Maligners took advantage, ſo as his Head was off before diſcretion, love or pity had leaſure to dictate, *The Ring might be miſcarried and the former relation falſe*. But the Lady of *Nottingham* coming to *her death bed*, and finding, by the daily *ſorrow* the *Queen* expreſſed for the loſs of *Eſſex*, her ſelf a principal

cipal agent in his deſtruction, could not be at reſt till ſhe had diſcovered all, and humbly implored mercy from God and *forgiveneſs* from her earthly Soveraign: who did not only refuſe to give it, but having ſhook her as ſhe lay in her bed, ſent her accompanied with moſt fearful curſes to a higher Tribunal. Not long after the *Queens weakneſs* did appear mortal, haſtened by the wiſhes of many, that could not in reaſon expect pardon for a fault they found ſhe had ſo ſeverely puniſhed in her ſelf, as to *take comfort in nothing after.* But upon all occaſions of ſigning Pardons would upbraid the movers for them with the haſty anticipation of that brave mans end, not to be expiated in relation to the Nations loſs by any future endeavour, much leſs ſo unſeaſonable an uncharitableneſs to a dying Lady.

24. After *Eſſex* was thus laid by, the total management of State affairs, fell to Sr. *Robert Cecil* in right of wiſdom, who free from competition became bold enough to inform the Queen, that *too many years had been already lapſed, and the peoples quiet hazarded by her delay, in not fixing upon one certain Succeſſour: Nothing remaining wanting, but her conceſſion, to free the Nation from a Civil war, in declaring the* King of Scots *her lawful Heir, who beſides an immediate right, had the greateſt power at hand to quell the hopes of all contrary pretenders, at that time more than a few; having long been imboldened either through her Majeſties Indulgence or Prudence, an Artifice dangerous for her people, and not impoſſibly new diſtructive to her ſelf, the love of whom was by good Government for forty years, ſo deeply rooted in her Subjects, as it could be buried in nothing but her grave.* Nor did he alone beat her ears with theſe ſounds, no leſs terrible to her age at that day, than they had been formerly ungrateful to her youth: But the generality of all about her; there remaining after *Eſſex* remove, no Faction at Court able to reſcue any from the preſent or future revenge

of

of this man, with whom the moſt did comply, for fear of having their hopes blaſted by this *Northern Sun* that began to riſe porportionable to the declenſion of the Queens health. The truth of which the moſt incredulous may find throughout the whole *Arraignment* of *Cobham*, *Gray*, and *Raleigh*, profeſſed *Antagoniſts to Eſſex*, under whoſe ſhelter they might have been protected in relation to their cauſe, though by them imprudently managed. This proves it no great hyperbole to affirm, The Queen did not only bury Affection, but her Power in the Tomb of *Eſſex*, who having the Love of the people would execute without fear any Command, which they wanting durſt not undertake: The cauſe *Cecil* thought it more prudence to rely upon the *promiſe of a Prince* his Father had made Motherleſs, than in the forgiveneſs of a multitude whoſe odium he had by many proceedings contracted; But eſpecially in being inſtrumental in the death of *Eſſex*, and thoſe hopeful young *Gentlemen* that loſt their lives and fortunes with him: Amongſt whom was Sir *Henry Lee*, for only wiſhing well to the three Earls in the *Tower*, and another executed in *Smithfield* for writing the news of their Apprehenſion to his Father that was out of *London*. But not to exceed the deſign of this piece which was not to aſperſe any, eſpecially one allied ſo nearly to my *Grand-Mother*, and a Family now rendered Illuſtrious by *two Earldoms* and a number of glorious Matches; I ſhall relate only *his* wiſe *Indeavours* to make *James* ſucceed, by whom he was courted with many *Letters*, and larger *promiſes* than, as I have heard, were ever performed, and other propoſals made, amongſt which was a *treaty of peace with Spain*, paſſionately deſired of the *Scotiſh King*, who by this grateful ſervice thought to muzle the mouths of the *Juſuits*, and to have his offers of *connivance* more ſecretly and ſucceſsfully preſented at *Rome*: and upon the ſame ſcore, *Tyrone's*

pardon

pardon was moved to the Queen, and though at first refuſed by her with high diſdain, yet after brought about for want of ſtrength and Counſel to oppoſe it. Nor was an Inquiſition after *the Will of Henry the* 8th omitted, which a *Curſitor* did about that time juſtifie he had inrolled, though then not to be found, having before been taken off the File by ſome as ſmall friends to the *Scottiſh title* as any other but their own; *Harford, Huntingtons &c.* being then riſe in every man's diſcourſe. But to avoid all ſemblance of triumph over a Right already under the weight of the ſevereſt misfortune: I ſhall conclude with *the moſt happy condition this unparallel'd Princeſs left the Kingdom of* England *in.*

25. It had *no conſiderable Enemy* beſides the *Catholick King*, And his power ſo maimed by the frequent blows received from her Maritime Militia, that he ſought peace in a poſture far below the uſual pride and Rhodomontado-gallantry of that Nation; apparent in the rich *Donatives* beſtowed on all about King *James* who were any way likely to farther or obſtruct it. As for the *wild Iriſh* (a term that age beſtowed on the *Rebels*) they were daily found dead in bogs and woods with graſs in their mouths, giving no farther trouble to the Engliſh Souldiers (at her death not numerous, many having quitted the imployment out of grief for their General) than to burn and ſpoil the Corn and other proviſions of the Natives; far eaſier done, than they overtaken in their *Faſtneſſes* and *Bogs*, impaſſable to our Army. The *French* were by obligation wound up at leaſt to a neutrality, if not in Policy bound to aſſiſt us in caſe the war had gone on with *Spain*: *Henry the fourth's* former *Defection*, though covered with a late formal *Converſion*, having yet not ſo ſtrongly eſtated him in the affection of *Rome* as to make him deſpiſe the Engliſh Alliance or exchange it for any in judgement leſs remote from the *Pope*: or in caſe of his

his death or forgetfulneſs ſhe had the *Hugonots* to friend, who in all walled Towns prayed for her in publick, owning her for little leſs than their Princeſs under the title of a *Protectreſs*. Though the *Dutch* were no leſs hers by Intereſt than Gratitude, yet leſt proſperity ſhould in a reſty humour ſtrain theſe cords, her hands were ſtrengthened by *Cautionary Towns*, which did not only bridle them, but abate much of the danger our Merchants were in from thoſe remaining under the Crown of *Spain*; Not ſo much recruited about this time by the reduction of *Oſtend* after three years ſiege, as weakened by the former loſs of *Sluce* in a far leſs conſiderable time. As for *Denmark*, *Sweden* and other Nations that ordinary calculation hath ſeated Eaſt of us, ſhe held good correſpondence with them, But lay obnoxious to no another inconveniences from them, than what ſhe ſuſtained by the Froſt, Snow and tedious weather the vicinity of their icy coaſts uſeth to infeſt more happy Climates withal.

26. Nor can ſhe appear leſs *Lovely*, *wiſe* and *Succeſsful at home*, to any that is able to fix his eyes upon ſo great a Radiancy as did compaſs the head of this Princeſs, without the dark viel of prejudice, not hitherto drawn from before the face of this nation by the viſible indeavours of many. Compariſons being apt to raiſe no leſs Odium at home than envy abroad. For through the ſeries of her Raign, ſhe kept *Parliaments*, the pulſe of this Nation, in ſuch a temper as no ſigns appeared either of *Anarchy* or *Tyrannical Oppreſſion*; her Government having been handed to the people with that ſweetneſs, that it was eſteemed of no leſs advantage to them, than their obedience brought honour to her: under whom the *Crown* remained in ſuch *credit*, as the *Exchequer* was eſteemed equal ſecurity with the *Exchange*; The Tellers of that Court being as ready to iſſue out moneys,

as

as thoſe that had Debentures were willing to receive it. And if any contrary practice ſince brings the truth of this into ſuſpence, let the Proverb *As ſure as Check* bayl me from the leaſt ſuſpicion of hyperbole. Her *Lands*, of which ſhe had a vaſt proportion, were loaden with *Timber* fit for all imployments, lying ready upon occaſion either to raiſe a *Navy*, or *Money* to pay Souldiers or Mariners. Nor was her *Treaſury* quite empty, or the Crown burdened with any conſiderable *debts*, but what a *Parliament* would without murmur have refunded; No cauſe of Jealouſie remaining in relation to an incroachment upon their liberty or eſtates, Since ſhe did not extend to the leaſt general prejudice her own unqueſtioned intereſt in the perquiſites of the Crown; So as her *Parks*, *Foreſts* and *Chaſes* were rather a relief than burthen to the Subject, it being then as rare to find a man of quality denied *Veniſon*, as to hear of one (if not too intemperate) puniſhed for ſtealing it. And as the *Juſtice in Oyer* was moderate in his Courts that related only to the preſervation of *Game*, So thoſe in *Weſtminſter-hall* were as careful to diſtribute Equity and Right: or if in her time ſome *Cuſhions* in *Chancery*, *Chequer*, and *Court of Wards* were taken with the *Moth of Corruption*, it was after her Inſpection failed her, for want of a contrary Faction truly to inform, and no propenſity in her Nature to protect ſuch courſes. The ordinary Plea uſed after, *of ſelling Dear, becauſe they bought ſo*, being void the moſt of her days; in which no viſible Bribes for Offices were offered or accepted but what reſulted from favour or deſert. The *Church* in her days lay not disfigured in the filth of profaneneſs, nor was it dawbed by the varniſh of Hypocriſie: *Ceremony* and *Sabbath* (the ordinary pretences for Sedition) being decently not rigidly commanded or obſerved. So as the wall-eyed blanchers at them were followed more out of reproach than approbation; And might have been ſo

ſtill,

ſtill, had not the State rendered them more conſiderable by their notice, than really they were: fondly imagining the *hatred* found in ſucceeding *Parliaments* to the *Papiſts* reſulted from a *Puritanical affection*; when it was for a long time in the moſt a fear of ſhaking the *titles of Abby Lands*, or a deſire to *free* the *Laity*, in all things temporal and mulctable, out of the hands of the *Church*; who about the ſetting of this glorious Planet became ſomething more red and ſevere, than ſuted with a Calling no better ſupported: For though zeal in the *Clergy* may bias men towards religious duties, yet it hath often been found ſo much to alter the gate of the Rable, as they have quite forſaken the end of all Profeſſions which is Obedience to God and their Governours, And inclined to more uncouth and deſtructive Opinions, than an open and unſuborned temper in Religion was ever yet found guilty of.

27. Thus I may have in part expiated for the *neglect* if not *malice* obſervable from the moſt *Relations* concerning *this Lady*; No leſs than vindicated my own *Gratitude*, (Whoſe *Grand-Father* and *Father* did both injoy a quiet, happy and plentiful fortune under her) though in a ſtile and method far below her merit, As beſt appears by the *Bonefires* and loud acclamations uſed ſtill by the people upon the day of her *Inauguration* The felicity of which was never ſince matched, nor have we had yet any cauſe to hope it will be, eſpecially during my Life, which began under this beloved Princeſs.

FINIS.

Traditional
MEMOIRES
ON
THE REIGN
OF
KING JAMES.

TO THE

READER.

SInce Age, *though ſomething early, hath now overtaken me, anticipated through a number of infirmities and no fewer diſcontents, it is not probable I ſhould go long unſerved by that fatal* Subpœna *we all are liable to through our Fathers concupiſcence, No leſs than a reciprocal neceſſity to leave elbow-room for our own, wherefore at preſent compelled by uſual, yet far leſs grateful diverſions, to put a* ſtop *upon the following* Diſcourſe (*which though defective and imperfect may not unpoſſibly be owned for* mine, *by ſuch as are well acquainted with the* Stile) *I take my ſelf obliged out of that tender reſpect, all naturally carry towards a fair* Repute, (*which will perhaps prove the argument of a time may happen many ages after*

mine is ſpent) *not to ſuffer it to come into the World* Speechleſs; *which I look upon as none of the leaſt misfortunes, however it may be reckoned amongſt the moſt innocent, The* Tongue *ſupplying the ſame place in* Man, *a* Sting *is found to do in a* Serpent. *Nor is it likely any thing ſo general as this, ſhould ſcape wounding by ſuch darts, which renders all indeavour to frame it a ſufficient Paſſport not only difficult, but meerly impoſſible: being quite diveſted of the patched coat of* Antiquity (*it not bearing ſo much as the facing of any others* Cuſtom *but my own*) *no leſs than the janglings of Novelties relating to Faith; whoſe apparitions and ſounds are only able to raiſe up the prick-eared attentions of theſe times, that neither regard the middle aged* Philoſophers, *nor ancient* Prophets, *farther than they are* (*like blind horſes*) *able to bring griſt to their own Mills: by whom* Tradition *is held and perſecuted for a Vagabond, Though the* Bible *it ſelf, that hath hung ſo long at their Girdles, as it is become an aſſiſtant to the Sword, had for ſome Centuries no better covering than this Ark; into which the generality do now not only profanely peep, but proclaim the retention of it an occaſion of all the Scabs and Emrods that do at this day and have long before* infeſted the Nation: *Though deducible out of Hiſtory and experience, that Unity was more pliant to the bond of Peace, and the Prieſts more ſteady in their Chairs,*

and

and not ſo apt to fall into Schiſms, and break their own necks, together with their Governors, before Tradition was taken Captive, and Hypocriſie had blinded the Strength of, &c. who though they did at firſt grinde the motly colours of ſuch as imployed them, they became in a ſhort time cunning enough to diſplay their own. Now if nothing might be regiſtered of wicked, effeminate and ill conſulted Princes, but things plauſible and tending to the fame of the dead, one of the chief reins of terrour and reſtraint would be quite let looſe to thoſe alive; the impartial Grave affording no more protection to their duſt, than the righteous Judge doth connivence to their Sins. From whence it may be concluded no leſs neceſſary (by reaſon of the greater and more general advantage accuring to the world from ſuch a ſplendid example) to diſſect and make inſpection into the defects of a dead King, or ruins of a tattered State, than for a Phyſician to anatomize a body whoſe life was through evil and extravagant courſes forfeited to the Law: by both which honeſt men may come to be cured, and Common-wealths better governed. I confeſs a huge blame is due to ſuch as manage their pens no leſs impertinently than clowns do their knives and hatchets, with which in lieu of other imployment, or for pure want of diſcourſe, they deface and whittle the ſacred graves and unqueſtioned fame of great perſons, upon no ſolider an account

than to fill Volumes, *though they relate to no more use but what the* Narrative *contains, without pointing either to* Imitation *or* Admonition, *the bulworks of Government; towards the advancement of which nothing can be so precious, as may not in manners and decency be imployed, whether relating to the fame or infamy of dead Princes; The omission of which would not only obstruct all the readers benefit and delight deducible meerly from truth and variety, but remove out of the Sphere of Majesty, hope, fear and shame of what may be censured of them after this life (all the reward and punishment the most think themselves capable of) by which they would be left only to the boundless and unsteady prosecution of chance, or the guidance of their own wills, not unlikely to prove as destructive to them and their issue, as burdensome to their people; It being* the duty of an Historian, *not only to better the present understanding, but to open a window into the future, by drawing the fairest Land-skip, and making the widest and farthest prospect into times past, his skill will give him leave; In which perhaps more art may be shown in discovering the Ditches, Boggs and Bushes, than the more lofty Mountains and Trees. And now, having so far as is necessary vindicated* Tradition (*the free School of Princes*) *where* moderation *may be learn'd from those that have fallen under a popular*

pular fury, and patience inculcated to all Subjects by the dear effects of Civil War, and the example of many that have caſt off one Tyranny and fallen into a worſe, not ſeldom their Portion, who hunt after change, I ſhall farther add that no Sound requires a more docile ear, nor an exacter attention, than that proceeding from the Trumpet of Fame; the jarrings of which, like other wind inſtruments, are not ſo diſcernable at any diſtance, as nearer hand; wherefore it Creates admiration in me, to find out what the compoſition of their humours may be, That impute it not only for a blemiſh to the Writer, but an undecent intruſion into the readers Harveſt, To inſert his own judgment, or the moſt probable Opinions of the Age wherein the Scenes of his ſtory were acted: Yet are heard daily to bewail the want of a more perfect knowledge of the cauſe why Sejanus fell from ſo great a height of felicity into ſo deep an abyſſe of miſery, with other like mutilations obſervable in the Records of Hiſtory, not capable of recovery by poſterity; an omiſſion not likely to reſult from any other neglect, than what the commonneſs of that knowledge did at the time of their writing breed in the Hiſtorians: whoſe induſtry can as hardly prove ſo impertinent to future ages (for whoſe ſake chiefly it is imployed) as it may appear perhaps ingrateful to

the present, where every one carries a Chronicle in his Mouth, or at least so much as may raise a cloud of contradiction strong enough for the time to immerge the greatest and exactest inquisition after the most useful and exemplary Truth: Since, though the Diseases *in* Bodies Politick, *are ordinarily recorded as to* matter of fact, *yet to set down the* manner *of their* cure, *and strengthen it with such a* defensive plaster, *as may for the future prevent falling into the like, will not be thought unworthy the labour of the* Historian, *and without which the* Politician *shall be little edified; who cannot pretend to a higher title than that of an Emperick, if he hath not been conversant (as the pretenders by their places to Reason of State are most commonly found) with other experiments than may be deduced out of the stories of* Antiquity, *wherein all Transactions (but what passed between* Greece *and* Rome) *had still one end of the Treaty supported by a people stiled* Barbarous. *Nor is it to be wondered at that the* Antients *should exceed the* Modern *in repute, though short in goodness; since the best construction is put upon their ambiguities, and their faults mended, and imputed not to the* Author *but* Transcribers: *whereas* Contemporaries *receive all rigor, few vouchsafeing to mend the*

errors of the Press; *And if any* Interpretation *be worse than other, he is sure to have it; Wherefore in case I dye before this be finished, if* Posterity *finds no Reason to wish it otherwise, I am sure the* Composer *shall not.*

THE

THE

PRINCIPAL HEADS

Of the following

MEMOIRES

On the Reign of

KING *JAMES.*

1. KIng James *the occaſion of his* Son's Ruine. 2. *The* Engliſh *diſguſt the Multitudes of* Scots *following him. How it might have been prevented.*

3. *How he ſtood affected at the News of* Queen Elizabeth's Death, *and his* Proclaiming *by the* Mayor of London,

London, *who were moſt earneſt for his* Reception, *and who propounded it might be with* Caution.

4. *A* Peace *made with* Spain,—*of what conſequences that Crown*——

5. —— *By what* Gifts *procured, and*——*The King's* Council *ſuborn'd.*

6. *The Lords* Cobham, Gray, *and* Sir W. Raleigh *indicted of* Treaſons. *The miſerable* death *of the firſt.*

7. Sr. W. Raleigh's Hiſtory *of the World: His* Guiana *voyage, his Trial, Condemnation, Execution and Character.*

8. Truce *made between* Spain *and the* Dutch; *The inconveniences thereof to that Republick, King* James's *Writings and Employment.*

9. *His Entry and Exit attended with great* Plagues.

10. *This ill condition the* Papiſts *lay in*——*may ſeem to have brought forth that Monſter* The Powder Plot.

11. *Conjectures what it's* Effects *might have been.*

12. Miracles *related of* Garnet—*his* Execution; *with the reſt of the* Conſpirators.

13. *The* Diſcovery, *reported as occaſion'd by the* Lord Morley (*Cecil's Artifice.*)

14.——*came from the* French King. *The* Spaniſh *flattering* Congratulation. *King* James's *Puſillanimity and ill practices; their effects.* Rome's *deſpair of regaining* England.

15. *The cauſes of the* French *King's Aſſaſſination.*

16. *The* Papiſts *indulg'd, and Puritans (unadviſedly) proſecuted. The* Conference *at* Hampton-Court; *It's inconveniences. By what ſteps the* Puritans *got up, and the* old Clergy *degenerated.*

17. *The* Engliſh *impoveriſhed by Exactions to enrich the* Scots. *King* James *his* Hunting Character. *His demeanour towards* Q. Anne; *Her* Picture.

18. *An*

18. *An Apology for an* Hiſtorian's *taking notice of* minute and low Circumſtantials.

19. *The King's Obligations to the* Earl of Northumberland *requited with the* Star-chamber. *That Court deſcribed.*

20. *The* Pauls-walking News-mongers——. *report* Northumberland (*who brought in King* James) *too* (*fatally*) *intimate with* P. Henry. Forteſcue's Rewards, *firſt for* Oppoſing *the King's Admiſſion* (*without Caution*) *and after for* Entertaining *him.*

21. *The* Puritans *denied a ſecond* Conference.

22. *A* Libel *on the* Scots——*Explained.*

23. ——*A Character of* Philip Earl of Mongomery; *How patiently he took his* Switching *by* Ramſy *at* Croydon (*which otherwiſe had produced a National Quarrel*) *How the* King *repaired* Philip's *loſt honour* (*An Animadverſion upon* Maſques.)——

24.——*His gallant Mother* the Counteſs of Pembroke's *reſentment. Her* Picture *and* Epitaph.

25. *The King's Fears make him baniſh* Ramſey. *His* debauching *the Engliſh.* Pembrok's *Wives deſcent.*

26. Sackvil *the only Engliſh man at* Croydon *that went to the* Scots *ſide, and why.*

27. Maxwel *lugg's* Hawly; *which had like to have engaged the* Greys-Inne *Gentlemen in a Quarrel,*——*taken up by* Bacon; *They entertain the King with a* Maſque, *and He them with a* Banquet: *Their Rudeneſs.*

28. Murry *kills a* Sergeant; and the *Lord* Zankor, *the Fencer* Turner: *Their* Sentence.

29. *Treaſurer* Cecil's *Artifice to ſtop* the *King's* profuſeneſs: *His Enmity to the* Earl of Eſſex, *and enclo-ſure of* Hatfield Chaſe, &c. *contract him the peoples* Hatred, *which vented in* Libels *after his* death; *The manner of*

of it. His Character. Baronets *his Project.* Crown-Timber (*wastfully*) *sold.*

30. *The Mischiefs wrought to this Nation by some of the worst of the* Scotish Lords, *as* Roxborow, Fenton, Carlisle, Dunbar, Kelly, Somerset; *The rise of the first last.*

31. *The King's design for the* Union *eagerly carried on,* ——— *proved abortive in the* Parliament.

32. — *Attempted again in the* Star-chamber *by the* Lawyers *upon the account of* Prerogative, ——— *unsuccessfully.*

33. Objections *made in* Parliament *against it.*

34. Knight-hood *made cheap.* ———

35. *The occasion of* Baronets ——— *to the ruine of many Families.*

36. *Other* Honours *sold* ——— *partially.*

37. *The English doat on* P. Henry, —— *how justly examined.*

38. *His* Virtues *draw* Love *from the People, and the raises* (*fatal*) Jealousie *in the King. The unhappy condition of Princes. His* Death.

39. King James *ill-attended, and why.* Carlisle's *Excess,* Ante-Suppers —*his invention. The King's* Favourites *censured,* ———

40. *How the* E. of Holland *left that Place.*

41. Gowry's *Conspiracy, and the* Mock-Holy-day *for it.*

42. *Treasurer* Buckhurst's *remarkable* death: *His* Character.

43. *The* L. Elizabeth's Marriage *with the* Palsgrave ——— *general liked: Why the K. consented to so poor a Match. Her* Vertues *and* Misfortunes.

44. *Conjectures about the* Palsgrave's *affairs.*

45. Prince Henry's *encouraging his Attempts.*

46. *The*

46. *The Battail of* Prague *loſt through his Covetouſneſs.*

47. Weſton *farthers the* Elector *and his* Lady's *eſcape to the* Hague.

48. *Many* Papiſts *true to their truſt*: *Of* Count Mansfeld. *The* Cloſe *of the firſt Part.*

Some

Some Traditional

MEMORIALS

On the Reign of

KING *JAMES.*

1. THE *Misfortunes* of King *Charles*, Son to King *James*, with the uncouth, dismal and unexpressible calamities that happened thereupon, appear yet so great a Sacrifice in the Opinions of all interested by loss, or suborned by that natural propensity inherent in the most to expunge or palliate the Lapses of unhappy Princes (whose indulgence is not seldom so diffusive as to expiate for the faults of those standing in a far remoter relation than that of a Father) that they have hitherto stopped my Pen from making any farther progress this way; Till, led on by a zeal to truth, and illuminated from the brighter Judgements of others, I found not only the Imprudent *Commissions*, but voluntary *Omissions* of King *James* so much instrumental

in the promotion of our present evils, as it may justly be said, He, like *Adam*, by bringing the Crown into so great a Necessity through a profuse prodigality, became the original of his Son's *fall*: who was in a manner compel'd to stretch out his hands towards such gatherings and *Taxes*, as are contrary to Law: by which he fell from the *Paradise* of a Prince, to wit, The *heart* of his people.

2. For though the best Politicians extant might miscarry in their caculation of a *Civil war* immediately to follow upon the death of Queen *Elizabeth*, in vindication of the number of *Rules* and Opinions then current: Yet the *laggard rabble* attending his Majesty not only at his first coming out of *Scotland*, but through his whole Raign (like a fleeht spring) found still crossing the River of *Tweed*, did so far justify the former conjecture, as it was only thought mistaken in relation to time. The dreadful Symptoms of that war presaged, still impending *England*, and the nearer approach manifested in the discontent that appeared in all places and amongst every Society, to the very Court it self, in whose opinion no less than the generality, his too palpable *partiality towards his Country-men* rendered him no higher place than of a *King-in-law*, not a Prince of any Natural affections to the people of this Nation. So as his more wise and innocent Successour was cast upon this unhappy choice, either to hazard the fidelity of his *Scotch* Subjects, by Obstructing this bounty; or that of the *English*, at whose cost alone it could be continued. All which might easily have been at first prevented (and perhaps no less to the King's advantage than the peoples) had the same caution the *Parliament* exacted from *Philip* of *Spain*, been taken from *James* of *Scotland*; a Nation no less distant from the English in Nature and affection.

3. In the prosecution of which, or any thing else relating to this King, I shall avoid all unnecessary *severity*, and observe more duty and respect, than may possibly be thought due, by posterity, to the Person of a Prince, that (after so exact a pattern as Queen *Elizabeth* left him) did, by debauching *Parliaments* and breaking his word, so far irritate, no less than impoverish the Subject, as his Son was forced to give concession to one rendred indissolvable but by their own will: a mischief could never have befallen *England*, had *King James* left them in the same temper he found them at the *death* of the *Queen*. The news of which was brought him first (as I have heard) by *Cary*, after Lord *Lepington*, and since Earl of *Monmouth*: who not able to satisfie such a concourse of doubts and questions, as far more resolute natures than his do dayly muster up on less occasions, The King stood as in a maze, being more affected through the fear of Opposition, than pleased with the present report; Till by a later Post he was advertised of his being joyfully *Proclaimed* in *London* by the *Lord Major* and *Aldermen*, And of the unquestioned reception his Title in all places met with; No less than that the Hopes of some, and Fears of the Major part, assisted by the prudent carriage of the *Treasurer*, and ranting protestations of the *Earl of Northumberland* (that in all places vapoured he would bring him in by the sword) had stopped their Mouths that desired (in regard of the known feud between the Nations) he might be obliged to *Articles*: And amongst these noble and publique Spirits was Sr. *John Fortescue*, Sr. *Walter Raleigh*, the *Lord Cobham*, &c. All frowned upon after by the King, who had yet the luck to live so long as to change his Opinion, and (when he found he neither durst do it himself, nor consent to it in Parliament) to wish his Countrymens numbers had been limited, and

not suffered like locusts to devour this Kingdom; from whence they became so rich and insolent, as nothing with any moderation could either be given or denied them; The result of an Omission no blood could expiate, but that of the greatest victim ever sacrificed since Christ in so ignoble a way.

4. He held his thoughts so intent upon *ease* and *Pleasure*, That to avoid all interruption likely to impede any part of the felicity he had possessed his Imagination with from the *union* of these Crowns, And to set an example for his Neighbours imitation, whom he desired to bring into the like resolution; He cast himself as it were blind-fold into *a Peace with Spain*, far more destructive to *England* than a war: For it hath not only found that Prince an opportunity to recover his strength (much abated by the Queens most happy successes at Sea) But gave him a fair advantage to establish himself in the Kingdom of *Portugal*, and quiet the distempers of his own people, that were, ever since the expulsion of the *Moors* (to whom a Major part of the Subjects, together with their language, is undoubtedly allied) much perplexed at the cruelty of the *Inquisition*, and so upon all opportunities ready to call them back from the *Barbary* shore: Which could not have been so happily accomplished, but during so still a peace as the new reconciliation of the *French King* with the *Pope*, and pusillanimous temper of Kings *James* did at that present afford him, and without which it had not been uneasie for a far weaker neighbour to have tormented him in the bowels of his own estate, by the least fomentation they could have used.

5. And as this *Peace* was of infinite consequence to the *Spaniard*, so he spared for no *cost to procure it*: And to prevent the inserting any Article that might obstruct his recourse to, or from the *Indies* (the Magazine of strife) either on this side or beyond the *Line* (Thought by

by the English Commissioners not included, however the contrary was after pretended, and no farther disputed by K. *James* than with patience and a quiet submission of his Subjects to their sense, not rarely punishing such as transgrest, at their coming home) he presented all, both *Scotish* and *English* with *Gifts*, And those no small ones; for by that the *Earl of Northampton*, brother to *Suffolk*, had, he was alone able to raise and finish the goodly Pile he built in the *Strand*, which yet remains a Monument of his &c. Nor are there a few others no less brave houses fresh in my memory, that had their foundations if not their walls and roofs plaistered with the same Morter; Though out of my will to name, who had rather be condemned by posterity that are not likely to hurt me for this Modesty, than expose my self to the mercy of the age I have the fortune to live in, by making my pen over-familiar with my thoughts; Since after times may better spare the knowledge of many things, than we reveal them; only this I shall add as no improbable conjecture made by many in those days: That *his Catholick Majesty* was so frighted by the apprehension of a possibility that *our King*, according to the nature no less than the obligation of his *Country*, might fall into a conjunction with *France*, That he would scarce at that time have denied him any thing, to the half of his *Indies*. And from hence all Princes may calculate the vast difference that lies between a Counsel suborned and one free from corruption.

6. At his assumption to the Throne, the *Lord Gray*, *Lord Cobham* and Sir. *Walter Raleigh* (professed Enemies to the late *Earl of Essex*, and no weak instruments in his destruction) fell into a *Treason* of a like depth with his; and so improbable to hurt others, or benefit themselves, That if ever folly was capable of the title, or pity due to Innocence, theirs might

claim ſo large ſhare, As not poſſible to be too ſeverely condemned, or ſlightly enough puniſhed. Yet as ſhallow as it was, the *Lord Gray* could never wade through it, but died in the Tower, Though *Cobham* did, but to ſuch a liberty as only afforded him the choice of a place to ſtarve in, all his land being formerly confiſcate and begg'd; So as my ſelf heard *William Earl of Pembroke* relate with much regret towards him (though in his life his oppoſer, in exaſperating the old Queen againſt him in relation to a juvenile lapſe, for which he was by her committed to the *Fleet*) That he died in a room aſcended by a ladder, at a poor womans houſe in the *Minories*, formerly his Landereſs, rather of hunger, than any more Natural diſeaſe. Thus miſerable was his Fate, in meeting with a Prince ſo inconſiderately profuſe to Strangers, that he forgot the owner, not leaving him wherewithal to buy bread; an impiety not found amongſt Infidels, who ever deemed it leſs injuſtice to take away life, than the means to maintain it, Which may one day inſpire a *Parliament* with ſo much wiſdom, as to abate the rigor of the Law in relation to the Poſterity of Criminals, who are in this particular dealt withal contrary to the decree of God and Nature, who ſaith, *the perſon offending ſhall only dye*, and no puniſhment deſcend to the innocent Children: found the occaſion of much miſchief, eſpecially to men of honour and eſtates by affording a wide and legal pretence for malice and Tyranny to expatiate in; Manifeſted in that prodigious *Parliament*; and might have been eaſily redreſſed, had not their frequent Purgations left them no other humor but what related to continuance and ſelf intereſt; contrary to the nature of that Court, which ought not to be perpetual; who in the Decollation of Monarchy, cut off all hope of bettering the miſerable condition of the Engliſh Subject.

7. As

7. As for *Raleigh*, none ever inloy'd Inlargment worse, that knew so well how to advantage himself and his Country in Imprisonment: For during his tedious Lying in the Tower (under the jealousie rather then Justice of *King James*, who did so far participate of the humour of a pusillanimous Prince, as to pardon any sooner than those injured by himself) He was delivered of that Minerva, *the History of the old world*: which Travel of his Brain proved more successful, than that of his Body, to discover a new one, in that unhappy Voyage to *Guinea*, in which his Son with a number of other Gentlemen were lost and undone, and he exposed to the Spanish Cruelty, who about that time begun to dazle the weaker eyes of King *James* with the contemplation of a *Match*, between our Prince and that Kings Sister, to whom Sr. *Walter* had rendered himself suspected, no less than he had formerly disobliged the *Treasurer Cecil*, by obstructing, to the farthest extent of his power, a Peace, through his mediationpropounded in the very shutting in of Q. *Elizabeth*'s days: which was not only the cause of his Arraignment long before and carried on so fiercely by *Attorney Cook* and other dependers on the Treasurer, at *Winchester*, but of the order upon this occasion sent, though long after, to *Gondamor* the Spanish Agent, vigorously to demand the head of *Raleigh* for an assault made by him on his Masters *Indies*: A Head of more weight to our Court (especially in that dearth of wisdom then raging) than the *Infanta* could be, Notwithstanding the most general no less than the least suspected reports made her alone owner (though small in Stature) of the greatest Beauty, Virtue, Gallantry and Prudence that were at that day extant in womankind. But as the foolish Idolaters were wont to Sacrifice the choicest of their Children to the Devil, the common enemy of Humanity; so our King gave up this incomparable

jewel to the will of this Monſter in Ambition, under the pretence of a ſuperannuated Tranſgreſſion; Contrary to the opinion of the moſt honeſt ſort of Gowanmen, who maintained that his Majeſties pardon lay incluſively in the Commiſſion he gave him upon his ſetting out to ſea: It being incongruous, that he who remained under the notion of one *Dead in Law*, ſhould as a General diſpoſe of the lives of others, not being himſelf Maſter of his own: But the Spaniſh Faction then abſolute at Court, and ſole managers of the Kings power, no leſs than his Juſtice, did ſo far tender *his Catholick Majeſties* full ſatisfaction in the procuring his death, the only man of note left alive that had helped to beat them in the year 1588. that no abſurdity lying in the way of his proſecution could deter them from making uſe of his former Condemnation: Remembring withal how far his wit had puzled them at *Wincheſter*, That though his Judges were willing enough to deſtroy him there, yet they did rather tire him out of his Life, by the bawling of the Kings Counſel on one ſide, and the Benches inſiſting upon a confeſſion extorted from the *Lord Cobham* out of fear, (who being in the ſame Condemnation could but make a circumſtance, no creature elſe averring it) than convince him: ſome of his Jury being after he was Caſt, ſo far touched in Conſcience, as to demand of him Pardon on their Knees; which made it the leſs probable they ſhould be able to impanel one ſo wicked as would do it then. Beſides, *no peace beyond the Line* was a belief ſo riveted in the Opinions of all, as he could not have been Indicted a new, without the Kings producing of the original Articles, by which his accuſers would have been convinced of malice, or his Prince of folly. He was *Captain of the Guard to Queen* Elizabeth, *Warden of the Cinque Ports, firſt diſcoverer of*

that

that new Plantation which in honour of his Miſtris he named *Virginia*. But above all, of ſo incomparable a dexterity in his Judgement, as the Treaſurer, (who had already, by an univerſal compliance with the King and his Countrymen, purchaſed the Monopoly of his favour) grew jealous of his excellent parts, leſt he ſhould ſupplant him. And this was the firſt cauſe of his bringing to that Trial, from whence *Gondamor* and our Eſpaniolized Engliſh took this laſt advantage to cut off his head: which *Edward Wimark* the *Pauls-walker* wiſhed upon Sr. *Robert Nantons* Shoulders, one of the Secretaries of State, who conſcious of the need he had of ſuch good parts, convented him for it, but without any better ſucceſs than making himſelf ridiculous; yet had he or his maſter owned ſo much underſtanding as witty *Wimark* meant that made the wiſh, we ſhould not have found ſuch cauſe to complain now of his *Sons evil Counſel*; leſt him by deſcent from *King James*, That gave this fatal blow, not poſſibly then to be ſeconded by ſuch another, Made ſo much the heavier becauſe procured at the ſute of an Enemy.

His death was by him managed with ſo high and religious a reſolution, as if a Roman had acted a Chriſtian, or rather a Chriſtian a Roman: So as amongſt the number that contributed to the deſtruction of the *Earl of Eſſex*, none but he died pityed. Which *King James* finding, he according to the Mode of weak and ill-conſulted Princes, ſet forth in print a *Declaration*, which according to the ordinary ſucceſs of ſuch Apologies, rendered the condition of that proceeding worſe in the worlds opinion: It begins thus,

Though I take my ſelf bound to give no other account of my actions but to God; yet, &c.

8. By his Majesties example, no less than perswasions, the States of the *United Provinces* (not knowing to which side this new Prince would propend) were induced to a *Truce with Spain* for twelve years. Who before, and since most successfully resisted that King in defence of *Liberty*; A felicity due to man by birth-right, and uncapable of forfeiture but to the wrath of God, that doth not seldom convert it into Tyranny, after a general declension into licence and oppression, Through which Senators grow so rich as they are tempted to Ambition: Through few beside them have had the dexterity to gain their *Freedom*, or skill to keep it when fortune did fairly present them with it; yet ordinarily exercised in all Corporations: Men in Government resembling Horses, that are far less ranting, and easier brought to an even temper, being link'd together in a Team, than single in a Chariot, as over tickled with the Trappings of pride and honour: Therefore more unanimous in war than peace; unlikely then, as now, to produce to the *Netherlands* any greater advantage than a confession of a *Right*, theirs before in possession, By treating them in an equal degree of honour with other Princes and Free States. For in this Truce was hatched the *Conspiracy of Barnavelt*, the *Faction of the Arminians*, and so many other evil humours contracted, as have given them ever since a full imployment to correct and evaporate. The contexture of this kind of Government being so delicate and mathematical, That, as it is least capable of error, so if one chance to creep in (as possibly may by *too long indulging of a Family*) it doth hazard, if not unravel the whole web. To conclude, they are not in my experience or reading parallel'd, by any people besides themselves in This, To become rich by a defensive war. The *Swiss*, though owners of brave actions, are yet

yet ſo far their Punies in the learning of trade, That whilſt the one out of plenty is able to hire aſſiſtance of their Neighbours, The other out of meer neceſſity are become the Cudgels with which the reſt of the world do upon all occaſions beat one another. All which conſidered might raiſe an Uſe of Inſtruction to *England*, not unfurniſhed with as good Mariners, No leſs than one of Example to *Venice*: who might, if ſhe looked within and without, find people enough to make them, were they cured of the Trembling of the heart, a diſeaſe perhaps incident to all *Republicks* not founded in Arms. But in a venerable reverence to the Ghoſts of *Lipſius*, Sir *Henry Savil*, *Strada*, and other bold Authors, that arraign *Tacitus* for his Digreſſions no leſs than Stile; who have no doubt raiſed ſo numerous an iſſue to their judgements as may hereafter ſacrifice theſe leaves to a like Cenſure; I ſhall return to K. *James*, who had far worſe *Books* (ſaid, and no doubt truly, to be of his writing) as intemperately on the other ſide praiſed by flatterers; which elated his imagination to ſo high an eſteem of his Wiſdom, that he out of an impertinent emulation was thought to affect Sir *Walter Raleigh*, the leſs becauſe of the great repute that follow'd him for his excellent Pen: ſo as after much ſcorn caſt upon it, being modeſtly demanded, what fault he found, he anſwered as one ſurpriſed, *that he ſpake irreverently of King* Henry *the eighth*: which could not be the natural cauſe, though firſt in his *apprehenſion*, ſince none ever exclaimed more againſt that Prince, than uſually he did. But however, this is very notorious, that he dedicated rainy weather to his Standiſh, and fair to his Hounds, or any thing elſe that owned the voice of pleaſure; which was through the whole ſeries of his Government more acceptable,

than

than any profit or conveniency might accrue to his people.

9. At his first coming he was long detained from *Westminster* by a *Plague*, looked upon as the greatest, till exceeded in that which broke out after his death; Taken by the ill boding English for a presage of worse days than they had already seen: the good Government of *Queen Elizabeth* not being in probability likely to bear the charges (without falling into some destructive Commotion) of two such expensive Princes in Succession, without having one more popular to intervene.

10. After the *Peace*, of too near concernment to his *Catholick Majesty* to afford him leasure to imagine, much less to insert so rugged an Article as the performance of any *Promise* our King had made before his reception, in case the *Papists* did not oppose, (which I have found registered by many, and is high as amounted to a *Toleration* at least) he observed in prudence it could not be conceded by this new King, however he stood affected in his desires, having so many of his Subjects Protestants, for one of the Roman Profession: And being besides, no more zealous than other Princes, that make use of Religion only for a fence to immure their Persons and Prerogative, But esteem it a meer accident when Reason of State drives on a bargain without it; He left the poor *Catholicks* in the wide field of the *Scotish* Cruelty, who did daily beg, sell or exchange such as preferred conscience before unreasonable Compositions, remaining obstinate in their Recusancy, which, in this excessive extremity some either were so far indulged by others, or themselves, as to take their estates off from this Scotch hook, did about this time go to Church. Whilst *King James* stood so amazed at his present felicity, that the fleecing his

his Subjects did ſeem to concern him no more, than it doth the love-ſick Bridegroom to loſe all his Gloves, Ribbands, Garters and Points to the very ſingle one that keeps all from *&c.* For though the frequent Petitions of theſe plundred people, no leſs than the recommendations of Miniſters of foreign States might for the preſent incline his heart (which in its own nature was not cruel) to commiſeration: yet upon a lively repreſentation of that Northern *Puppit-play*, whoſe Scenes they lay in the Church of *Rome*, pretending the leaſt candor uſed to theſe *Canaanites* would call his Mothers ſins to a new remembrance, and ſo conjure up the ſpirit of Rebellion, againſt which there can be no apter Sacrifice than the retainers to that Community, which beautifies the veſtries of *Scotland*, *&c.* in the ſhape of a Beaſt *&c.* which once heard interpreted by a curtailed Divine, he either durſt not or would not abate this rigor, But rather increaſed their deſpair by daily threats of worſe, and Invectives owned as written by himſelf, which though ſome might conſider as too Theatrical to be real, yet others not ſo well vers'd in his Majeſties Royal craft, And having poſſibly beſides been ſwallowed by one of theſe Harpies, that like Cormorants will retain the prey 'till their throats be cut, may be excuſed in part, if finding their hopes deluded they fell into deſpair, eſpecially hearing the unceſſant cry made by the *Commons* in the houſe of *Parliament* for a freſh ſupply of *Laws* againſt Recuſants, and all that lay but under the leaſt notion of a Popiſh affection; which was a latitude ſome extended as far as *Prelacy*, others bounded it very little on this ſide *Anabaptiſm*: Though they ſaw them daily thrown into a den of Scotchmen, which the Court did already ſo naturally reſemble, as nothing made penal

by

by Law either in Church or Common-weal, but wa
by the King granted to his Country-men, and by them
exacted to the uttermoſt farthing. Many in the mean
time venting their ſpleen (capable of better imploy-
ment)in Libels and Songs, of one of which I remember
two lines at this time, and may do more hereafter.

In Scotland he was born and bred,
And though a Beggar, muſt be fed.

This made the *Papiſts* look about them, not a lit-
tle terrified to ſee the King turn his *Quill* (the ſharpeſt
weapon he handled throughout his whole Reign)
againſt the *Pope*. And though they had fairer Cards
at that time to ſhew for their Opinions (by reaſon of
the Biſhops and more politick Clergy, who began now
to find no head ſo likely to ſupport them, as one na-
turally iſſuing out of their own body, being in this ſin-
gle condition, likely no longer to ſubſiſt, than found
neceſſary to the temporal power) than they were
able to draw during the days of the Queen: Yet
they wanted patience to attend their better for-
tune, which no time ſince the diſſolution of the *Abbies*
(King *James* holding, *No Biſhop no King*, for as real an
Article in the Myſtery of *Monarchy*, as they did *No Ce-
remony no Biſhop*, in that of the *Hierarchy*) was more
likely to have brought about, had they not manifeſted
ſuch foul play, as an indeavour *to blow up the* Houſe
of *Parliament*, a Treaſon of ſo bloudy an intendment,
that it almoſt appears a fiction to us that ſaw it,
though two of the *heads* of the Conſpirators, *Catesby*
and *Percy* (if not ſince removed, and others ſet in
their places, as I have been told) remain ſtill on the
Houſe of Lords to witneſs it; ſome Prieſts having dis-
vowed any ſuch thing in Print beyond Sea, where I my
ſelf was asked the ſame Queſtion : And ſuch a
wan

want impudence to deny it, do yet only acknowledge it for the ſingle attempt of ſome few diſcontented ſpirits, rendered deſperate through the heavy affliction they then lay under: all their hopes being loſt in the neglects of the Kings of *Spain* and *England*. The firſt remaining as careleſs of his Faith, as the other did of the performance of his word, though *Garnet* their Arch-prieſt was one, and about that time Prayers and Faſts appointed to be uſed by thoſe Romiſhly affected throughout this whole Realm.

11. I never met two of a like conceit, concerning any *effect* or *extent* this powder might have reached, had it not failed of ſucceſs: ſince one did confine it (who pretended to have been aſſiſting at the ſpringing of divers Mines) to the Circle it lay in, and no farther than to the ſhaking of the contiguous buildings: whereas the Judgments of others no leſs experienced, delivered at leaſt the whole Iſle to the fury of it: but the *Lord Wilmot* did in my mind offer the moſt probable conjecture (who had ſeen a like quantity of Powder fired upon a Wharf in *Dublin*) that by reaſon of the weight and ſtraightneſs of the Vault which would have given it all leiſure to kindle, it could not but have wrought dire effects upon the City it ſelf; ſince the other did no leſs, though it had no narrower Arch to reſtrain it than that of Heaven. This I am ſure of, that it had overwhelmed Church and State; a Conſpiracy dragged out of Hell, nay worſe than the Devil himſelf, for he ſeeks to preſerve his own; whereas this paſſed by few of the ſame Profeſſion, many known *Papiſts* then ſitting in the *Houſe of Lords*, beſides other private ones, that were mingled amongſt the *Commons*. Happy for us that may ſafely gheis at the conſequence, and are by ſpecial mercy of Almighty God removed from the

the danger: It having been very unlikely for our *Family* to escape, since at that very time my *Father* maintained Mr. *Thomas Brightman* under his roof. Yet let me justifie the charity of these Underminers so far, as to say they only intended in their calculation the destruction of the *House of Lords*, unless Report was found more charitable than they.

12. Here, as in most Conspiracies of like composition, the former mentioned *Priest* was a principal Ingredient; of whom after his death they reported Wonders, as that the perfect *effigies* of his Face remained in the Straw used to dry up the blood on the Scaffold; but all the miracle I could observe was the Prodigiousness of the attempt, who have had some of those Straws in my hands, yet could observe no more than by imposing upon my Imagination (first prompted through others report) I found, as may be in all Straws else, the resemblance of a Beard, and something Fancy was at that time apt to cast into the mold of a Face, being formerly suborned by the general Opinion: Yet these no doubt are sold and pass at this day for *Reliques*, as I know they did 20 years after, and he for a holy Saint. From whence we may judge at the Original, no less than validity of divers at this day current amongst us; such false coin being in some judgments absolved from all tincture of corruption due to deceit, by the profit and reverence they procure to commerce: as if God had so poorly provided for his honour, as to want the weak supporters of Falshood and Credulity; since what he could say in excuse of Treason (which he professed always to abhorr) was, that it came to his knowledge under the seal of Confession. He was executed at the West Gate of Saint *Pauls*, having the favour only to hang till he

he was dead; the reſt being uſed too cruelly, as may be thought by all that remove their eyes never ſo little from the merit of the Cauſe.

13. The *Diſcovery* appeared no leſs admirable than the Treaſon, to ſuch as took the printed Report for Authentick, *That a Letter was ſent to* the Lord Morley, *and from him to his Majeſty, &c.* a neat device of the *Treaſurer's* to fetch him in, to whoſe eſtate or perſon, if not both, he had a quarrel. *He* being very plentiful in ſuch Plots, writing a Book a little after, wherein to magnifie his zeal to Religion, and the State, he publiſhed a *Libel* where they threaten to kill him, with a well penned *Anſwer*; both thought to ſmell of the ſame In's. All which he did to recover the love of the People, forfeited by the hate he expreſſed to their Darling *Eſſex*, and the deſire he had to render Juſtice and Prerogative Arbitrary. But he that follows this track too far may poſſibly fall into the ſnare of Power.

14. I never found any ſignal favour or reſpect given from the Court to the Lord *Morley*, which renders their conjecture the more probable who did report as from the *French Ambaſſadour* then reſident, that the firſt intimation of the *Powder Treaſon* came from his *Maſter*, who received it from the *Jeſuites* of his Faction, to the end he might ſhare in our ruines; the Kingdom of *England* being in the *Pope's* own Judgment too great an addition to that of *Spain*, where though it was firſt coined (ſome ſay during the days of Queen *Elizabeth*) yet the Prieſts that undertook the promoting it, ſought to render it the moſt beneficial they could to their reſpective Patrons. And here I cannot omit that after this happy Diſcovery, his *Catholick Majeſty* ſent an Agent on purpoſe to *Congratulate King James* his great preſervation. A flattery ſo palpable, as the

Pope could not refrain laughing in the face of *Cardinal D' Offat* when he first told it him; nor he forbear to inform his King of it, as may be found in his printed Letters: it being notorious that at King *James* his first assumption to the Throne of *England*, none sought his destruction more cordially than the *Spaniard*; 'till a continued tract of Experience had fully acquainted him with his temper, and the impossibility of perswading him to form any League with *France* or other Christian Prince against him. Nor was our King himself backward in fomenting this Innocent Opinion amongst his Neighbours, but did as soon as he could possibly by neglecting the Royal Ships, and casting contempt upon all formerly in Military Imployment (the Wings, Nails, and Teeth of the Nation) testifie to the World he meant to spoil no people of their Honour, Lands, Felicity, Goods, or Laws, but those all Princes celebrated for wisdom and gallantry think themselves tied in nature to preserve: by which he entailed misery upon his succession, and without the more mercy of God eternal slavery to, &c. For by penning up the English Valour, and opening the fountains of honour, with a succession of neglect cast upon the *Nobility* and *Commons* in their Representatives, by denying them their reasonable demands, or deluding them after his Royal assent given, by going contrary to what was enacted; these practices put him upon such low shifts, that he at last having rendred himself uncapable of trust, did descend to have the mony given by the *Parliament*, deposited in the hands of Commissioners; out of which he did notwithstanding after force it, according as his impertinent expences demanded supplies. Nor was he more steady in his compacts with foreign Princes who in a small time became so well acquainted, with his Complexion, that his promise did not incite them either to

to hope or fear, or raiſe in any of them the Paſſions of Love or Hatred. And this is one of the Reaſons then given, why *the moſt Chriſtian King* did ſo far indulge his preſervation, as to advertiſe him of the former Conſpiracy, leſt he ſhould exchange *Herb John* for *Coloquintida*. Another, but in my Opinion (though ſtrongly preſt by his Miniſters) a very weak one, (for what obligation can reſtrain a Prince that ſees an advantage before him) was the favours received from hence during the League: But the moſt probable was the advantage *Spain* was likely to make of it, firſt, by reaſon he had an Army then ready in *Flanders* to land in the huge miſt ſo black a cloud muſt needs have cauſed over the Nation. Nor can *his Holineſs* himſelf look upon our ruine with any affection; *England* being of too great a conſequence to fall under any other juriſdiction ſave her own, but to ſuch an exceſs as may hazard his obedience: Many things being now ſuffered in relation to the fear of others, which would not in a full plentitude of power be conceded out of Love; beſides, experience hath ſufficiently informed the *Conſiſtory*, that Church-Lands are not only unraveled, but ſo weaved into the eſtates of the Laity, as not to be capable of ſeparation by any Converſion or other heat than ſuch a zeal as firſt refunded them out of the hearts of Converts, and ſtamped upon them an impreſs of Merit; not likely to be kindled amidſt ſuch knowledge as Printing hath inſpired *Europe* withal, and by which ſo ſtrict a watch is kept over what is dubious, as nothing can quietly paſs without ſuch a warrant from Reaſon, as the Clergy have in no Age been yet able to produce. Wherefore their hopes are in a manner buried as to the profits of *England*, and by conſequence chilled from any vigorous proſecution farther than concerns *his Holineſs*'s Honour, in

seeming to desire the preservation of those *Catholicks* that remain: And this did not only facilitate the entrance of King *James*, but might occasion the discovery of the Plot; Which done to some Prince had drawn death or banishment upon them all; for at the bottom or top, either by Contribution or Prayers, the Lawers would not have stuck to find them all guilty: so as he then wanted not perswasions to banish them. But his complection being more flegm than choler, *He* only suffered the *Parliament* to sharpen Laws against them, that they might be the more obliged to him for stopping their execution; it being the general opinion of the Court, that after this he was more tender of their preservations, they attaining by fear what no pity nor policy could procure.

15. To conclude, whosoever revealed this Conspiracy, it cost, as I have often been told, the *King of France* his Life, not only by questioning the truth of his Conversion, but did raise so high a suspicion of the immense Treasure and mighty Army he had with no less industry than secresie gotten together (not one living owning to this day the knowledg of his design) in the hearts of *Spain* and *Rome*, as they procured his death: his freedom to the King of *England* rendring this silence the more suspected.

16. Now to take off the Subjects eyes from observing the Indulgency used by King *James* in behalf of the *Papists*, whom though he had no cause to love, he found reason enough to fear; a Quarrel was revived, (now almost asleep, because it had long escaped Persecution, the Bellows of Schism) with a People stiled *Puritans*, who meeting no nearer a definition than the name, all the conscientious men in the Nation shared the contempt. Since under that general term were comprehended not only those brainsick fools as did oppose the Discipline and Ceremonies

Ceremonies of the Church and made Religion an Umbrella to Impiety, but such as out of meer honesty refrained the Vices of the Times were branded by this Title; weaved of such a fashion, as it became a covering to the wicked, and no better than a Fools coat to men truly conscientious. Neither was any charged with it, though in the best relation, thought competent for preferment in Church or Common-weal; which made the bad glory in their Impiety, and such as had not an extraordinary measure of grace ashamed of any outward profession of sanctity. Court Sermons were fraught with bitter Invectives against these people whom they seated in a Class far nearer the confines of *Hell* than Papists; Yet the wisest durst not define them. The King called them *Protestants scared out of their wits*; others, *Lovers of God, and haters of their neighbours* Foolish and insignificant expressions: For had they held them to the names of Hypocrites, known and abominated by all, they would have been buried in contempt, and not risen, as since they have done, to the perpetual detriment of Church and state. But the breadth and newness of the name, together with the colour it hath, did not only delight and cover all that cheated under a pretence of Sanctity, but stifled the seeds of goodness; so as probity was obstructed by deceit in the general commerce, and Religion the guard of propriety rendred useless if not destructive to humane society.

Thus hath the Devil quenched (for what was but a Rivulet then, is now swelled to a Land-flood) that zeal with Hypocrisie, and its concomitants Shame and Reproach, which in my Fathers days resisted the Flames of the hottest persecution: For to avoid an imputation of *Puritanism* (a greater rub in the way to preferment, than vice) our Divines for the generality did sacrifice more time to *Bacchus* than *Minerva*; and being excellent Company, drew the most

ingenious Laity into a like excess: And for their ordinary Sudies, they were School points and passionate expressions; as more conversant with the *Friars* than the *Fathers*, scorning in their ordinary discourse at *Luther* and *Calvin*, but especially at the last, so as I have heard a Bishop *thank God he never* (though a good Poet himself) *had read a line in him or* Chaucer. The same used this simile in a Sermon at Court, *That our Religion, like the Kings Arms, stood between two Beasts, the Puritan and Papist*, which perhaps admitted of a better construction than he meant, the last being like the *Lion*, easily known; but the first suitable to an *Unicorn*, never seen but in Painting. Nor was this Schism any ways dangerous, till King *James* (more it may be thought out of ostentation, to shew such parts as are nothing necessary, than Reason of State, only requisite in a Prince) made it considerable, by putting it in competition with the Doctrine generally profest, in a *Colloquie* held before his Royal person at *Hampton Court*: where he sinned so highly against the experience to be deduced from the French and Scots, who by offering the unquestioned, or at least legal Profession to Arbitration, have brought their Religious habit into such a motley, as 'tis scarce discernable which side is the right, or with the most safety may be owned by the Magistrate. Since till that dishonourable dispute, Who should command, the *Diocesan* or the *Priest*, none did boggle at the *Surplice*, *Cross*, *Ring*, and so by consequence the *Common-Prayer* Book, but out of pure Conscience, and therefore unlikely to hurt any besides themselves; till the number increasing to such a proportion, made a visible profit appear to so many as wanting better imployment, could but conform their mode, words, and looks to these Precisians; though discrepant in heart from any thing the first owners of the

title

title of *Puritan* did commonly practiſe in their converſation towards God and Man: This generation being ordinarily found, eſpecially after any long admittance, ſo well acquainted with the Secrets of God, as to diſtinguiſh between the Reprobate and the Elect. Which Whimſey grew upon the Kings Diſputation (whom you muſt preſume they overcame in noiſe, and all things elſe but Logick and Power) ſo univerſal, as it became a good Benefactor to all uncapable through ignorance of any other preferment, and a Sanctuary to ſuch wicked perſons as had the Art to diſſemble a repentance. Nor did the notorious debauchery of the *Epiſcopal Clergy* add a little to the rent, much augmented by the *Scotiſh* propenſity to *Presbytery*, though the chiefeſt promoters of it in their doctrine and example were the *Lecturers*, *Vicars*, and *Parſons* of inconſiderable worth and Livings, being the readier to oppoſe Authority, as having little to loſe, becoming by this means the darlings of the rabble. Nor did the ſudden *Tranſlations* of *Biſhops* from leſs to greater Sees give time to viſit ſufficiently their reſpective charges; being more intent upon the receit of ſuch Taxes as a long abuſed cuſtom had eſtated them in, than upon Reformation. I have been the more punctual, becauſe from the Pulpit came all our future miſeries, God not being ſerved there as he ought. The *Court-Sermons* informing his Majeſty he might as Chriſts Vicegerent Command all, and that the People, if they denied him ſupplement or inquired after the diſpoſure of it, were preſumptuous peepers into the ſacred Ark of the State; not to be done but under the ſevereſt curſe, though it appeared likely to fall through the falſhood or folly of thoſe at the helm. But on the contrary the other qualified Preachers did fulminate againſt *non reſidencie*, profanation of the *Lords Day*, connivance at *Popery*,

perſecution of Gods people, only inclusive in their Congregations, and thoſe that ſupplied the wants of ſuch like Saints as themſelves, who maintained their Families and kept them in good plight out of the Faſts they did weekly aſſign, at firſt in private, and after before the face of the Sun, and all this without or againſt the leave of the Magiſtrate. But if this ſhould be proſecuted to its fartheſt extent, it would moderate, if not expunge all the villany legible in Story.

17. Now by this time the Nation grew feeble, and over-preſt with *Impoſitions*, *Monopolies*, *Aids*, *Privy Seals*, *Concealments*, *pretermitted Cuſtoms*, &c. beſides all *forfeitures* upon *penal Statutes*, with a multitude of tricks more to cheat the *Engliſh* Subject (the moſt, if not all, unheard of in *Queen Elizabeth* days) which were ſpent upon the *Scots*: By whom nothing was unasked, and to whom nothing was denied; who for want of honeſt traffique did extract Gold out of the faults of the *Engliſh*, whoſe pardons they begged, and ſold at intolerable rates, Murder it ſelf not being exempted: Nay, I dare boldly ſay, one Man might with more ſafety have killed another, than a raskal Deer; But if a Stag had been known to have miſcarried, and the Author fled, a Proclamation with the deſcription of the party had been preſently penned by the Attorney-general, and the penalty of his Majeſties high diſpleaſure (by which was underſtood the Star-Chamber) threatned againſt all that did abet, comfort or relieve him. Thus Satyrical, or, if you pleaſe, Tragical was this Sylvan Prince againſt Deer-killers, and indulgent to Man-ſlayers. But leſt this expreſſion ſhould be thought too Poetical for an Hiſtorian, I ſhall leave him dreſſed to poſterity in the colours I ſaw him in the next Progreſs after his inauguration, which was as *Green* as the Graſs he trod on, with a *Feather* in his Cap, and a *Horn* inſtead

of

of a Sword by his ſide: how ſuitable to his Age, Calling, or Perſon, I leave others to judge from his *Pictures*, he owning a Countenance not in the leaſt regard ſemblabe to any my eyes ever met with, beſides an *Hoſt* dwelling in *Anthill*, formerly a *Shepherd*, and ſo metaphorically of the ſame profeſſion: He that evening parted with his *Queen*, and to ſhew himſelf more uxorious before the People at his firſt coming than in private he was, he did at her Coach ſide take his leave, by *Kiſſing* her ſufficiently to the middle of the ſhoulders, for ſo low ſhe went bare all the days I had the fortune to know her; having a *Skin* far more amiable than the *Features* it covered, though not the *Diſpoſition*, in which Report rendred her very debonair.

18. I do now conſent freely to the juſtneſs of their award who may in this Age condemn of vanity ſuch *Obſervations* as theſe: yet having deduced from experience that it is not only the Frailty, but cuſtom and pure Nature of Humanity to venerate the leaſt ſplinter of *Antiquity*, beyond any thing bears the impreſs of the preſent Age, though commonly of no higher deſcent than the *Grecian* or *Roman* Monarchy, young and infantine in relation to the Worlds beginning, and ſo of an inconſiderable force to conteſt with *Printing*, having themſelves with all the monuments they could raiſe, been out-ſtripped by a number of Books that had nothing elſe to keep them alive but the Ink that dropped from the Writers Pen. Nor ſhall I, encouraged by the preſumption of this greater advantage, refuſe to regiſter all I know or do but firmly believe, as one delighting more in the contemplation of a future Reſurrection in the opinions of thoſe that may poſſeſs this Nation many Ages hence, than terrified with the Cenſures or contempt of my own. Nor did I ever yet meet any Reaſon to

alter

alter the confidence I have in some of my *Contemporaries*, that they equal, if not exceed such as are most celebrated in all things but Time: and he that is such an Infidel in the desert of his Country as to deny it, I leave him to our *former Sermons* for his conversion, and to the *Stage* for a final confutation of so much partiality. As for me, I ever aimed my endeavours rather at the satisfaction of a single Reader like my self, who only seeks to learn, than those think they are able to Teach: who deal by Authors as the Jews did by our Saviour, that buried all the advantage might have been made of his Divinity, in the seeming frailties of his Humanity, without which they could not have had any commerce, or understanding of Truth, or drawn any benefit from what others writ, or himself suffered. Neither can I apprehend it a greater folly in me to register the *yellowness of Queen Anns hair*, with other levities (which may seem pertinent to posterity though trivial now, yet of a high concernment as *Cæsars Nose*) than for the *Earl of Arundel* to give so many hundred Crowns for an Urn a Mason would not have valued at a penny; yet he was not only commended but imitated by King *Charles*, who cannot appear ignorant to any so happy as to read what he hath left. And these are the Merchants I look one day to traffick with, in the mean time the stock of the Buyer need not lie dead, having something else of more credit in the Worlds opinion, though not in my own that writ it. But to sound a retreat to this sally, I would fain know how these low circumstances could be spared by such Almanack-gazers, (that are none of the Booksellers worst Chapmen) who may give credit to the *white King*, or the vision of one in *Green* said to be averred from *Italy* by—— though I take such predictions upon no more solid an account, than flying vapours, the former terrified imagination

imaginations of a discontented people do not seldom rally into the prodigious shapes of Armies and fighting men.

19. All Kings cast away *Money* the day of their Enthronement, but King *James* did it all his life. And here to speak Gods truth, what better measure could be expected from that Line, the *English* folly or hypocrisie had rendred Motherless, by the infamous and unprincely mediation of a Hangman. But the fault in suffering an Alien by birth, no less than an Enemy in affection to enter by any wider admittance than through both Houses of *Parliament*, hath not only given the Nation in general, but the *Earl of Northumberland* in particular, sufficient cause to wipe their eyes: who cannot but leave to posterity the Scars, if not Wounds, received from such a blind mistake as the imagining any future obligation or precedent benefit should expunge out of the heart of a Prince (that apprehends nothing about him but what he takes as his due by inheritance) the marks of a former injury, or a jealousie depending on an after fear. For the thoughts of Kings, when established, are so far altered, as to receive inspirations from no remoter interests than what their own passions direct them to, unless compelled: So as King *James*, not taking his prospect from the love shewn in his quiet admittance, but the height of his Subjects power, began to muster up the Armies the *English* had raised against his native Country; and not only to measure, but to weigh the blood spilt on the borders; amongst which he found that of *James* the Fifth mingled with his allies, which prompted him no less to revenge, than the many perjuries, cruelties, and perfidious carriages of his Ancestors, still hanging on a File in the *English* Memory, did to distrust. Nor had the *Earl of Northumberland*, of honourable extraction and exquisite erudition, tho'

muffled

muffled with love to the person of that Prince and his own Ambition, any reason to think the memory of the *Money* he supplied him with in *Scotland*, would not quite vanish upon the first apparition of the *Exchequer* at *Westminster*; or that the Forces he offered to raise in his favour, in case of opposition, would seem less than formidable to him when quiet in his Chair: when once placed, Monarchs do rather ruminate on future dangers than former benefits: Kings like imperious Husbands, perverting after Marriage, those stolen favours into Jealousie, that before an indissoluble interest were reckoned for marks of no less obligation than confidence; out of a distrust, that upon discontent, the same Arts and Caresses may be imployed to their damage. However this suited with *Northumberlands* sensel am sure it fell pat with his success; for after endeavour failed to find him so far smutted with the Gun-Powder Plot as might engage his Life, he was cast into the *Star-chamber*, that Den of Arbitrary Justice, where the Keeper for the time being, two Bishops, two Judges, and as many wise Lords and honest great Officers sate, as were pleased to come; the most of whom, though unable to render a Reason for the censure, did, every *Wednesday* and *Friday* in Term time, concur like, &c. to tear such as refused to worship the Minion, or to yield to the pretended Royal Prerogative. Nor did they scape who were any way Satyrical, a thing not to be avoided by the lovers of Truth; Corruption being as common as execution, with which it seldom went other than hand in hand: But the main imployment of this Court, was, like School-boys, to hold up one the other whilst their Master whipt them. Amongst whom was this *Earl* fined (if I mistake not) at 20000 *l.* with imprisonment in the Tower during his Majesties pleasure, which was so great, that he kept him

him in there divers years, upon what ſcore was not then ſo eaſily diſcerned: for if *Percy* was his kinſman, it is as true that he had lain many nights in the Kings Chamber before he came hither, and been imployed in private by him to the *Engliſh* Catholicks, yet his Majeſty would have taken it ill to have been thought a Papiſt, or a conſpirer of Queen *Elizabeths* death. Not to proceed farther upon an exaſperated and ſingle evidence, otherwiſe than that it did not ſuite with any thing I could obſerve in his temper, much leſs with a perſon of his Honour and Fortune to exchange ſo happy a preſent condition, for any future advantage he could hope to ſcramble out from amongſt Cinders and Ruines of his Country.

20. It was the faſhion of thoſe times, and did ſo continue till theſe (wherein not only the Mother but her Daughters are ruined) for the principal Gentry, Lords, Courtiers, and men of all Profeſſions not meerly Mechanick, to meet in St. *Pauls* Church by eleven, and walk in the middle Iſle till twelve; and after dinner, from three to ſix; during which time ſome diſcourſed of Buſineſs, others of News. Now, in regard of the univerſal commerce, there happened little that did not firſt or laſt arrive here: And I being young, and wanting a more advantagious imployment, did, during my aboad in *London*, which was three fourth parts of the year, aſſociate my ſelf at thoſe hours with the choiceſt company I could pick out, amongſt ſuch as I found moſt inquiſitive after affairs of State; who being then my ſelf in a daily attendance upon a hope (though a rotten one) of a future preferment, I appeared the more conſiderable, being as ready to ſatisfie, according to my weak abilities, their Curioſity, as they were mine: who out of a candid nature were not ordinarily found to name an Author, eaſily loſt in ſuch a concourſe, where his own report was

not

not ſeldom within few minutes returned to him for news by another. And theſe *News-mongers*, as they called them, did not only take the boldneſs to weigh the publick but moſt intrinſick actions of the State, which ſome Courtier or other did betray to this Society. Amongſt whom divers being very rich had great ſums owing them by ſuch as ſtood next the Throne, who by this means were rendred in a manner their Penſioners; ſo as I have found ſince little Reaſon to queſtion the truth of what I heard then, but much to confirm me in it; wherefore the bolder to inſert a Report then current; which was, The King thought *Northumberland* too intimate with his Son *Henry*, who in vindication of this Earls perſecution caſt a malignant aſpect upon the Houſes of *Suffolk* and *Sarisbury*, thought no ways avertible but by his *Death*. But ſince a likely Lie may with more manners and leſs reproach be impoſed upon Belief, than an improbable Truth without witneſs, I ſhall for this time wade no farther in the preſent diſcourſe, already thought dry in the memory of the moſt. Though this remains upon record, that brave *Forteſcue*, that did firſt oppoſe this *Scotiſh* ſucceſſion but upon Caution, enjoyed his liberty, without any more conſiderable loſs than ſuſtained by the exchange of the *Chancellours* place in the *Exchequer*, for that in the *Dutchy of Lancaſter*, remaining to the laſt a Counſellor: whereas *Northumberland*, that had drawn his Sword in his favour, was made Captive, diſgraced and inſulted over by his Enemies: which, Fortune, to render it more terrible did ſome years after alot his Son the Lord *Percy* a Wife out of the Family of *Sarisbury*, whoſe blood the Father ſaid, would not mingle in a Baſon, ſo averſe was he from it. Nor had *Forteſcue* better ſucceſs, when, by a huge entertainment at *Cornbury*, he went about to oblige the King; for as *Tomlins*, once his Secretary, told me,

ne, He at his parting laughed, and let a —— in the Porch. Wherefore we may note it, as equally pernicious to oblige a Prince above a reaſonable requital, as to oppoſe him beyond the extent of a moderate patience.

21. About this time the *Puritans*, exaſperated by the *Biſhops* (who to render their preferments of more conſequence to Monarchy, upon whoſe dependance they now only ſubſiſted, would not ſuffer them to be ſo long at quiet as might give them leave to recover their ſenſes) did in a ſubmiſſive way (encouraged by the *Hugonots* ſucceſs) mediate another *Colloque* before the King, whom they endeavoured to draw to their party by the high eſteem pretended they had of his Learning, though Church-land was the moſt pious inducement in the eyes of thoſe *Scotch* and *Engliſh* that did prompt them to it upon promiſe of their beſt aſſiſtance: But his Majeſty having found by his former experience, that Schiſms are attended with a ſmaller train of Inconveniences, and eaſier buried and with leſs clamour, in Sufferance and Contempt, than by Oppoſition or Diſputation, did moſt ſtifly deny it, appearing highly diſpleaſed; that after ſo manifeſt a conviction, he ſhould again be tempted to hazzard his Reaſon againſt ſuch as had nothing but a brutiſh obſtinacy to oppoſe: which anſwer was allowed of as far more Majeſtical and politick than his former conceſſion in deſcending to a formal diſputation ſince Opinions rooted by deſcent, are ſooner chilled through want of preferments, than eradicated by power, which aſſigns the expoſing of any Religion to conteſt as dangerous, ſeeing all at this day in veneration are under perſecution in ſome place or other, wherefore unable to ſilence the reaſon of thoſe formerly ſuborned through a contrary Education.

22. In

22. In the mean time this Nation was rooted up b those *Caledonian* Bores, as these homely Verses do atteſt, which were every where poſted, and do con tain as many ſtories as Lines, which I ſhall explain though they may poſſibly fall out of order, it not ſuiting with the liberty of a Spirit, that walks rather fo its own exerciſe than the inſtruction of an ignorant and ingrateful State, to be punctual.

They Beg *our* Lands, *our* Goods, *our* Lives;
They Switch *our* Nobles, *and lie with their Wives*;
They Pinch *our* Gentry, *and ſend for our* Benchers,
They Stab *our* Serjeants, *and piſtol our* Fencers.

That they were gracious with the *Engliſh Ladies* non can doubt that hath had but the opportunity to peep in to a Court, where the Love of Women is found a conſequence of the favour of the Prince.

23. Wherefore I ſhall take my firſt riſe from him that was then *Philip Herbert*, ſince *Earl of Montgomery*, a man careſſed by King *James* for his handſome *face*, which kept him not long Company, leaving little behind it ſo acceptable as to render him fit ſociety for any body but himſelf, and ſuch *Books* as Poſterity may find ordinarily *dedicated* to him, which might yet have prompted his underſtanding to a more candid proceeding than he uſed at *Oxford*, where he exerciſed greater paſſion againſt Learning, that had by teaching Books to ſpeak *Engliſh* endeavoured to make him wiſe, than he did towards *Ramſey*, who by *ſwitching* him on the face at *Croyden*, rendred him ridiculous: It was at a *Horſe-race* where many both *Scots* and *Engliſh* met; The latter of which did upon this accident draw together with a reſolution to make it a

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National Quarrel, so far as Mr. *John Pinchback*, though a maimed Man, having but the perfect use of two fingers, rode about with his dagger in his hand, crying, *Let us break our fast with them here, and dine with the rest at London.* But *Herbert* not offering to strike again, there was nothing spilt but the reputation of a Gentleman; in lieu of which, if I am not mistaken, the King made him a *Knight*, a *Baron*, a *Viscount*, and an *Earl* in one day, as he well deserved, having for his sake, or rather out of fear, transgressed against all the Gradations of Honour. For if he had not torn to rags that coat of Arms, so often in my hearing bragged of, and so stanched the blood then ready to be spilt, not only that day, but all after must have proved fatal to the *Scots*, so long as any had staid in *England*; the Royal Family excepted, which in respect to Majesty, or their own safety, they must have spared, or the Kingdom been left to the misery of seeing so much blood laid out as the trial of so many crabbed Titles would have required; there being then according to report no less than fourteen, of which *Parsons* the *Jesuite*, so impudent is this Fraternity, makes the *Infanta* the first. But they could not be these considerations that restrained *Herbert*, who wanted leisure no less than capacity to use them, though laid in his way by others: And therefore if this effeminacy produced good to the Nation (at that time doubted by many) the honour is only due to God, whose miraculous power was no less manifested (upon so high a provocation and great encouragement as the whole field afforded *Philip*) in raising so much flegm in a man nobly born as might master so great a fury, than when he discovered to *Sampson* a cold *Fountain* in the *Jaw-bone* of an *Ass*. And such of his Friends as blame his *Youth* for doing nothing, take away all excuse could have been made for him, had he done too much: since all commonly arrive at the years of Valour, before they

can attain to those of Discretion. This I can attest for the man, that he was intolerable cholerick and offensive, and did not refrain whilst he was *Chamberlain*, to break many wiser heads than his own: Mr. *May* that translated *Lucan* having felt the weight of his *Staff*; which had not his Office, and the place, being the Banqueting House, protected, I question whether he would ever have strook again: *So disobliging were the most grateful pleasures of the Court*; whose *Masks* and other *Spectacles*, though they wholly intended them for shew, and would not have been pleased without great store of Company, yet did not spare to affront such as came to see them: which accuseth the King no less of Folly, in being at so vast an expence for that which signified nothing but in relation to Pride and Lust, than the Spectators (I mean such as were not invited) of Madness, who did not only give themselves the discomposure of body attending such irregular hours, but to others an oppportunity to abuse them. Nor could I, that had none of their share who passed through the most incommodious access, count my self any greater gainer (who did ever find some time before the grand night to view the Scene) after I had reckoned my attendance and sleep: there appearing little observable, besides the Company, and what Imagination might conjecture from the placing of the Ladies, and the immense charge and universal vanity in clothes, *&c.*

24. I have been told the *Mother* of *Herbert* tore her hair at the report of her Sons dishonour, who, I am confident, upon a like opportunity would have ransomed her own repute, if she had not redeemed her Countries. She was that *Sister* to Sir *Philip Sidney* to whom he addressed his *Arcadia*, and of whom he had no other advantage than what he received from that partial benevolence of Fortune, in making him a Man; which yet she did in some Judgments, recompense in *beauty*: Her

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Pen being nothing ſhort of his, as I am ready to atteſt, as far as ſo inferiour a Reaſon may be taken, having ſeen incomparable *Letters* of hers. But leſt I ſhould ſeem to treſpaſs upon truth, which few do unſuborned, as I proteſt I am, unleſs by her Rhetorick, I ſhall leave the World her *Epitaph*, in which the Author doth manifeſt himſelf a Poet in all things but Untruth.

Underneath this Sable Herſe
Lies the ſubject of all Verſe:
Sidney's *Siſter*, Pembrok's *Mother*;
Death ere thou killeſt ſuch another,
Fair and Good and Learn'd as ſhe,
Time ſhall throw a Dart at thee.
Marble Piles let no man raiſe
To her Name, For after days
Some kind woman born as ſhe
Reading this, like Niobe
Shall turn Statue, and become
Both her Mourner and her Tomb.

25. In the mean time the King was much troubled at this Accident, not being able to ruminate upon the conſequence it might have produced, without trembling: Nor could he refrain from letting fall ſharp expreſſions againſt the inſolency of the *Scots*, and folly of the *Engliſh*, whoſe blood he pretended to indulge moſt both within and without him: But this he ſoon retracted, carrying ſuch an awful reverence to his own Countrymen, who had chaſtiſed him in his Mothers belly, as he durſt not diſpleaſe them, out of fear to find himſelf deſerted. It being paſt peradventure that he never looked upon the *Engliſh* as friends, the cauſe he rejoiced in nothing more than promoting *Exceſs*, by which he hoped to ruine *Nobility* and *Gentry*. But however remote his affections were, he durſt not but baniſh *Ramſey*

the Court, a poor ſatisfaction for *Herbert*, that was left nothing to teſtifie his Manhood but a Beard and Children, by that *Daughter* of the laſt great *Earl of Oxford*, whoſe *Lady* was brought to his Bed under the notion of his *Miſtreſs*, and from ſuch a vertuous deceit ſhe is ſaid to proceed.

26. One thing was then remarkable at *Croydon* field, that none but Sir *Edward Sackvile*, of the *Engliſh*, went on the *Scots* ſide, and he out of love to the Lord *Bruce*, whom after he killed in a Duel: which was ſo ill taken by his Countrymen, as divers proteſted, that if the fray had ſucceeded, he was the firſt likely to have fallen.

27. The ſecond matter of worth in the *Verſes* concerns Mr. *Edward Hawley*, an intimate acquaintance of mine, who coming to Court on a grand day, *Maxwel* (more famous for this and Wealth, than Civility or Education, not being ever able to read or write) led him out of the room by a black ſtring he wore in his ear, a faſhion then much in uſe. But this had like to have coſt warm blood, *Hawly* appearing of another temper than he at *Croydon*. Beſides, being of *Grays-Inn*, not only his Society, but all Gentry in *London* took themſelves concerned ſo far, as meer ſtrangers flocked to his Chamber, and though more than needed (he being apt enough for revenge himſelf) they beſought him to remember he had the Honour of all the *Engliſh* Gentry in his hands, and if managed with Gallantry and diſcretion, he ſhould find enough to ſtand by him; many offering to become his Seconds, which he could not accept, having before made choice of Mr. *John Thoroughgood* ſince Knighted, who told *Maxwel*, if he refuſed to fight, *Hawley* would kill him where-ever he met with an opportunity; which ſo frighted King *James*, that he ſent for the Benchers, and through the mediation of *Chancellor Bacon*, formerly of the ſame Society, took up the Quarrel, forcing the *Scot* to give humble

humble ſatisfaction, to a quiet admiſſion of what Mr. *Hawly* ſhould deſire: And farther to ſolder up the breach, *the Students of Grays-Inn* performed an exquiſite *Mask* before his Majeſty, by whom they were after invited to a great *Banquet*; whereat the Gentlemen, ſomething contrary to the rules of Civility, were ſo haſty, as to ſcramble, rather than feed; for which they underwent a ſharp cenſure, being in the preſence of many *Scots* who looked upon it with ſcorn, though owned themſelves for Maſters of no great Modeſty. Beſides, when they kiſſed the King's hand, many put it to their lips with their own, looked on at Court for a low abſurdity.

28. The third relates to one *Murry*, who killed, by the help of his men, a *Serjeant* that came to arreſt him under or near *Ludgate*; for which, more to ſatisfie the Sheriffs of *London*, than Juſtice, the two Servants were hanged, and the Maſter who was principal, though with ſome difficulty, eſcaped. But the Lord *Zankor* found no ſuch favour for killing *Turner* the *Fencer* who was a man of eminent parts, and ſo better deſerved it, yet his Servants and he were executed: by whoſe death the King ſatisfied in part the People, and wholly himſelf; it being thought he hated him for his love to the *King of France*, and not making any reply when he ſaid in his preſence to one that called our *James a ſecond Solomon*, that *he hoped he was not* David *the Fidlers Son*. Thus do Princes abuſe one another.

29. In this place my memory preſents me with Sir *Robert Cecil*, after *Earl of Sarisbury*, famed for the moſt mortal Enemy of the *Earl of Eſſex*, and a ſeducer of the King, by perſwading him *this Nation was ſo rich, it could be neither exhauſted nor provoked*; A ſaying generally laid to his charge, yet contradicted in this practice of his; for the *Earl of Somerſet*, being in the flower of his favour before he had either *Wife or Beard*, had got a peremptory Warrant to the Treaſurer

for 20000l; who, in his exquiſite Prudence, finding that not only the Exchequer, but the *Indies* themſelves would in time want fluency to feed ſo immenſe a prodigality, and not without reaſon apprehending the King as ignorant in the value of what was demanded, as the deſert of the Perſon that begged it; and knowing a Pound, upon the *Scotch* accompt, would not pay for the ſhooing of a Horſe, by which his Maſter might be farther led out of the way of thriſt, than in his own Nature he was willing to go, being obſerved very tenacious in the diſtribution of any money paſſed through his hands, or in his preſence; laid the former mentioned ſum upon the ground in a room through which his Majeſty was to paſs: who amazed at the quantity, as a ſight not unpoſſibly his eyes never ſaw before, asked the Treaſurer, *Whoſe mony it was*? who anſwered, *Yours before you gave it away*: Whereupon the King fell into paſſion, proteſting he was abuſed, never intending any ſuch gift: And caſting himſelf upon the heap, ſcrabled out the quantity of two or three hundred pounds, and ſwore he ſhould have no more: However it being the Kings Minion, *Cecil* durſt not provoke him farther than by permitting him only the moiety. But this not working a perfect cure upon his Maſters *profuſeneſs*, or with the reſt of his Vertues being hid from the knowledge of the Menu, who like Flies feaſt their affections upon the corruptions, rather than ſounder parts of Great men; and having before had ſuch a duſt raiſed in their Cholers, by his ſharp proceedings againſt the late *Earl of Eſſex*, and his encloſures of *Hatfield Chaſe* (after he had to his ſo great advantage exchanged it for his *Manner* of *Theobalds*) that the black Cloud of detraction fell upon all he ſaid or did: To which the Misfortunes accompanying him from his birth, did not a little add, a Mulct in Nature, like an Optick Spectacle, multiplying much, in the ſight of the People,

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the apparitions of ill. Nor was *his Death*, by prejudice looked upon as *Herods*, nor the place it attached him on, *viz. Sarisbury-Plain* in his Coach, nor *Po* his Phyſician then preſent (a meer Empirick, and celebrated for no skill but in the cure of the *&c.*) ſmall inducement to the Reports which followed: yet when theſe were ſpent, and he as it were retired into that Sanctuary that doth hide reproach rather than increaſe it, inexorable Fate, by the aſſiſtance perhaps of ſome Impoſthume, (which his maligners tranſlated into an effect of Gods vengeance, and did dedicate it to his farther Infamy) brake the Lead he was wrapped in, with ſo much noiſe and ſtench as affrighted the by-ſtanders: Therefore no wonder he met with no fairer Encomiums, of which I ſhall relate theſe, not ſavouring ſo much of ſcurrility though perhaps leſs of Wit than many did then current.

Here lies thrown, for the Worms to eat,
Little Boſſive Robin, *that was ſo great.*
Not Robin Good-fellow, nor Robin Hood,
But Robin *th' Encloſer of* Hatfield *Wood*:
Who ſeem'd as ſent from ugly Fate,
To ſpoil the Prince and rob the State.
Owning a Mind of diſmal ends,
As Traps for Foes, and Tricks for Friends.
But now in Hatfield *lies the*——
Who ſtank while he liv'd and died of the———

It may be judged by theſe, how future Chronicles agree with common fame, which, in my opinion ought not to be rejected, if not chiefly relied upon. Thoſe that follow came from ſo ſmart a Pen in the Kings ſenſe, that he ſaid, *he hoped the Author would die before him*: who it was God knows.

Here lies Hobinal, *our* Paſtor *while ere*,
That once in a Quarter our Fleeces *did ſhear*.
To pleaſe us, his Curr *he kept under* Clog,
And was ever after both Shepherd *and* Dog.
For Oblation *to* Pan *his cuſtom was thus*,
He firſt gave a Trifle, *then offered up* Us:
And through his falſe Worſhip *ſuch power he did gain*,
As kept him o'th' Mountain, *and us on the* Plain.
Where many a Horn-Pipe *he turned to his* Phyllis,
And ſweetly ſung Walſingham *to's* Amaryllis.
Till Atropos *clapt him, a Pox on the Drab*,
For (*ſpight of his* Tarbox) *he died of the* Scab.

It is poſſible Poſterity may find a *Key* to theſe Verſes, if not, the loſs is not ſo much: however it will not be uneaſie for her to make one able to ſerve their turn that never knew the right.

How many ſoever his Faults were, he was of an incomparable *Prudence*, and coming ſo near after ſuch an unadviſed ſcatterer as King *James*, he might have feathered his Family better than he did, but that he looked upon low things with contempt, leaving much to the gleaning of his *Servants*, of which many came after into high places. Nor may that be unproperly applied to him, which is, in another caſe, ſaid of *Gregory the Great*, that he was *the firſt ill Treaſurer, and the laſt good, ſince* Queen Elizabeths *days*: He not ſtanding charged with any groſſer Bribery or Corruption than what lay inclusive under the Ceremony of *New-years Gifts*, or his own or Servants ſharing with ſuch as by importunity rather than merit had obtained Debentures out of the *Exchequer*; which through theſe courſes came at laſt to be ſo far exhauſted, as it was not able to feed the *Privie Purſe*, and bear the neceſſary charges of the *Houſhold*.

Houſhold. And this put him upon an improvement of the *Cuſtoms*, to the great diſcouragement of Merchants; no leſs than the project of *Baronets*, intended at firſt for a meer Cheat (as a perſon of Honour and no ſtranger to *Cecil* did proteſt) had not the great concourſe that crouded after this Title (rendred infamous by the baſe conſideration of Money inſerted in their Patent) kept it in repute; there having been a Motion made, if not a Bill put into the laſt Parliament of K. *James* againſt it: no more being by the primitive Inſtitution to be admitted than two hundred, and they ſo qualified, as were hard to be found, and ſo the likelier to be laught out of it after their money paid, which was all the Treaſurer deſired: who did not by it intend to put any affront upon the *Knights Batchelours*, as was ſuppoſed, and he in ſome diſdain queſtioned for it. But the *Sale of Crown Timber* appeared of ſaddeſt conſequence to the ſafety of the Nation in relation to the Navy, the Walls of the Kingdom: Engliſh Oak being then eſteemed of as the beſt for a Sea-fight, not being apt to cleave upon the receipt of a Shot, but rather bore: and of theſe millions were felled and ſold at vile prizes, not only during the life of the *Earl of Sarisbury*, but all the Reign of King *James*.

30. Now though there did no degrees of Compariſon appear in the wills of thoſe *Northern Adjectives*, not able to ſubſiſt without *England*, who like their Anceſtors did exchange a *Wilderneſs* for a *Canaan*; yet much more miſchief reſided in the power of ſome than others; amongſt whom now freſh in my Memory are the Lords *Roxborrow*, *Felton*, *Carliſle*, and *Dunbar*, that during the Reign of this King lay ſucking at the breaſts of the State, nor were ſome of them weaned long after his Death; the laſt of which ſwallowed at one gulp together with the *Chancellorſhip of the Exchequer*, all the ſtanding *Wardrobe*, wherein were more

Jewels,

Jewels, *Pearls*, Rich *Robes*, and Princely *Apparel*, tha
ever any King of *Scotland* (if all of them put together)
could call his own before; all which I have ſince hear
rated by the Officers at an incredible Sum, whoſe Ser
vants did uſe to ſhew them for money, it appearing
none of the leaſt rarities in *London* before this grea
Diſſolution. And for *James Hayes*, after *Earl of Carlile*,
though of no more Noble extraction than the imme
diate Son of a *Scotch Merchant*, an appellation ſom
under a Stall would ſcorn to Patronize, it is know
he did beſtow more trimming in the varniſh of a Wain
ſcot Carcaſs, than any of his Maſters Anceſtors did i
the clothing themſelves and their whole Families. Nor
was the *Honor of Amhil* a ſmall Preſent made at on
time to the *Earl of Kelly*, eſpecially by a Prince tha
had never been able to match it, but through the be
nevolence, if I may not rate it at the folly of a Nation
of whoſe ruine he became the firſt and principal Inſtru
ment. Yet as if theſe ancient Standards, and ſo by con
ſequence the more tolerable, becauſe Companions i
his lower condition, had not been enough to eclip
the glory of *England*, this ungrateful Prince (if I ma
call him ſo that cannot in Juſtice deſerve, from on
born under Queen *Elizabeth*, a better Title) to mak
our miſeries hereditary, called up *Robert Carre* fro
a poor Page, and to the diſhonour of our Antient No
bility, raiſed him to as high a Title, and as great a
Eſtate (three hundred thouſand pounds being rated t
the Crown upon his fall) as moſt Earls of *England*.
But there appears ſo many leaves lying between his a
vancement and ruine, as I am not at this time prepar
to remove.

31. King *James* ſtudying only to keep things qui
during his own time, without any other care of h
Poſterity than what related to the ſafety they brought
his perſon, and finding *Biſhops* the beſt *Church-Gover*

ent yet diſcovered in the purſuance of *Monarchy*, whereas a *Parity* in *Eccleſiaſtical affairs* did portend a propenſity to *Popularity* in the State. He looked upon *Presbytery* in his own Country with no leſs fear than disdain: yet believing it unpoſſible to unhinge the *Nobility* and *Gentry* from the hold they had already taken in the *Clergy*, in which lay the beſt claim they had to *Church-Lands*, nor the Prieſts from their Patrons to whom they were houſhold Chaplains, or of ſo mean parts as unlikely to hold the pittance they enjoyed in the company of any ſeverer power than their own; beſides the nature of man is better content with a little with freedom, than far more with conſtraint. He endeavours to joyn both Nations in a *Union*; but not willing to gratifie the *Engliſh* ſo much as to make them participate of the *Scotiſh* Immunities, but rather to bend their necks to our yoke, he intimates a *Parliament*; and before their aſſembling endeavours to ſuborn by large promiſes all the popular and *principal ſpeakers*; hoping, the *Wheels* being at his devotion, to make the *Conſonants* comply with any voice in what ſenſe he was pleaſed to put upon them, or loſe themſelves in inſignificant Clamours. *The ſame project and endeavour by corrupting Members, was uſed about ſeven years after in the* Parliament of Undertakers, *where certain* Bills of Grace (*as they called them*) *were offered to the* Houſe of Commons *by the* Earl of Somerſet. The firſt *Propoſition*, and that which came fulleſt up to the Kings deſign, was this; That *as both Nations were under one Prince, the way to obliterate all former or future difference, was to ſubmit both to one Law*; without manifeſting that partial reſolution he had, rather to retain where he was, than ſuffer the *Engliſh* to ſhare in the *priviledges* of *Scotland*; imagining it no hard matter upon ſo eminent an advantage to bring the leſs willingly to ſubmit to the greater, and that where the

Jewels, *Pearls*, Rich *Robes*, and Princely *Apparel*, than ever any King of *Scotland* (if all of them put together) could call his own before; all which I have since heard rated by the Officers at an incredible Sum, whose Servants did use to shew them for money, it appearing none of the least rarities in *London* before this great Dissolution. And for *James Hayes*, after *Earl of Carlile*, though of no more Noble extraction than the immediate Son of a *Scotch Merchant*, an appellation some under a Stall would scorn to Patronize, it is known he did bestow more trimming in the varnish of a Wainscot Carcass, than any of his Masters Ancestors did in the clothing themselves and their whole Families. Nor was the *Honor of Anthil* a small Present made at one time to the *Earl of Kelly*, especially by a Prince that had never been able to match it, but through the benevolence, if I may not rate it at the folly of a Nation, of whose ruine he became the first and principal Instrument. Yet as if these ancient Standards, and so by consequence the more tolerable, because Companions in his lower condition, had not been enough to eclipse the glory of *England*, this ungrateful Prince (if I may call him so that cannot in Justice deserve, from one born under Queen *Elizabeth*, a better Title) to make our miseries hereditary, called up *Robert Carre* from a poor Page, and to the dishonour of our Antient Nobility, raised him to as high a Title, and as great an Estate (three hundred thousand pounds being rated to the Crown upon his fall) as most Earls of *England*: But there appears so many leaves lying between his advancement and ruine, as I am not at this time prepared to remove.

31. King *James* studying only to keep things quiet during his own time, without any other care of his *Posterity* than what related to the safety they brought to his person, and finding *Bishops* the best *Church-Govern-*

ment

want yet discovered in the pursuance of *Monarchy*, whereas a *Parity* in *Ecclesiastical affairs* did portend a propensity to *Popularity* in the State. He looked upon *Presbytery* in his own Country with no less fear than disdain: yet believing it unpossible to unhinge the *Nobility* and *Gentry* from the hold they had already taken in the *Clergy*, in which lay the best claim they had to *Church-Lands*, nor the Priests from their Patrons to whom they were houshold Chaplains, or of so mean parts as unlikely to hold the pittance they enjoyed in the company of any severer power than their own; besides the nature of man is better content with a little in freedom, than far more with constraint. He endeavours to joyn both Nations in a *Union*; but not willing to gratifie the *English* so much as to make them participate of the *Scotish* Immunities, but rather to bend their necks to our yoke, he intimates a *Parliament*; and before their assembling endeavours to suborn by large promises all the popular and *principal speakers*; hoping, the *Vowels* being at his devotion, to make the *Consonants* comply with any voice in what sense he was pleased to put upon them, or lose themselves in insignificant Clamours. *The same project and endeavour by corrupting members, was used about seven years after in the* Parliament of Undertakers, *where certain* Bills of Grace (*as they called them*) *were offered to the* House of Commons *by the* Earl of Somerset. The first *Proposition*, and that which came fullest up to the Kings design, was this; That *as both Nations were under one Prince, the way to obliterate all former or future difference, was to submit both to one Law*; without manifesting that partial resolution he had, rather to retain where he was, than suffer the *English* to share in the *priviledges* of *Scotland*; imagining it no hard matter upon so eminent an advantage to bring the less readily to submit to the greater, and that where the

the Court did commonly reſide: by which he hat with one buſh ſtopped two of the greateſt gaps th then appear open in his Prerogative. But to this he received a like anſwer from his Countrymen, *That in* France, Spain, *and the* Netherlands, *many* Laws and Uſances *were proper to ſome Provinces, Cities, and Terri, that did not extend to other parts, though in groſs under the ſame Capital Power. Nor were the* Cuſtoms *of* Kent, *Iſles of* Wight, Guernſey, *and* Jerſey, &c. *communicable with the reſt of* England, *notwithſtanding the contrary endeavours of many Kings and Queens of the Nation: wherefore his Majeſty might gueſs at the difficulties of the attempt, to perſwade the Subject out of thoſe* Laws *from whence he received any perſonal benefit, by his own and all Princes elſe unwillingneſs to augment them.* Nor could they for the preſent, without expoſing his antient and native Country to a rupture, innovate any thing in *Church Government*: yet upon the Kings promiſe to the Nobility, and his future real performance, they found a room in their Conſciences for *Biſhops*. Though under this fatal prediction, grounded upon the Incompliancy of the Epiſcopal Clergy and their natural propenſity to dilate their power, that it would ruine one if not both the Nations, which our eyes have been ſo unhappy as to ſee accompliſhed; and through the ſelf-ſame mediation from which wiſdom expected it ſhould come many years before. Now after the wily *Scots* had purged and diſcharged the Union from any taſte or colour of malignity towards their own Nation, they drove it on with the furiouſneſs of *Jehu*: But the *Engliſh Parliament* found Members enough intire in the duty they owed to their Country, ſo far to outvote thoſe Laymen in their integrity through the hope of preferment, as they appeared inconſiderable for Power or good conduct in the eyes of their Prince, and no leſs baſe and corrupt in thoſe of the People;

ple; upon whose miscarriage all hope of good was rejected; K. *James* sharing so large a proportion in the folly of Princes, that he never gratified the Subject, but upon urgent necessity, or by way of Barter; which made their *Representatives* consider him at best but in the relation of a Merchant, and themselves as Countrymen brought up only to be couzned.

31. Yet the many no less bitter than rational *Speeches* made in *the House of Commons* against this *Conjunction* could not rebate the *Scotish* impudence, from endeavouring to bring in by the back and formerly unknown way of *Prerogative*, that as the *Parliament*, hitherto the sole Guard of Propriety, had refused all hope of entrance to, through any legal passage. And for the more effectual promotion of this, the *Earl of Dunbar*, making use of the advantage his place offered him, did found the *Barons* of the *Exchequer*, and though *Altam* and his Brother afforded him small encouragement, *Tanfield* and *Snig*, the first no less famed for Corruption, than the other for Ignorance, gave him the assurance of their Compliance in Judgment: with whom *Cook* was reported to concur, though a known Antagonist to the *Chief Baron Tanfield* in most things else, wherein any difficulty did seem to appear. But though two of these had gained the height of opinion for Law in those Times, *Cook* was thought over full of levity, and both of them too low situated in honour and grace with the Nobility, to drive on so weighty and ungrateful a design, with any hope of better success than contempt, or a present confutation: wherefore the *Chancellor Egerton* was prevailed upon so far, partly out of hope, but chiefly for fear, lest the King (as after he did) should send him a *Writ of Ease*, grown now old, or by calling his corruption into question discharge him of his imployment, did undertake in the *Starchamber*, to prove in a long Speech, *That all the* Scots *born since his*

his Majesties possession of the Crown of England, *were legally free Denizens of this Nation*: K. *James* refusing to include those formerly in being, lest he should in his own time have tasted the bitter consequence of his unjust an intrusion upon the Liberty of that People which had without any disturbance suffered him to enter. And this Argument rendered the *Chancellor* seven times more the object of Reproach than he was before. The *Speech* being thought by the *English* above the desert of the cause, as too elaborate, considering the prejudice it brought, and by the *Scots* below it, many of his own Profession arraigning it of Ignorance and Mistakes: But the *Commons* looked upon him as the owner not only of a brazen impudence in daring to oppose his single opinion to a whole *Parliament*, but were ready to hiss at the invalidity of his assertions, Protesting them as much against Law (in which, having no skill, I shall not meddle) as Reason, Conscience, and the general proceedings of the World both antient and Modern.

23. The promoters of the *Union* in the *House of Commons*, no less than the *Chancellor* in the *House of Lords* did, besides many rebukes and scoffs, meet with some such answers as these: *That since no* Lord *of a* Rich Mannor *would accept the offer of one more* poor, *upon the condition of enter-commoning, lest he should better his best* Tenants, *without making his worst considerable: so &c.*

That no people indued with the natural desire of preservation, being happy at that instant, would admit the Prince of a Beggerly Nation to raign over them, how just so ever his claim was, for fear of losing their propriety, as dear as Life it self, and so as vigorously to be defended.

Some

Some Corporations explode for Foreigners ſuch as are not bred in the place; All, thoſe born out of the Nation. And if theſe laſt Objections owned a countenance ſtern enough in the Opinions of many to face the entrance of *James* himſelf, it cannot but raiſe a doubt how his admittance ſhould make way for the whole Nation to follow him.

He that conſiders the enmity that hath ever been between Scotland *and* England, *with their propenſity to drive on a* Feud *through many Generations, cannot think of our mixing without trembling; there being ſome affinity in Bloud, Laws, Cuſtoms, and Affection betwixt the Welch and us, none with, &c.*

If the French, *being in our poſſeſſion, were allowed to export* Wool, Cloth, &c. *it was in lieu of* Wine *and other Commodities they brought us: But what have the* Scots *of their own growth but* Eggs, Barnicles, *and ſuch drugs for the cure of the* Jaundice, *as may be found under our indges, though not in ſo great quantities. Wherefore ſince in all Communities, a reciprocal Contribution is required, and without which the Body Politick cannot flouriſh, what an irreparable loſs ſhould we have ſuſtained through ſuch a Conjunction.*

The Romans *had many rich Cities, Nations, and Colonies, that were not ſharers in the freedom of* Rome, *looked upon as a ſpecial favour and only Communicable at the benevolence of the* Senate; *Legible in their Story, no leſs than the* Scripture, *where though Saint* Paul *was free born,* Claudius Lyſias *the chief* Captain, *far above him a dignity, was fain to* obtain it for a great Sum.

Though Sicily, Naples, Millain, *be within the Title, no leſs than Juriſdiction of the moſt* Catholick King, *yet theſe have no more power to trade in the* Indies, *than thoſe unhappy people have to traffick in any part of* Caſtile.

Nature

Nature hath taught every Nation a particular Ingenuity to provide for its own Neceſſities, which upon the acceſs of another, muſt be either exceeded, and ſo undone, or go beyond the new Comer, and ruine him. Therefore ſince we had no want of Inhabitants of our own, ſuch a beggerly addition muſt needs be deſtructive. The Scot *like the poor* Swiſs *(yet better provided for, and nearer the Sun than he) finds a more commodious abiding under every Climate, than at home; which as it makes the* Swiſs *to venture their lives in the quarrel of any Prince for Money; ſo this Northern People are known to do, or turn* Pedlers, *being become ſo cunning through Neceſſity, that they ruine all about them: Manifeſt in* Ireland, *where they uſually ſay,* None of any other Country can proſper that comes to live within the Kenning of a *Scot.*

If our Saviour Chriſt, *the King of Kings, whoſe Treaſure can never be exhauſted, ſaid, though in another dialect,* It is not meet, *that is, not juſt, nor expedient,* to give the Childrens bread to, &c. *can any think it Prudent or Legal to ſhare the fruits of* England *with the* Sons *of the* Locuſts *and* Daughters *of the* Horſe-Leach?

To conclude, Reaſon would fain be ſatisfied from thoſe that maintain the Legality of the *Union*: *Whether, if* Queen Elizabeth *had married the* Duke of Muſcovy, *as he did by his Ambaſſadors deſire it, the whole Nation (though far above* Scotland *in value) ſhould have had a Natural Denization in* England.

34. At this time the honour of *Knighthood*, which Antiquity preſerved ſacred, as the cheapeſt and readieſt *Jewel* to preſent *Virtue* with, was promiſcuouſly laid on any head belonging to the *Yeomandry*, (made addle through pride and à contempt of their Anceſtors Pedigree) that had but a *Court-friend*, or money to purchaſe the

the favour of the meaneſt able to bring him into an outward room, when *the King*, *the Fountain of Honour* came down, and was uninterrupted by other buſineſs; in which caſe it was then uſual for him to grant a *Commiſſion* for the *Chamberlain*, or ſome other Lord to do it: But experience ſoon informed the empty *Scot*, that as this Airy Treaſure was inexhauſtible, ſo it might be turned to great profit, ſeeing the ſhoals of baſe and ignorant *Trouts* that gaped after it (the cauſe, acceſs to the King was made daily more difficult:) By this rendring the *Temple of Honour* a common Theatre, into which the baſeſt were ſuffered to enter for their Money.

35. Now this ſhower of *Dignities* falling upon all, without any more ſerious conſideration than favour or profit, whole Houſes were ruined: For ancient *Gentleman*, finding themſelves preceded by baſer Families; only for having the impudence or luck to be dubb'd before them: and being deſpiſed, or ſpurred on through their wives ambition or their own ſhame, fell into that Trap gilded with the Title of *Baronet*, for which they were to pay a *thouſand pounds*, as is expreſſed in their *Patent*: no ſlight Caveat for the vanity of it: and how ſhort-lived that Honour muſt needs be that was built upon no ſtronger Baſis than the mercenary conſideration of ſuch a ſum; Riches for the moſt part being the lot of covetous and dejected Spirits. Beſides, Augmentation of *Titles* puts a higher Impoſition upon all expences; ſince he that before, being conſidered but as a *Gentleman*, could compoſe his charge within ſuch a preciſe rate, now double did not ſerve the turn: Men in honour, contrary to the elements of Frugality, being not ſeldom compelled to proportion their layings out to their Dignities, not their Port to their Ability: For *Wives*, *Daughters*, *Sons*, and *Servants* cannot all, if any do, regulate their minds to the Eſtate, but fix their eyes upon the glittering ſplendour

of this new *Star of Honour*, and do by that ſteer their expence, till of a ſudden they fall into ſo deep an *Ocean of debt*, as they are never able to preſerve their ancient Lands, but are forced to ſell, die in a Priſon, or play at Bo-peep all the remainder of their days with their Creditors in *London*.

36. *Baronies*, *Earldoms*, *&c.* were ſold to the *Engliſh* that had wherewithal to buy them in any of the three Nations; But the *Scots*, the principal Actors in this Comedy of Pride, were allowed a free entrance into the Houſes of Dignity at their pleaſure. And here may be obſerved upon what baſe and unequal terms the *Engliſh* were dealt withal, that had no place in the *Parliament of Scotland*, though made *Barons* there, yet ſuch of that Nation as owned the like Titles here; were not only called by *Writ* to the *Houſe of Lords*, but ſate in the *Star-Chamber*: a Court I do not remember to have ſeen any *Scots* appear in as Criminals, many as Judges.

37. The palpable partiality that deſcended from the *Father* to the *Scots*, did eſtate the whole love of the *Engliſh* upon his *Son Henry*: whom they engaged by ſo much expectation, as it may be doubted, whether it ever lay in the power of any Prince meerly humane, to bring ſo much felicity into a Nation, as they did all his Life propoſe to themſelves at the Death of King *James*. For my own particular, though I may concur ſo far with the general voice of the whole Kingdom, as to allow him the higheſt Epithets belonging to an active, generous and Noble Cavalier, yet I want not cauſe in experience, by ſuſpending my future Judgement, to avoid their common miſtake, who think all ſuch Vertues loſt in the untried dead, as are found abſent in him that had the luck to ſucced: It being the uſual condition of theſe high Planets, to conceal all Malignity in their temper, till by the Suns ſetting they be

become ſupreme themſelves, and have the reins in their own hands: For before they can never think they are ſecure, nor after apprehend a poſſibility of loſing their power. The cauſe many Princes let their Paſſions looſe towards all exceſs and impieties, when their Country hath moſt uſe of their temperance and moderation. I ſay not this out of any propenſity to their Opinions who are apt to prognoſticate a future ill out of the preſent ſhew of Goodneſs in men ſo highly bred, or to rob him of the happineſs to be allowed virtuous, which deſcends to all from Charity till the contrary appears: But to juſtifie the truth of *Story*, where you may find *as few abominable Princes, as tolerable Kings.*

The reaſon may be, an advantage they have to ſee what is diſguſted in their Father, which is avoided for the preſent, more out of popularity than diſlike: For though *Abſalom*, to attain his ends, might appear a better Juſticer than *David*, it is great odds but upon ſucceſs he had proved as Tyrannical as *Solomon* or *Rehoboam*. Beſides the terrible condition a *Prince* for the moſt part lives in, ſince an ordinary Father puniſheth that in his Son with a gentle reproof, which Kings are often known to do by a mortal Poyſon. The truth is, *Prince Henry* never arrived at the great teſt, *Supremacy in Power*, that leaves the will wholly to its own guidance; being not only ſet out of the reach of Reproof, but hears his actions approved by ſome, though in their true nature they appear never ſo ugly.

38. The *Government of his Houſe* was with much *Diſcretion*, *Modeſty*, *Sobriety*, and (which was looked upon as too great an upbraiding the contrary proceedings of his Fathers) in an high reverence to *Piety*, not ſwearing himſelf, or keeping any that did: Through which he came to be advanced beyond an ordinary meaſure in the affections of the *City*; to whom he was not

only plausible in his carriage, but Just in payments, so far as his credit out-reached the Kings both in the *Exchange* and the *Church*. In which the Son could not take so much Felicity, as the Father did discontent, to find all the worth he imagined in himself, wholly lost in the hopes the people had of this young Gentleman. From whence *Kings* may be concluded far more unhappy than ordinary men; for though, whilest *Children* are young they may afford them safety, yet when arrived at that age which useth to bring comfort to other Parents, they produce only Jealousies and Fears: For if deformed, foolish, or vicious, they offend the natural disposition of a Father, who cannot but desire his Issue perfect; if they prove otherwise, and be excellent, that of a Prince; because his Reign must needs be thought dim and tedious who hath such a spark to succeed him as this *Henry*, which in all mens Judgement appeared more illustrious than his old Father. Thus are K. found as remote from Felicity with Children, as from safety without: & as the last of these considerations have tempted some to acknowledge the Issue of Strangers and such as their wives have come to by chance, so the first hath provoked as many to make away their own.

And, if common Fame did not out-strip Truth, King *James* was by fear led into this extreme: finding his Son *Henry* not only averse to any *Popish match*, but saluted by the *Puritans* as one prefigured in the *Apocalypse* for *Romes* destruction. And to parallel this, one *Ball* a Taylor was inspired with a like Lunacy, though something more chargeable; for not only he, but *Ramsy* his Majesties Watch-maker, put out Mony and Clocks, to be paid (but with small advantage, considering the improbability) when King *James* should be crowned in the *Popes Chair*. Nor did *Henry* carry his body so swimming, as the known depth of his Fathers jealousies and shallowness of his Fears did require, contemning

stemning so far at first his election of *Somerset*, as he was reported either to have strook him on the Back with his Racket, or very hardly forbore it. But who can expect a *Prince* should prove any thing, considering his *Education*, much less a Politician? The *last Earl of Essex* being his Play-fellow, and few Gentlemen of worth, his Council, though many his attendants: It being in no case safe to advise a *Prince* during the life of his *Father*, nothing remaining in prudence possible to be said in relation to his safety, but must reflect upon the honour of the King, or the prudence of himself: The smallest intimation in that kind falling (if revealed, and what can youth and folly conceal) within the compass of *Treason*. It is so common with Report to rate the *sickness* or *death* of *Princes* at the price of *Poyson*, as I should quite have omitted this conjecture, or left it wholly to the decision of Posterity; though I believe few Kings are by their Servants (whose eyes are more fixed upon Hope, which relates to the future, than Gratitude, by the Generality of Courtiers declined, as not respecting the present Time) so fairly dealt withal at that Article, in which meaner men receive Indulgence from Enemies; had I not heard by many, his Father did dread him, and in particular from Mr. *Primrose*, the Princes Foster-brother of high esteem with him; and that the King, though he would not deny any thing he plainly desired, yet it appeared rather the result of fear and outward compliance, than love or natural affection; being harder drawn to confer an Honour or Pardon, in cases of desert, upon a Retainer to the Prince, than a Stranger. From whence might be calculated a Malignity conceived in his heart against the Splendour of his Sons Retinue; Manifested after his death by an injunction to *Charles Duke of York*, and a Command he gave to the *Lord Chamberlain* of the Kings House, not to suffer any to be enrolled his

Sons Servants, without his knowledge. And though this may warrant the Reasonableness of their Judgements who did look upon *Henry* rather as a terrour, than a comfort to the King, yet he did not take any visible notice of the great concourse about him, till by *Archy* his Jester he was called to the observation of it on the Plains about *New-Market* when he and the Prince parted: few being left with the Father, and those mean persons, which drew tears from him; but the passion did not last long, nor he when he had recollected himself, forbear (which might have encreased the suspicion of the consequence) to reprove the Fellow, who, being *more Scot than Fool*, was able to mind one that filled a wiser room, that it is the *Religion of some Nations, but the Custom of all, to adore the rising Sun, and contemn him at his going down.* I confess I did my self question *Archy* long after about it, but he talked though in the affirmative, so loud and wildly that I was afraid to waken the attentions of the Standers by. This I have heard by divers, that he was after every night they could meet him tossed like a Dog in a Blanket. The *Prince died* at Saint *James's*, having all his sickness, no pain but in his head, being heart whole to the last. Sir *Theodore Mayern* a French Physician and in great esteem would have had him let blood, but the *English* did reject the Counsel as too desperate, in respect of themselves, who might possibly offend no less by his recovery, than *death*; *ordinarily imputed to those Physicians that meet with Patients who do not recover after the opening a vein.* I remember Sir *Walter Raleigh* before his going to *Guiana* (to whom Prince *Henry* was a great Friend, and for whose satisfaction he penned his History, &c.) owned, though not in full words at length, as much in substance as was then every where reported. But when I reach the misfortunes of *Robert Earle*, (if they may be called so, that at the worst exceeded

ceeded the beſt his birth could promiſe) I may have occaſion to ſay more.

39. In the mean time the reaſon King *James* was ſo poorly followed, eſpecially in his Journies, was his partiality uſed towards the *Scots*, which hung like Horſe-leeches on him, till they could get no more, falling then off by retiring into their own Country, or living at eaſe, leaving all chargeable attendance to the *Engliſh*. The harveſt of the Love and Honour he reaped being ſutable to the ill husbandry he uſed in the unadviſed diſtribution of his favours: For of a number of empty veſſels he filled to compleat the meaſure of our miſelicity, few proved of uſe to him, unleſs ſuch as by reaſon of their vaſt runnings out had daily need of a new ſupply: And amongſt theſe the *Earl of Carliſle* was one of the *Quorum*, that brought in the Vanity of *Ame-Suppers*, not heard of in our Fore-fathers time, and for ought I have read, or at leaſt remember, unpractiſed by the moſt luxurious Tyrants. The manner of which was, to have the board covered at the firſt entrance of the Gueſts with diſhes as high as a tall man could well reach, filled with the choiceſt and deareſt viands Sea or Land could afford: And all this once ſeen, and having feaſted the eyes of the invited, was in a manner thrown away, and freſh ſet on to the ſame height, having only this advantage of the other, that it was hot. I cannot forget one of the attendants of the King, that at a Feaſt, made by this Monſter in exceſs, eat to his ſingle ſhare a whole Pie reckoned to my Lord at ten Pounds, being compoſed of Amber-greece, Magiſterial of Pearl, Muſk, &c. yet was ſo far (as he told me) from being ſweet in the morning, that he almoſt poiſoned his whole Family, flying himſelf like the Satyr from his own ſtink. And after ſuch Suppers huge Banquets no leſs profuſe, a Waiter returning his Servant home with a Cloak-bag full of dried Sweet-meats and Confects, valued to his

Lordſhip at more than ten ſhillings the pound. I am cloy'd with the repetition of this exceſs, no leſs than ſcandalized at the continuance of it. For when the moſt able Phyſicians and his own weakneſs had paſſed a judgement, he could not live many days, he did not forbear his entertainments, but made divers brave clothes, as he ſaid, *to out face naked and diſpicable Death withal*: blaſpheming God ſo far in the perſon of his handmaid *Nature*, as to ſay *ſhe wanted Wiſdom, Love, or Power, in making man Mortal and ſubject to diſeaſes*; forgetting that if every individual his own luſt had been able to have produced ſhould have proſecuted an equal excels with his, they would in a far leſs time than an Age, have brought themſelves or the World into the ſame diſeaſe he died of, which was a Conſumption. He lay always under the comfortable aſpect of King *James* his favour, though I never found him in his boſom, a place reſerved for younger men and of more indearing Countenances: and theſe went under the appellation of his *Favourites* or *Minions*, who like *Burning-glaſſes* were daily interpoſed between him and the Subject, multiplying the heat of oppreſſions in the general opinion, though in his own he thought they ſcreened them from reflecting upon the Crown: through the fallacy of which *Maxim* his Son came to be ruined, it being unlikely any Prince ſhould abate in the account of his People, that hath no bodies expences or faults to reckon for but his own. Now as no other Reaſon appeared in favour of their choice but *handſomeneſs*, ſo the love the K. ſhewed was as amorouſly conveyed as if he had miſtaken their Sex, and thought them Ladies. Which I have ſeen *Somerſet* and *Buckingham* labour to reſemble, in the effeminateneſs of their dreſſings. Though in w——looks and wanton geſtures they exceeded any part of Womankind my Converſation did ever cope withal. Nor was his love, or what elſe poſterity will pleaſe to call it, (who muſt be the Judges

of

of all that Hiſtory ſhall inform) carried on with a diſcretion ſufficient to cover a leſs ſcandalous behaviour; for the Kings kiſſing them after ſo laſcivious a mode in publick, and upon the Theatre as it were of the World, prompted many to imagine ſome things done in the *Tyring houſe*, that exceed my expreſſions no leſs than they do my experience: and therefore left floating upon the waves of Conjecture, which hath in my hearing toſſed them from one ſide to another.

40. I have heard that Sir *Henry Rich*, ſince *Earl of Holland*, and ſome others refuſed his Majeſties favour upon thoſe conditions they ſubſcribed to, who filled that place in his Affection: *Rich* loſing that opportunity his curious Face and Complection afforded him, by turning aſide and ſpitting after the King had ſlabbered his mouth: who though numbred amongſt the Gods upon Earth, yet any that will be ſo inquiſitive as to rake in his duſt, may find as many frailties as ever man ſtood charged with, of which this was none of the lighteſt, doubling the weight of his Oppreſſion: For the ſetting up of theſe *Golden Calves* coſt *England* more than Queen *Elizabeth* ſpent in all her Wars.

41. Amongſt a number of other Novelties he brought *a new Holy-day* into the Church of *England*, wherein God had publick thanks given him for his Majeſties deliverance out of the hands of E. *Gowry*: and this fell out upon *Aug.* 5. on which many lies were told either at home or abroad in the Quire of S. *Pauls Church*, or the long Walk: For no *Scotch-man* you could meet beyond Sea but did laugh at it, and the Peripatetick Politicians ſaid the Relation in Print did murder all poſſibility of Credit. But I will not wade farther in this buſineſs, not knowing how dangerous the bottom may prove, being by all mens relations foul and bloody; having nothing to palliate it but Jealouſie on the one ſide, and Fear on the other; too weak ſupporters to keep upright

ſo

so great a —— especially so far as to ruine a whole and noble Family for a fault known to be committed without the least question. Now if any thing further deserves consideration, it is the misfortune of Kings, who once lapsed into a publick errour, cannot recal it, though the continuance of it reflect dishonour to God; not unpossibly the cause this held out all his reign. Nor did any credit his Son gave it, justifie it further than ordinary Report, which in the generality took it for a meer Figment of State, and was buried with its Author.

42. Nor will the Story of the *Lord Treasurer Buckhurst* fall in unproperly here, who being a very corrupt man, or much abused, did lay claim to some part of the Kentish *Lucies* Land, that lay contiguous to his own, and mistrusting the integrity of any other or more legal Trial, did by the highness of his hand bring it to the *Council-Table* (where about this time many Causes were shamefully carried, and from whence *the most excellent Chancellour for parts*, that ever sate in that Court, might derive the most capital of his faults) and after some debate, the Treasurer standing up and offering to pull out of his bosom Papers that were pretended for their Lordships full and final satisfaction, he fell down dead, as called to answer at a higher Tribunal. Neither hath any since, as I have been told by some of the Family, ever questioned *Lucies* Land, in the quiet possession of which he was thus miraculously estated. Some years after meeting with the Secretary of *Richard Earl of Dorset* (a noble Gentleman and of good parts had they not been poisoned, together with the Owner, by a future malice and Jealousie in the *Duke of Buckingham* that he was his enemy) he told me the Treasurer was subject to swooning, which happening in a place where there was so little help, it became his death. He was much given to *Women* and *corruption*, in the general

general opinion; after whom theſe *Verſes* were ſent, it being the faſhion of the Poets all my days, to ſum up great mens Vertues or Vices upon their Graves. Theſe with many more to a like ſenſe belonging to this man.

Diſcourteous Death *that wouldſt not once confer,*
Or deign to parly with our Treaſurer:
Had he been Thee, or of thy fatal Tribe,
He would have ſpar'd a life to gain a bribe.

Another.

Here lies a Lord that Wenching *thought no ſin,*
And bought his fleſh by ſelling of our skin:
His Name was Sackvile, *and ſo void of pity,*
As he did rob the Country with the City.

43. The *match* K. *James* made between *Elizabeth* his eldeſt Daughter and the *Elector of Rhyne*, contrary to the grain of the *Catholick Church*, and the deſires of her *Mother*, who looked upon it ſo much below her, as ſhe could not refrain to call her *Goodwife Palſgrave* before ſhe had put off her wedding ſhooes; bred at a diſtance, ſuch a hope in the *Hugonots* that remained yet under perſecution or reſtraint, and pride in thoſe already emancipated through their Governours licoriſhneſs after the choice morſels of the Church, and their own deſire to change their manner of Service, (grown foul in their opinions, an unavoidable reſult of time, eſpecially if prompted by more Learning than diſcretion) that they feaſted their Imaginations with all the miraculous felicities and deliverances, by the Divers into the deep myſteries of *Daniel* and the *Revelation* ſuppoſed to be reſerved in the bottom of all things: *The fall of the Pope* and thoſe principalities adhering to him, appearing as manifeſtly painted in their oily fancies, as the curious may find them in *H. Broughton*, or the frontiſpieces of divers books, the zeal of ſome, and licentiouſneſs of others

others did then make publick: which ſtrook a damp in the *German Cæſars* affairs, cauſing the Exchange to go high in the Diets, ſo as upon the demands of Contribution, though againſt the *Turk*, a greater liberty of conſcience was propounded by the followers of *Luther* and *Calvin*, and ſome ſuſpicion of change feared from thoſe not yet revolted. But however this might work to the diſadvantage of our K. judgement abroad (who was thought to do it to render himſelf the Umpire of all Chriſtian differences, which he much delighted in, no leſs than a confidence he had to bring all to one conformity, a project not to be cut off but with the head of *&c.*) it ſetled it much in the opinion of his Subjects, who in the *H. of Commons* did upon all occaſions teſtifie their compliance to this conjunction. Now whether it was hope or fear, according to the opinion of the *Catholicks* and *Politicians*, or a ſupine careleſsneſs and deſire to be rid of her with the leaſt expence, as all the Ladies friends ſuggeſted, or pure zeal to *Religion*, as ſome ſimple people thought, or, what was moſt probable, a compoſition of all the three firſt mentioned paſſions, induced the K. to ſubmit to ſuch mean conditions, I leave to the Reader to judge: and only obſerve that, though in relation to Perſon and Vertue, ſhe might deſervedly hold a room in the greateſt Prince's Bed in *Europe*; yet God hath not hitherto been pleaſed to afford her any outward bleſſing, but a multitude of children, of which the eldeſt was unfortunately drowned, not without ſome reproach to the Father, and diminution of the reſt in the opinion of the People, that do, though not ſeldom without cauſe, over-value any thing irrecoverably loſt; and now at laſt hath caſt her into an Ocean of calamities, in which ſhe ſtill remains a floating example to other Princes of the Inſtability of Fortune, as ſhe did in her proſperity for civility and goodneſs. And though none need ſeek far for reaſons why Judgements ſhould fall

fall upon the Children of Princes, yet her behaviour hath been throughout ſo blameleſs, as amongſt the worſt Reports the Papiſts could raiſe, nothing appears might prove her ſo great an Actor in ill, as ſhe is found a Patient in Miſery: which makes me in charity think it rather came by deſcent than purchaſe; unleſs God hath done it that his Power may hereafter be ſhewn in raiſing her to a higher dignity than ſhe hath already fallen from. And for her Husband he lies under the condition of other men, who have their apparent miſfortunes imputed to hidden and inward defects.

44. It was the Opinion of thoſe Times, that the *Elector* might have ſped better had he not matched with *England*, whoſe King was ſo timorous as he ſuffered all to periſh for want of a ſeaſonable ſupply that relied upon his power: for had his Conſort been of a weaker Alliance, he had refuſed the Crown of *Bohemia* when it was offered, or upon acceptance been more cordially aſſiſted by his fellow Princes, already wearied with the Emperours Oppreſſions, no leſs than terrified by an expectation of worſe: it being repugnant to the mode of a *Spaniſh* pride to reſt within the compaſs of any other Moderation than what is preſcribed to him by the Pillars of force, and whereon he finds the Inſcription of an apparent neceſſity, or the apparition of a future benefit. But aſſiſtance compoſed of ſo many pieces is ſeldom ſucceſsful, and often dangerous to ſuch as relie upon them: of which *Charles the fifth* left a precedent at their own doors, in the perſon of the *Duke of Saxony*, and the *Landſgrave van Heſſe*, who by enterfering in their Councils tripped up the heels of themſelves and a greater Army than *Mauritius*, Son-in law to the *Landſgrave*, commanded alone, when he made the ſame Victorious Emperour, who had together with that title incluſive in his Perſon the Kingdom of *Spain*, crawl over the *Alps* by Torch light, and after hide his head in a *Monaſtery*. Yet beſides their own neglect, and the great

great confidence they had in K. *James* (whom they look-ed upon as engaged by honour and nature in the *German* quarrels, at leaſt ſo far as the value of the Crown of *Bohemia* extended) they were not to ſeek of a ſuſpi-cion, that in caſe the Elector ſhould attain the Imperial Diadem (not poſſibly to have been denied him upon ſuc-ceſs) that with his own force, and the aſſiſtance of *Bri-tanny*, he might not only have impoſed upon the *Luther-rans* Conſciences (ſomewhat of a contrary Creed to his) but have left them no ſenſe of eaſe in the change. Nor was the Lady *Elizabeth* yet ſo far removed from a poſ-ſibility of attaining one day the Crown of *England*, her brother being not only ſingle, but lying in the opi-nions of many under an averſion to Marriage, as might inſure ſuſpicion, which can never apprehend power at diſtance enough, from thoſe they think may imploy it to the prejudice of their Liberty who have formerly lain under the weight of bondage. Some Paraſites cried it up to the height of a Prophetical wiſdom in King *James*, that he would not ſuffer his Son to be prayed for in our Churches by the title of *King of Bo-hemia*; but clearer Judgements ſaw it no hard matter to determine of his fortune, whoſe good or bad ſucceſs lay wholly in his hands.

45. I have had the moſt, if not all may be found here, out of *Letters*, which I ever looked upon as the beſt and pureſt intelligence; in one of which I had this inſerted, that Prince *Henry* gave the firſt encourage-ment to the Prince *Elector* to attempt his Siſter, deſi-ring more to head an Army in *Germany*, than he durſt make ſhew of, and would no doubt have been bravely followed. That his thoughts flew high, hundreds of his Servants are yet in being to witneſs, together with the love he ſeemed to bear his *Siſter*, before his *Brother*; whom he would often taunt till he made him weep, telling him *he ſhould be a Biſhop*, a Gown being

the

the fitteſt to hide his Legs, ſubject in his Childhood to be crooked. Nor did all this put together lengthen his life in the deſires of many. Beſides, I have been told that Sir *Walter Raleigh* did mediate his favour by a *Diſcourſe* he ſent him, proving *no War could be ſo neceſſary or advantagious for* England, *as one with* Spain; alledging for it many Reaſons and Examples, as well out of the practice of the late Queen, as his own Experience: no Prince elſe being able to pay for, or bear the expence of a Royal Navy, which once in a year he would without queſtion accompliſh by our intercepting ſome or moſt part of the *Plate Fleet*, all Nations beſides being but Sea Pedlars. Wherefore if *Philip the ſecond* cut off his own hopeful and only Son *Charles*, for but pitying the people of *Flanders*; it can be no wonder he ſhould promote the deſtruction of a Stranger that did ſo far applaud the advice of *Raleigh*, as to ſay *No King but his Father would keep ſuch a Bird in a Cage.* But to leave this to the faith of Poſterity that ſhall have not only the opportunity to ſee, but the liberty to judge of the moſt probability in every Relation; the actions of Kings being written in ſuch dark Characters, and relating to ſo many ſeveral ends, as they are not eaſily deciphered; I ſhall return to the *German affairs*, towards which had *England* contributed proportionably to the *Head of an Union*, it may be preſumed from the *King of Swedens* ſucceſs, who had at the beginning no ſuch advantages to rely on, that the eclipſing, if not the ruine of the Houſe of *Auſtria* had not been adjourned to ſo long a day. And he that ſhall turn over the Adviſo's of thoſe times, may without any danger or much trouble find what Opinion the *Germans* had of us, and in how great a diſaray it caſt their proceedings, when the ſmalneſs of the Lord *Veres* Forces were known; but when

when they read a Commiſſion only inabling him to do nothing, they apprehended themſelves, ſome out of malice betrayed, others that knew the temper of King *James* better, were ſo charitable as to impute it to the true cauſe, which was his fear, upon whoſe Altar he was not only ready to ſacrifice his preſent honour and future ſafety, but the blood of thoſe he ſtiles, in all his Manifeſto's, *his deareſt Children*.

46. For after his daughter, and the *Elector* were crowned *King* and *Queen of Bohemia*, they loſt together with this ſhadow all her ſubſtance, and what he was for ſo many deſcents born to; the *Palatinate* at the Battel of *Prague*, where few blows were dealt on the *Electors* ſide, reported to be ſo mad as to think the Souldier would venture his Life in a Cauſe where he whom it moſt concerned was afraid to hazard his money: It being then too late to ſpare, when Honour and Fortune lye at the ſtake. By which this miſerable Prince did not only loſe what he might have poſſibly gained, but moſt of the wealth he deſired to ſave: no Paſſions being obſerved ſo incompatible with ſucceſs, as when Ambition like that of *Galba*'s, is found in a covetous nature; by which the Souldier is not ſeldom tempted out of diſdain to quit his own Poſt, and adhere to a Party he never did, till the diſcovery of this baſe humour, affect ſo well as that he deſerts. Nor is it likely any ſhould proſper (eſpecially in a Field-expedition) againſt the *Houſe of Auſtria*, that is not as prodigal of Gold as Blood: it having been the late practice of this wiſe Nation to obtain Victory through the Mediation of Money and Policy, rather than Strength; leaving nothing to Fortune but what ſhe muſt needs: which may ſupport the validity of their Opinions that think the *Spaniard* leaſt impregnable at Sea, where he hath neither time nor opportunity to corrupt, &c.

47. Sir

47. Sir *Richard Weſton*, ſince *Treaſurer* and *Earl of Portland*, was when they looked for an Army ſent to mediate a Peace: By whoſe help, according to report, the *Elector* and his *Lady* found means, though with much difficulty, to eſcape to the *Hague* with their new aſſumed empty Titles, having nothing elſe to ſupport them but Patience and Hope, the only and ordinary comfort of thoſe deprived of all help beſides. Yet I have heard from many (for I delight to ſet down every probable relation that they thought *Weſton* too far engaged to the Catholicks to be Author of ſo ungrateful a ſervice. But this being his firſt Imployment, no leſs than a deſire in the *Pope* to ſee the power of the *Emperour* moderated, who began to encroach upon the pretended immunities of the Church, he might not improbably take this advantage to render his Embaſſie the more acceptable upon his return to the People of *England*, if not to the King: Perſons of their Quality falling ſeldom under the Sword, and therefore thought perhaps better thrift to maintain them at liberty than in reſtraint, or redeem them at ſuch a ranſom as a Victorious Prince might impoſe, to the payment of which his Maſter was engaged in Honour and Nature.

48. However I am more charitable than to conclude all Papiſts imployed by this King ſo diſhoneſt as to falſifie their truſt: for if that followed as a neceſſary conſequence, God help this poor Nation, that had before then, and long after, few Commiſſioned in any affair of importance but ſuch as were that way affected, or wholly indifferent. It being the intent of Providence to uſe his help, it may be, as he did of *Pharaoh's Daughter*, to preſerve this virtuous Lady out of danger, whoſe Misfortunes have kindled ſuch a fire in *Germany*, as not unpoſſibly, before it be extinguiſhed, may lick up the choiceſt bloud in the *Auſtrian Family*: Of which this ſeems to me as a ſign, that ever ſince

they began ſome one or other hath proſecuted the like attempt: Amongſt whom was *Count Mansfield*, that had little elſe but his own fortune and valour to carry him ſo far as he went. But what he punctually did or promiſed to do, was at too great a diſtance for me to perceive more than I could learn from the Echo it made at Court, which ſounded diverſly according to the inclinations and hollowneſs of their hearts that made the reverberation. This I can atteſt upon knowledge, that *Mansfeld* was in appearance well received here: But whether King *James* could like a man that laboured to bring in ſo Anti-monarchical a precedent, as to ſtruggle for liberty with his Native Prince, I cannot but queſtion; who did daily inculcate into the people, through the mediation of his Divines, and by the terrour of the Law, that no other refuge was left in any ſaving experiment during the unjuſteſt and moſt cruel Tyranny, but *Prayers and Tears*; A tenet if he had believed himſelf, or thought ſuch as owned either prudence or power did, he would doubtleſs have governed much better, or abuſed the Nation, and debauched his ſucceſſion much worſe. Yet to give a countenance to a buſineſs he had ſo ſhamefully diſparaged before, he ſent for the *Count* over in one of his Ships Royal, which was caſt away upon the *Engliſh* Coaſt; an example as remote from a Precedent, as for a mighty Prince to be a quiet Spectator of the ruine of his Family.

Such as were of the *Spaniſh* Faction ſpake moſt diſgracefully of *Count Mansfield*: forgetting the lower footing they aſſigned for his riſe, the more admirable they proclaimed his dexterity in mounting himſelf ſo high; who at his going from hence was furniſhed with men and money, the moſt of them loſt before their Landing: ſuch proceedings being much

uſe with King *James*, who like a ready Horſe, did often ſeem to the World as if he meant to run, yet did little more in effect than ſtand ſtill. But here my Pen is ſtopped through indiſpoſition; wherefore I muſt conclude this under the notion at leaſt of a Firſt Part.

FINIS.

A

MISCELLANY

Of Sundry

Eſſaies, Paradoxes,

AND

Problematical Diſcourſes,

Letters and Characters;

Together with

Political Deductions from the HISTORY of the Earl of *Eſſex*, Executed under Q. ELIZABETH.

MISCELLANY

OF

Physicks, Paradoxes

AND

Problematical Discourses,

Together with

To my Vertuous,

No leſs than in all things elſe

Deſerving NEECE,

Mris *ELIZABETH DRAPER.*

Dear NEECE,

IT is on all hands confeſt, that ſome things here may be thought as *unſuitable* to *my Years* as *your Education*, (not yet removed from a *vertuous Mother*,) by thoſe are not acquainted with the *external Impulſe* which makes their *Publication* to the World unavoidably *Neceſſary*, in reference to the preventing a *falſe Impreſſion*; no leſs than that more *Inward* of *natural affection* to you (not knowing but this may be my laſt opportunity) to do right to Gratitude. So as if any *expreſſion here* ſhould be of force to *make you bluſh*, it would by *augmenting* your *Beauty* prove a *Good Effect* of a Cauſe at the worſt but *reſpectively* Evil; and only in reference to ſuch a *Superlative goodneſs* as *you* are endowed withal: whoſe *apprehenſion* of *Ill* reſults rather from *Admonition* and *Prudence*, than *Experience* or *Conſent*. Faults already become in many *ripe for puniſhment*, being not yet *arrived* within the *Circle* of your *thoughts*. Wherefore (ſince the *worſt* can be found in theſe Papers, if candidly taken, does not come ſhort of ſome of the *beſt* are daily made vendible,) I deſire you to vail your *Judgement* with *Charity*; known in *re-*

mater Relations so *extensive* as to cover more *Levity* than I hope *is extant here*: Or if bleered by *Interest*, I should mistake no less in its *own desert*, than the *acceptance* of the *World*, it cannot *disparage* your *Name* long; which no doubt will suddenly be *changed*, and you left *free*, either to *own* or *reject* what is here presented: unless *God* for the *punishment* of the *present Age* will make *men unwilling*, because *unworthy* to approach so much *Vertue*, and other *excellencies* as are *natural* in *you*; the *repetition* of which would not only call up the *blood* into *your face*, but *confound mine*, were I guilty of half of the *infidelity* in your *Sex*, that *ignorance*, *folly* and *malice* hath *voted* to my *share*: who am so *zealous* through the *mediation of your perfections* in the *vindication* of *Women*, that I am not only ready to become a *Convert*, but a *Martyr*, rather than *appear* any thing but,

Dear Neece,

Your Servant

FR. OSBORN.

A general Account of what is contained in the Book enſuing.

The Preface.

An Eſſay *on ſuch as condemn all they underſtand not reaſon for.*

An Eſſay *upon* Prov. 8. 30. Give me neither Poverty no Riches.

A Contemplation of Adams *Fall.*

Sundry Conjectural Paradoxes concerning Reaſon, Learning, &c.

A Character of Honour.

Valour and Cowardice.

A Letter to diſſwade Mr.——from a Duel.

A Letter to Mr.——in hope to diſſwade him from going a Colonel under Count Mansfield.

A Letter to Mr. W. P. *concerning dependences upon great men.*

——Another to the ſame perſon.

A Copy of Verſes to——who had tranſlated Virgil *into* Engliſh.

A Letter perſwading——to marry.

Verſes upon ſundry occaſions.

A Letter to two Siſters, the one black, the other fair. With Verſes.

A Letter to—— after the death of his Lady.

An Epitaph on——

The

The Authors own Epitaph.
A Letter to diſſwade——from marrying a rich, but ug
and deformed.———
With Verſes to the ſame effect.
A Letter in reference to a coy Lady.
The Petition.
A Character on a diſbanded Souldier.
A Letter to Dr. C. H. *Chap. to* W. *E. of* Pem.
With Verſes.
On a Cook.
A Character of an Hoſt.
With Verſes.
Deductions from the Hiſtory of the Earl of Eſſex.
Eſſay *on Court-faſhions.*
Eſſay, *that the condition of men in power is to be gui*
by their ſervants.

TH

THE AUTHOUR TO THE READER.

READers in the generality do not ſtudy (eſpecially in reference to *Contemporaries*) what may *benefit* themſelves, but *blemiſh* the preſent *Authors* repute. So as the Pillars of *Fame* and *Tradition*, that led our *Fathers* through the dark Wilderneſs of *Ignorance*, into the glorious *Land of the Living* (where they ſtill *inhabit*, though under no more *Authentick Charter* than that of *Preſcription*, being in all other evidences of *worth matched*, if not *exceeded* by *younger men*: (are clouded through reproaches, and paſſed to *correſpond* for the *Integrity* of every Line by *Truths* moſt Capital Enemies, *Hypocriſie*, *Superſtition* and *Folly*: And before ſuch *partial* and weak *Tribunals* as are *ſubborned* no leſs than *guided* by *Intereſt*, and an awful *reverence* towards the moſt deformed Antiquity; from whence the *Pen* (accounted by *Cæſar* a decent *Companion*

Companion for the *Scepter*) is now become the *Bubble* of the *Rabble*: Forgetting that though it may be so in the management of *Fools*, yet that no *vertuous* ob can be *registred*, or *Learning maintained* but through *her mediation*: Nor is the progress of *conjectural propositions* to be *obstructed*, but rather *indulged* in reference to the credit of a Nation. The first *Idea* often owning the *glory* of the *whole design*; manifest in *Germany*, that may not unpossibly stand more obliged for her rare *Inventions* to the *Liberty* she *gives*, and an *Indulgence* the Inhabitants have for any *Novelty*, though too wide to extend *probability* beyond the *fantasie* of the *first projector*; than any *natural fertility* inherent in the place, appears in the *perfection* they receive from *polite Regions*; being themselves so far from casting *Dirt* or *Ink* in the face of the *Party*, that in the last case of likelihood they do all lend *assistance*: contrary to the *baser practice* of *England*, where if a *Spirit* be found so prevalent in *Reason* as to be proof against any *Reply*, it is usual for the Opposers of *Knowledge* to *imprint* their *revenge* from some weak *administrator of the Rod of Ignorance*.

Sir *Walter Raleigh* was the first (as I have heard) that ventured to tack about, and sail aloof from the beaten track of the *Schools*: who upon the discovery of so apparent an *errour* as *a Torrid Zone*, intended to proceed in an inquisition after more *solid Truths*: Till the motion of some whose *Livelyhood* lay in hammering *Stuff* for this *superannuated Study*, possessed Queen *Elizabeth* that such *Doctrine* was against *God* no less than her *Fathers Honour*, whose *Faith* (if he *owed* any) was grounded upon *School Divinity*. Whereupon she cal'd him: who was (by his own confession) ever after *branded* with the title of an *Atheist*, though a known *asserter* of *God* and *Providence*.

A like *censure* fell to the share of venerable *Bacon*, ll over-balanced by a greater weight of *glory* from *strangers*: Nor could Desert and the name of the *English Jewel*, given *Selden* beyond Sea, *free* him from a *imputation* at home. Wherefore *Br. Ca. Di. Ho. Ha. St. Ta.* and a *number more* that have *imbellished* in *dozing Age* with new notions, may apprehend *comfort* from *this contemplation*, that *Fame* is no less *eternal* than *Detraction* is *Mortal*. Though it may be thought *strange* why any farther *prosecution* of *Truth* should be *presumed* amongst men not yet fully *resolved* what *is*: when nothing redounded more to the *Protestants honour*, than the *free passage* they have *always* given to *Books* of *Controversies*, whereas the *reading* of them is a *mortal Sin* in *Rome*, and *at best*, liable to the *Inquisition*: not to be *imputed* to any thing but the *invincible Reason* we have *on our side*, so well managed by *Mr. Chillingworth*, as the fluent mouths of the *Jesuits* were stopped till his *death*, and some time after. There being nothing but *Mathematical demonstrations* able to *secure* them from the *ambiguous interpretations* they put both upon *Scripture* and *Fathers*, behind which the *Papacie* hath for many Centuries played at *Bo-peep* with *State* and *Church*. And yet how this *poor man* was *abused* at his *death*, is more for the Nations credit to *conceal* than *publish*. Neither is this *frenzy* capable of any real *Reformation*, since those pretend to a power of *garbling* things brought to the *Press*, are not of *one* and the same *Judgment*: and from whose *dispersion* new *Books* run the fortune of the *middle-aged* man in the *Fable*, that became *bald*, by an endeavour to please the humours of persons *inconsiderable* for *weight* or *number*. I know *censures* do not fall all within the Circuit of one *Meridian*, yet am as certain, that no *Difference* can be maintained, but where *half*, if not the most curious part, is supported by *Conjecture*. And

that

that our beſt *Phyſical Concluſions* have been deduced out of *meer miſtakes*: which the *World*) though never ſo long lived) is not likely to *want*, and therefore *improbably* proclaimed at her *farthoſt extent* of *Knowledge*: which if true, few would *give*, or *increaſe* the ſtipends of *Arts*; it being incongruous to expect new *Honour* from thoſe confeſs themſelves not able to *augment* their own, and ſo far *diffident* of an ability to match the *Antients*, as they take the *indeavour* not only for *impoſſible*, but a *high* if not a *damnable preſumption*. Wherefore it ſuits *Univerſity*-Intereſt to *indulge* ſuch as bring *freſh Notions* to their *Mill*, though *ſtained* with ſome *errors*: It being *uſual* for *wages to cloth*, and an *Engine* to be *neglected*, upon the firſt diſcovery that the *work* is *finiſhed*: Not to be denied to *follow* it *oppoſing* what is already *arrived to a general acceptance*; eſpecially in an *Age* when *God* and the *Magiſtrate* lies *blaſphemed* on *every Stall*. Nor is the *knavery* of obſcure *Stationers* a ſmall *Remora* to *Deſert*: that is *envy* to thoſe of their *own Trade*, and to *debauch* the eſteem of *Books*, do *encourage*, if not *hire*, ſoul mouthed *Ballad-makers* to *ruffle dogs-ear*, and *contaminate* by *baſe Language* and ſpurious *cenſures* the *choiceſt learning*. Yet the *Blaſphemers* againſt the *Spirit* of *Knowledge* become *vendible* in reference to *their names* they pretend in their *Title-page* to *confute*, ſometime the *Trade* of *R. Ro.* who uſed to *skirmiſh* (though not only armed with a *blunt quill*, and a *duller Reaſon*) the *Worthies* of our *Nation* by *Troops*. Nor is it probable any farther attempt upon our *Engliſh* Affairs ſhould be purchaſed cheaper than at the *Writers* prejudice: Since ſo *benefit* an *endeavour* as the proving, it was the *Father* that eat the ſour *Grapes*, and not the *Son*, whoſe Teeth were ſet on edge, is by ſome ſo far perverted. Now in reference to this, or any thing elſe may relate *to me*, I my *Years* and *Infirmities* that ſtand ready at the gate to

hurry

hurry me out of this *World*, nor the many *lines* I have *drawn* ſuitable to the *general phantaſies*, with a *proteſtation* never to *treſpaſs* again upon *Love* or *Hiſtory*, cannot ſhrowd me from the *pelting* of *Tongues*; Let me humbly implore this *favour* of both *Sexes*, that ſuch as do it, would imitate the candor of a *Carnaval*, wherein (though all *Italy* appear but *one* intire *Bedlam*) nothing is thrown, but what ſavours more of *Muſk* than *Malice*. But if I am born to be *aſperſed*, I could wiſh it might be with ſuch *Ink* as may at leaſt *beautifie* the *Writer*, and not *contaminate* us *both*: it being an *injury*, though far below the *ſufferers revenge*, to be *pinch'd* between the *naſty finger* and *thumb* of a *brawny Ignorance*. Which heightens greatly the *obligation* to him that *for my ſake* undertook ſo *unworthy an Antagoniſt*: Whoſe *want* of a *true knowledge* of *me* hath led him into as great an *exceſs* in reference to *my Commendations*, as the like *defect* may not unpoſſibly have *expoſed* me to a cenſure of *ungratitude*, or made me (as verily I believe I am) too *ſparing in his*: A *fault* I promiſe to *amend* upon the leaſt intimation of an occaſion.

Now being compelled to *own* what follows, or to *venture* the having it laid at *my door* with all the *Imperfections* ſo many *Adulterated Tranſcriptions* have *Deformed* it with; I thought it leſs *Diſhonourable* to treſpaſs upon *Gravity* (a *Defect* in *Nature*, or at beſt but a *Ceremony* reſulting from the *Moroſity of Age*) than to offer violence to *Prudence*, (the moſt *ſignal advantage* deducible from *Time*:) by denying my hand to the *emendation* of a *ſurreptitious Copy*, which I verily believe, my *Youth* (though *fooliſh* enough) was not in probability likely to have been *guilty* of, yet muſt have had my *abilities* now *meaſured* by it. For the *ſufficiency* of which I ſhall not *correſpond*, having been led through *neceſſity* and others *perſwaſions*, rather than my *own*, to think that though they are *out of Faſhion* with *me*, they

may

may become *decent* for *others* to *follow* or *avoid*. Being in every respect else a meer *Patient*, and no otherways *active* than at the request, and for satisfying the *Stationer*, to whose care I leave you, without any other *Complement*, than that *the loss will not be great to the buyer, nor the shame much to me*, should they prove *Waste Paper*, as I ever till now esteemed them. And in answer to those shall think some expressions here too *serious* to face such *stuff* as comes *after*, they may be pleased to know I did at first *intend* to *insert* some *motions* which *discretion* hath since thought *inconvenient*.

THE

THE PREFACE.

The PROEM.

IF, *contrary to the* Mode *of such as* lose *their Thoughts in the* open Air *where they were* conceived; *I have, with more* Diligence, *registred* Mine; *it was out of no* Opinion *they deserve a* longer life, *but to prevent* Idleness, *with a Concourse of some more* Tedious, *if not* Sinful: *which in the* Vacancy *of* Imployment, *are apt to* intrude *themselves, under pretence of a more* ancient *and* Familiar acquaintance. *Nor can I yet find cause to repent of the pains, since it hath confirmed me in this Truth; that the* World *is not the worse, nor* my self *much* better, *for* Age *and* Continuance. *From whence I have learned,* (*though I confess, none more apt to forget*) not to complain *of* Governours *for their* Oppression, *or* upbraid *Youth with its* Vices: *Since in the* best *Times* Tyranny *hath been moderated, rather through* Fear *than* Goodness. *As the most seemingly-*Holy *do, at the highest, but* palliate, *not* divest *their humane* Infirmity. *And from hence we may be taught with St.* Peter, *not to call*

any thing Polluted *or* Defiled: *All men at* long-running, *meeting with the ſame* Market, *either in reference to their own* depraved Will, *or* Performance. *Wherefore I ſhould conclude,* (*conſidering* my own *and* others *viſible* lapſes) *that* Sanctity *lies more in* Repentance *than* Innocency. *Which is the chief* Advantage, *if not all the* difference *diſcernable between thoſe we term* Wicked, *and the* Juſt. *Now if any one* (*a thing I have formerly been very chary of*) *ſhall read* theſe Papers *under the notion of* Approbation, *he can no more make me proud, than ſuch as* diſpraiſe *them,* angry: (*it being the guiſe of all to* applaud thoſe of their own Opinion:) *Of which there is none more* mine, *than that every thing is of a* mixed nature, *carrying a* Face *like* that *in a* pleated Picture, *ſuitable to the* ſituation *and* light, *the* Beholder ſtands in, *or is* guided by.

And in reference to me over-severe, I may have this to ſay, that not a few now wiſer *than us both, have play'd themſelves as much in* drawing Auticks *with a* Coal *upon a* Wall, *as others do in their endeavours to make* Apelles. *All I ſeek is to find imployment for a Spirit that would* break the Veſſel, *had it nothing to* work *upon but it ſelf. Nor is it leſs true, That I might juſtly be* blamed *for* ſome things *here, had more time been imployed about them, than God in his* mercy, *or to* puniſh my *former* negligence, *hath afforded me liberty to ſpare. Who can be accountable to* Poſterity *for nothing in this kind: being from my* Birth *uncapable to receive the rich* Talent *of* Learning, *looked upon as* the only Key of Knowledge: *which if obtained had been little advantage, ſince I was a* memory *wherein to* hoord *up what I had* ſtolen. *And ſo the* acquired Groat *might not impoſſibly have* ſpoiled *and* adulterated *the more* natural Shilling. *Wherefore If a* Chymiſtry *might be found, able to* extract *any thing uſeful towards the* conduct of Man, *out of ſuch* ordinary Simples *as theſe, they were highly to be eſteemed; and*

in likelyhood more suitable to every Taste, as fresh gathered from the Tree of Experience, than those sophisticated by the Schools, or of a narrower Interest, than that of the whole Society of Man.

And if any draw benefit from these, they are most likely to be Friends; it being only the property of Love, to look upon that with delight, which cannot be discovered to another without shame. And to such I could be content to leave them, as the Idea of a Mind was no less cordially employed, in advancing the Good of others, than of my Patience in receiving injuries from the same hands. This is not said to wound Providence under the shadow of Fortune. Since I have hitherto not only been kept, beyond my Desert, but Expectation; and have seen my unnatural Oppressors perish and languish, through its miraculous means, as I have been preserved: and by which I am brought to the contemplation of higher and more permanent Pleasures, than the poor and despicable consideration of Profit is able to reach. Nor could any contrary Endeavour of mine, hide this from the Eyes of the World, to whose Judgment, I was for a long time not so impudent, or imprudent, as to present more of my Self than I must needs; because Experience still finds her in the Arms of Curiosity and Prejudice: into whose Den, though I have been of late cast, (by what hand of Fate I know not, and so as it were blindfold;) yet I have come off with more Favour, from before this Tyrannical Tribunal, than divers known of far greater Desert.

Nor should I but for a through Essay of my own Fortune, and the Readers Candor, venture such Stuff as is likely to follow; which though produced long since, I am not able to better now; and if capable of Acceptance, the World is not likely to want it.

But it is contrary to my own Aphorism to debosh what I present, by saying it was writ before I was Twenty:

From whence would result such an easie Inference, *that surely I am* no Wiser now, *(which I wish heartily I were able to confute) else I should* mend, *or* conceal *them. Nor can I think it* Wisdom *or* Convenience *to say*, they were produced in a shorter space than Nature requires in the production of Rarities, *though not seldom* casual; *(as I observed in a* Flint *presented to King* Charles, *that bore the perfect* Figure *of a* Man, *) it being the Custom of some* heads, *to afford the* greater Reason, *the* less *they are* pumped. *Such as is* clearest, *running commonly* quickest, *and most* fluent; *whereas the* Deeper *requires* straining, *and so becomes* heavier, *and of a* less sprightful taste. *I will not say* mine *is of that* temper, *to avoid* prejudice: *nothing being* held in esteem, *is* easily *come by. Wherefore having found so many* condemned *upon the* evidence *they bring against* themselves *in* Print, *I have laboured to* conceal my name; *esteeming it more* pleasant *(if not more* natural) *to* Beget *then* Father. *But finding it as* impossible *to hide, as it is* unsuitable *to my present condition to be* idle, *and no less than* unbecoming Civility, *to neglect the* Importunity *of such* Friends. *as desire a* Publication *of* this Piece, *(which being a* mixture *of* all things, *may not improbably, like the* huge Dishes *now in* fashion, *feast the Appetites of some* one *or* other) *I shall once again venture into the* Press, *(as too* many *do) more out of* Confidence *than* Wit. *Yet let my* defects *be what they will, I have ever considered it as a* flatulent impertinency, *to* Court *the* Reader; *or think to raise a* Party, *in the behalf of any thing*, wears *not the* indubitable Character of Reason *and* Truth. *Against which*, Ignorance *and* Hypocrisie *have maintained so long and unnatural a* Rebellion, *as* Security *is no other way attainable, but by* Silence, *or* Compliance. *The continual* Wrestlings *against a* Rational Evidence, *having brought the* World *into*

so

ſo mutilated *and* unſteady *a* Creed, *as in many places ſhe is obſerved to halt between the* uneaſie wayes *of* Hope and Fear. *The Contemplation of which, doth ſo ſtagger ſuch as delight in* painting *their* Opinions *upon* Paper, *that they know not what* ſide *to take, out of a* dread *to fall under the* notion *of* Traitors, *or* Malignants, Atheiſts *or* Fools. *And amongſt others, this may paſs for a* Cauſe, *why* theſe (*formerly looked upon as waſte*) Sheets, *have received this* Reſurrection *out of the* Duſt; *it being in* ill Times; *ſafer to appear* wanton *than* ſerious. *Or like* Brutus, *a* Fool, *than a* Cenſor. *Of what is* in me *I make as* good uſe *as I can, but* hate *to borrow any thing; being more willing to appear with all my* defects *about me, than* glorious *and* ſplendid *through the* ſpoils *of* others. *Under the ſame* odium (*in my conceit*) *lies a* ſupercilious gravity, *by which I ſhould interrupt all* Commerce *with thoſe of my* own Coat, *and expoſe* my ſelf *to the* Judgment *of ſome* more wiſe, *who cannot but ſee through that* unnatural Veil, *the* poorneſs *of the* Traſh *is carried* under it: *there being really no* nakedneſs, *but in relation to* others, *ſince all have the* Patience *to look upon their* own imperfections *without* bluſhing. *Which the oftner it is done, the* better *may be* learned *how to* prize others, *and* value our ſelves. *There appearing no way readier to demonſtrate to a man his particular weakneſs, than by admitting him full leave to* trie his ſtrength. *Wherefore ſo long as no body* ſaw me, *I was not capable of blame, if wanting the Engines of* Learning, *I endeavoured to ſhake the* Pillars *of the* Schools. *For though the* attempt *is not very likely to afford any* benefit to others; *yet I cannot but remain the* ſtronger *for it, and the more agile* my ſelf: *As ſuch do that* ſwing, *though the* Beam *ſtirs not at which they* tug; *it being natural to* honeſt Labour, *ſtill to be followed by* Wiſdom or Reward. *For, though the generality of Readers are ſcan-*

dalized at all is not mouldy through Age, or gilded with Novelty; yet I remember to have heard from Sr William Cornwallis, (esteemed none of the meanest Wits in his Time) that Mountaign's Essayes was the likeliest Book to advance Wisdom: because the Authors own Experiences, is the chiefest Argument in it. For, as St. Augustine saith of short and holy ejaculations, that they pierce Heaven as soon, if not quicker, than more tedious Prayers: So I have reaped greater benefit from concise and casual Meditations on several Topicks, than long and voluminous Treatises, relating merely to one and the same thing; many Scholars being of so vast an extension in the prosecution of any, (though but a seeming) Errour, as they will leave no Argument unurged, be it never so weak. Forgetting that a Triumph is easier obtained, than a Victory so discreetly moderated, as may give no occasion to think it either tedious, or oversevere: it being a work impertinently superfluous, to give two blows where one may suffice. This is the cause that only such are esteemed that bring the strongest Reasons, and commit the smallest waste upon the Readers time, or the Adversaries repute. Nor are any to be commended as Civil or Wise, that prosecute a contrary Practice; so frequent amongst us, where the abuse of the Person is clinched and riveted so close with the confutation, as unquestioned Charity is not seldom lost, in the vindication of a more dubious Truth. And from hence I have taken occasion to calculate the Meridian of such hot heads, as can suffer no Opinions but their own to stand quietly by them: forgetting there is as much variety in the dissemblances of mens minds, as Experience and Commerce do observe in their bodies. Which may conclude it as great folly to condemn one of a contrary Judgment, as to implead another, because his Nose is shorter or longer than theirs. Nor is it in the reach of any thing but restraint to make People unanimous. No less against the

the freedom of Nature, than it is ſuitable to Cuſtome and Experience, to find the contrary in Practice, where all are left to their own Election. As manifeſt in wiſe Greece and Rome, as in thoſe Nations, eſteemed both by them and us more barbarous. Nor can it but be reckoned amongſt the Cauſes of the Catholicks Unity, that every one may addreſs their Prayers to what Saint they pleaſe.——Now to vindicate my ſelf from their folly, eſteem the fouleſt of their Writings a fit Copy for the World, whoſe heads ake like Jupiters, till delivered of thoſe Pallas's: though ſo flat and deformed, as if conceived in their Thumbs.

I may ſafely ſay, that heretofore, (however it is with me now, grown perhaps through Cuſtom more impudent) I was not ambitious to appear in publick, ſince ſome of my acquaintance can atteſt, that divers Pieces, of late publiſhed, were long ago as compleat, as ever I have been able to make them ſince: the firſt cauſe of their projection, being rather for the intent to While my ſelf, than to Buſie others. Nor ſhall I proſecute this Trade, longer than it continues acceptable to the Generality, and beneficial to the Stationer: whoſe operation hath been more effectual in this Midwifry, than any delight I can take in finding my ſelf rated according to the value of every Judgment: commonly foreſtalled by Opinion, a far nearer friend to things of this Nature, than the higheſt Deſert.

At the Foot of whoſe Tribunal I ſhould never have fallen, but to redeem the World out of a Common Error, by ſhewing men are not ſo unhappy in the abſence of Learning, as Scholors pretend.——Whoſe firſt Queſtion is, what Univerſity you are of? And their laſt, if anſwered, none: For then they conſider the Party as irrational, and below Converſation: Forgetting, that though Books may produce a few rough Materials; it is only in the power of Experience and Natural Parts to build up and burniſh a Perfect Man.

ESSAY

On ſuch as Condemn All *they underſtand not a* REASON *for.*

THeir Preſumption is no leſs *uncivil* than *prodigious*; that having nothing elſe to warrant them but a pettiſh and ſolitary *Opinion* of their own, will undertake to *arraign* the *truth* of all they cannot *apprehend*, or is not quite *arrived* within the *perfect cognizance* of *their Reaſon.* And by this *impudence* do not only *proclaim* themſelves *Judges* of the preſent *underſtandings*: but preſent the ſcanty meaſure of their *own*, as an *unqueſtionable Standard*, for *all* may exceed: Forgetting to what baſe *Offices* they have put ſuch *Conceits* and *Reſults* to, upon a more *ſerious conſideration*; which at their firſt *conception* they eſteemed

esteemed *Authentick* and not *misbecoming* the *Cabinet* of a *Prince*. And if thus capable of *deceit* from *themselves*; What *security* are they able to give for the *spurious censures* they pass upon *others*, that one day they shall not be taken off from *Wisdoms File*, and some *more true* and *honourable* placed in their room, to the *eternal infamy* of such as are scandalized at any thing, formerly a *Stranger* in the *Schools*? Nor is this Humor the Continent of a less *Malignity*, than what hath been *capable* heretofore, (nor is it less *busie now*) to *obstruct*, and *discourage* all farther *prosecution* after *Knowledge*, by *branding Reason* with an *imputation* of *Atheisme* and *hanging* what they *understand not*, under the *notion* of *Witchcraft*, as *Foster*, a Country *Parson* did the *Weapon-salve*: Against which he conjured up not only the *Fathers*, *Schoolmen*, &c. but (so far as his weak *Talent* could extend) did suborn *Philosophy* to *attest* against *her self*. Nor had this *mad Duel* between *him* and Dr. *Lloyd*, (who being both of no great *strength*, did weaken the *Nations* repute abroad) been *parts*, but that *Authority* (to vindicate the *usual cure* of the *Kings Evil* from being an *operation* of the *Devil*) did step in betwixt them. The *first* gaining the *opinion* of as *high* an *impudence* for *Beginning*, as the *other* did of *folly*, for *maintaining* so *impertinent* a *Quarrel*.

It was the *custom* of King *James* (and no question, of no small *improvement* to his *understanding*) to *discourse* during *Meals* with the *Chaplain* that said Grace, (or *other Divines*) concerning some point of *controversy* in *Philosophy*. And falling one day upon *Atheism*, he did by undeniable Arguments maintain, *No man could be found so irrational, as to deny a first Cause* (which could be no other than that *Power* we call *God*) And therefore *no such thing in Nature* as an *Atheist*.

What

What his Judgment was of *Witchcraft*, you may in part find by his *Treatise* on that *Subject*, and *Charge* he gave the *Judges*, to be *circumspect* in condemning those, committed by *ignorant Justices*, for *Diabolical Compacts*. Nor had he concluded his *Advice* in a *narrower Circle* (as I have heard) than the *denial* of any *such operations*, but out of *Reason* of *State*: and to gratifie the *Church*, which hath in *no Age*, thought fit to explode out of the *Common Peoples* minds, an apprehension of *Witchcraft*. The greatest *Miracles* now extant, making their *apparitions*, in the *dark Corners* of this *clouded Imagination*. Into whose *Cause* I shall not presume further to peep, as esteeming it more *dangerous* than *terrible*. Yet for the better *Vindication* of such *Innocents*, as are daily observed, to pass out of this *Back-gate of Injustice* to *another World*, (whose *Posterns* are the *Ignorance of Judges*, and *Folly* of our *Laws*) I will here relate a *Story* of my *own Knowledge*; which if too weak to resel this *Common Errour*, cannot be divested of strength enough to perswade more *discretion* and *charity*, than is ordinarily imployed in the *Trial* of such *poor Creatures*, that are first made *mad*, as *Solomon* saith, through *Poverty* and *Affliction*; and after *hanged* for being no *better advised* than to *confess* what they *never did*, or any *Flesh* and *Blood* was ever *able to do*.

Sir *Humphrey Winch*, (none of the least *honest* and *conscientious itinerant Judges* of his Time,) was in the *Northern Circuit* presented with this *Evidence* against three *silly* Women, *that they had out of prepense malice, not only bewitched divers Cattle and Children to death*: But the *principal cause* of their *Commitment*, arose from the *Son of a Gentleman* that was supposed to have *laid divers Months* under their *Fascination*; who at certain Times would *contract* his whole Body within the compass of a *Joyned stool*, and write in *Hebrew* and *Greek* Cha-

Characters, though not known to be *skilled* in thoſe *Tongues*; That a *Spirit* came then into him, ſent by *theſe poor Wretches*, by which he was ſo *tormented*, as he did in his *Fits* foam at the *mouth*. Nor was there a greater and more probable *Evidence* wanting; For that night the Judges entered the Town, one of the *Witches* did privately deſire the *Jaylour* to bring her into a room by *her ſelf*, where without any compulſion, (a thing not omitted by our *Witch-finders*) ſhe told him ſhe uſed a *Familiar*, together with the *reſt*; and that they had joyned to *bewitch* the ſaid *Boy*: but did humbly beſeech him her *Fellows* might not know it, nor ſhe be returned to the ſame *lodging*, for fear *they ſhould torment her*; and within few hours died. Now upon the *Keepers evidence*, and others of like Nature, the *two* were found *guilty*, and *condemned* to be *hanged*. But under this *Proviſo*, that in caſe they continued obſtinate in the *denial* of the *Fact*, the *Sheriff* ſhould remand them back, where they were to live till the *Progreſs*, which was to be *Northward* that Summer. The *King* being *gratified* by nothing more than an *opportunity* to ſhew his *dexterity* in *diſcovering* an *Impoſture*, (in which, I muſt confeſs him the *prompteſt* man living) upon his arrival convented *the Boy*. Where, before him, (poſſibly daunted at his *preſence*, or *terrified* by his *words*) he began to faulter, ſo as the *King* diſcovered a *fallacie*. And did for a further confirmation, ſend him to *Lambeth*; where the Servants of *George Abbot*, did in a few Weeks, diſcover the whole *deceit*. And he was ſent back to his Majeſty before the end of the *Progreſs*: where upon a ſmall entreaty, he would repeat all his *Tricks* often-times in a Day. Nor did he *do and ſuffer* all this for a more *ſerious* cauſe, *than to prevent a preſent whipping, and avoid going to School.* Amongſt other *Pranks*, he lived in an *Orchard* a Week upon *Apples* only.

I ſhall make no *Paraphraſe*, nor purſue the Argument further, to avoid *Prolixity* no leſs than *Offence*. The *Doctrine* of ſuch, *&c.* being a *Diana*, out of which no ſmall *profit* is made, and *credit* purchaſed in reference to *opinions*, otherwiſe *ridiculous* and *untenable*.

PROV.

PROV. 8. 30.

Give me neither Poverty nor Riches.

FRom this *wise King's Prayer*, we may learn the danger that resides in these two Gulphs *Poverty* and *Riches*. The latter *alluring* no less to *Pride*, than the first *tempts*, if not *compels* towards *Atheism* and *Infidelity*. Both gathering strength and aggravation from the *complexion* and *education* of the *Patient*; So as if *Abundance* proves the *Lot* of a *mean birth*, and *Want*, the *Companion* of one bred in *Plenty* and *Eminence*; it *elevates* the first as far above the *Sphere of Moderation*, as it *dejects* the other below the *Centre of Patience*: *Pride* despising Gods Power, no less than *Poverty* distrusts it. For as a perfect and harmonious *Joy* comes nearest to that *Pleasure* and *Content* assured us in *Heaven*: So *anxiety* and *discontent* are a representation of *Hell*. *Melancholy* being the *worst of Humours*, because the *Devil*, (if he may be thought to participate of *any*) who *apprehends* all ill about him, and cannot but despair of better. Wherefore *Poverty* must be allowed *the most dangerous condition*, because infested with all those *prodigious effects*, this *Diabolical passion* is liable to produce. *Which* are, in a manner, *all* we do in this *World*, either *punish* or *admire*; *Sin* being a *reflex* of *Want*: from whence it becomes so far more *Illegal* than *Unnatural*, as St. *Paul* owns the *Law* for the most

manifeſt Original, and exacteſt *meaſure* of his *prevarications*.

I know *Abundance* hath been by *Good men* prized below *Want*, when offered to be made the *Wages of Iniquity*; though none beſides our *Saviour*, was ever found able to *grapple* with the *enemy* of *mankind* being *hungry* and in *want*, as *he* was in the *Wilderneſs*. Which remains none of the weakeſt *effects* left us of his *Divinity*; and rather inſerted as a *Mark* of his own *power*, than an *Example* for our *imitation*. Yet ſuch *Monaſtical perſons* as endeavour to come neareſt to it, have enough to ſatisfie, though poſſibly, not to *pamper Nature*. The Name of *Voluntary hope of Merit*; and the *worldly reſpect* it brings, bearing moſt of the charges belonging to it. Nor have they Wives and Children, which *looked through*, do like *Opticks multiply* the *Bulk* of *Want*.

When *others* (*not wilfully*) ſick of this *loathſome Plague*, as if it were *infectious*, are not only *forſaken* of *all*, but expoſed to the *Tyranny* of *every hand* deſires to oppreſs them. *Law* it ſelf, (a Friend to all elſe) being ſo heavy an Enemy to the *poor Beggar*, as it ſeeks to diſcharge the *Commonwealth* of *them*, with no leſs induſtry than the *Phiſician* doth the *Body* of man, from *Humours putrid and noxious* to its *health*. I know ſome make a Trade of *Want*; and by it are able to live, not only *idly*, but in an *unbridled luxury*; whereas *thoſe* here meant, *conſume their bodies* by *labour*, or which is more painful, in the *Study* of the *Mind*; yet cannot obtain ſo much as to purchaſe Bread ſufficient *to ſtop the mouths of their Family from barking at Heaven, and tearing God under the Veil of Fortune, for pouring upon others without limitation, what is denied to them in the meaneſt proportion*. Indeed the *Ancient Stoicks*, no leſs than the more *Modern Divines* have, and do ſtill continue their endeavours to vindicate this

unequal

unequal distribution from the *tincture of Partiality*; but have in my mind, leſt it more *ambiguous*. Only our Saviour in his Anſwer penned for *Dives*, ſeems (no leſs than in other places of his Goſpel) to aſſign *Heaven*, meerly for an *Inheritance*, to ſuch as *want* here; and *Hell* for thoſe that *abound*: As he that makes the words, cannot but imagine, nor dare I apply the Figure of *Hyperbole* to any *ſaying of his*. Which, exactly weighed, is but a *Salvo* for a *Miſtake*, an *indefinite Number* or *Quantity* ſuiting better the Mouth of an *Ignorant Man*, than the *immenſe Knowledge* of our *Bleſſed Redeemer*. Wherefore (under the *correction* of a *more perfect light*) I think the *ſimile* of a *Camel*, (or *Cabel*) and the *Eye* of a *Needle juſtly and Mathematically* propertioned to the *ſalvation* of a *Rich man*, who is uncapable of it, without a more *Miraculous Extenſion* of the *mercy* of our *Maker*, than is by himſelf beſt known to ſuffice ſuch, as in this *World* have not enjoyed ſo much *plenty*.

And that an *obſervation* of the *Law* is not *enough*, ſeems to appear, by *Chriſts* bidding *him* that had *done* it, to *ſell all that he had*, &c. as the *thing moſt acceptable to God*.

Wherefore I could wiſh, that this *Tithing* the *Mint*, and *Cummin* of *others Errours* and *Opinions*, were not ſo *nicely* performed, and *Charity* with her *Concomitant Probity* (the *whole performance* of the *Commandments*) ſo quite neglected. Which no doubt, is the great occaſion of ſo *much Indigence*, as may be obſerved *now*; and ſo *contrary* to *that* in *Chriſts Time*; as it rather *hinders* than *facilitates* the *ways* to *Heaven*: So as it appears, that the *Devil* himſelf had never experimented ſo much *power* in any perſon, as was able to reſiſt the *temptation* of *Miſery and Want*, till he met with *Job*. Which gave him the boldneſs to *wage* (as it were) with God, *that* in caſe he removed the

Hedg

Hedge his Love had placed about him, he would *curse* him to his Face.

Wherefore, it cannot be esteemed a *slight provocation* was the *Greatest*, *Mans Enemy* could invent. Had he only touched his *health*, the means of *Recovery* might have remained: But his *Livelyhood* being lost, nothing continued but *lean Patience*; far too weak wholly to ward this Blow, though it may dissemble the taking it, or cover the *Wound* for a Season.

It is no less *wholesom* than *decent* to travel on Foot with a *Horse* in thy *hand*; but to the *Destitute* of a like ease, *tedious*. Wherefore *Seneca* may make *Demonstration* of *Wit*, and *prescribe Rules* for the more quiet enduring of *Penury*, but deserves the less credit, because writ at a time when himself had occasion to use more *Moderation* than *Patience*; which makes me believe his Mind (together with the rest of the *Puritanical Stoicks*) was far *averse* from their *Doctrine*; since *decem frugality* out of the Society of a more *sordid conscience*, could not have *accumulated* so *immense* a *Treasure* as *Tacitus* reports was found about him. Yet concludes his *Documents*, with a *peremptory advice*, rather *to die*, than abide in so little *ease* as this, and far less *miserable earthly inconveniences* are observed to bring with them. Which indeed were more to the purpose, could *Christianity* make use of this his *last Receipt*: who is prescibed by her *Institutes* to *Tide* it out, although the *Stream* of its *Inconveniences runs* never so strong against the Nature of Man. So as if *God* had set any *lower precipice*, at the *bottom* of the *Leap*, than *eternal damnation*, I think none so *pusillanimous*, as would not rather *once* take it, than to remain *still* under the *Weight* of so *heavy* and *unsociable* a *Calamity*, that produceth all things *Hurtful* or *Hateful* to *Nature*. For when God Mans out his *Hosts*, the *Fears* are found in the *Forlorn Hope*; and *Famine* takes

up her *Head Quarters* under *their Roof*. Nor doth the *Pestilence* find a more convenient place to hatch her *Malignities* in, than the *Bosom* of the *Indigent*. And when the *Sword* is so *noble* as to spare him, it is not so much out of *Mercy* as *Contempt*. He being *in this* only *Happy*, that his *condition* is not in a *capacity* to become *worse*, no more than in any great *probability of amendment*; since in a general *Felicity*, he only is *unhappy*. Because *Want* renders her *Owners* uncapable of *Trust*, by creating *Suspicion* before any *fault* is committed: For where *necessity* abounds, there *Theft* and *Deceit* are supposed, as an *infallible consequence*. When a *Felony* or *Murther* is committed, the next *Poor Houses* are ordinarily searched. *Where the lest is found of their own, the greater* suspicion is conceived of *what belongs to others*. And so *loathsom* is a *Beggar* esteemed, as *he* that is so *charitable* as to make him *drink*, is yet thus *uncivil* towards *him*, as to *shut the door*, and *wash* the Cup after *him*: as if it were impossible for a *Person* in *want*, either to be *true* or *wholsom*. Being shunned of the *Herd*, as one *struck* by the severest *arrow* of his *Makers vengeance*, and left nothing to accompany him but *Misery*.—Yet none may possibly apprehend him so *wretched* as *he thinks himself*: Being for the most part, deprived not only of *terrestrial*, but *future Comforts*. For if *conscious of Ill*, in what means hath he of living by, or doing any thing else but *Evil*? through *Death* (the only way to lead him out of his *transitory misery*) he apprehends *one prepared* for him that is *eternal*. The *Indigent* person, like the *flying Fish*, being not only persecuted in his *own Element*, by those more mighty; But upon *leaving* it, falls into their *terrible claws*, to whom is assigned the *Dominion* of the Air. This *Crest* having wrought so strongly with some *Complexions*, as to purge away all *Belief* of *Providence*, and revive that *old damnable Opinion* of a *double Nature in God*. Now though our *blessed Savior*

is not found *above twice* to *sustain* his *Followers* a *miraculous way*, and that in the *Desart*, where *Nature* failed; yet, by making the *Rich* to *divide* with the *Poor*, he supplyed that Defect this *uneven Distribution* occasions in the *World*. And that no small *stress* of *Christian Wisdom* lay in it, may seem to appear in the *severer punishment* inflicted by St. *Peter* (in many places stiled the *Prince* of *the Apostles*) upon *Ananias* and *Saphira*, than ever was *observed* to attend such, as *whipped*, *stoned*, and *persecuted Christ*; not only in his *own* person, but that of his followers. Wherefore, *if those* thus *set upon*, do daily fall into *Hettrodox* Opinions, or are, not seldom observed to *hang* up their *shield* of *Faith* in the *Temple* of *Despair*; and Convert the Study of *unrewarded Vertue*, into the more *thriving opportunities Deceit* affords: they ought to receive *pity from us*, because liable to the like *lapses* our selves, who through *Excess* are found to *rob the Poor*, more than *Necessity* dares do the *Rich*, out of *fear* of the *Iron-teeth* of the *Law*; in *all Nations* far more *severe*, than *those* of *Christ*. Who, by not reproving his *Disciples* for *taking the ears of Corn*, gives the *hungry belly* a *larger Charter*, in the enjoyment of *earthly blessings*, than the *Tyranny* of *Power* is willing to subscribe; it being no small *augmentation* of the *Neediest misery*, and one of the greatest torments in Hell, to see *all Plenty about* him and *want within*. To conclude all further *Discourse* on this *Tragical calamity*, I shall say (but not peremptorily) if *Sampson* found Mercy that destroyed *himself* for the *gratification* of his *Revenge*; what reason is there in denying it to these, upon the *greater Provocation of want?*

A Contemplation on Adams *Fall.*

SUch as think *Gods* first Injunction *trivial*, in prohibiting *Adam* to eat of the *forbidden fruit*, and the *temptation* to break this *Commandment*, *easie* to be avoided, do not consider that *Man* in his *Innocency* had no use of any *external* thing but *Meat*: nor other *capacity* of improving his *Intellects*, save in *Knowledge*. A *desire*, so *diffused* throughout the whole *mass* of *humanity*, that such as are too weak to apprehend *Reason* of *State*, will pry into the *Causes* of their *Landlords actions*; or, that failing, raise *Tumults* amongst *themselves* by a too near inspection and *Revelation* of the *vices* of each other *miscarriages*. And this being the most universal *Human vice*, may render it more probable to *have been* the same did accompany *Man* at the *first*: *Nature* remaining *depraved*, not *eradicated*. Wherefore this *Prohibition* was placed according to *Prudence*, upon that side our *Parents* were *weakest* on; and so more fit to receive *caution*. For, had God forbidden them *Theft* or *Murther*, they could not have apprehendeded his *meaning*: nothing but *Will corrupted* by *passion*, being able to bring forth such *uncouth sins* into *action*, which having not fallen within the compass of *Experience*, they, *by consequence*, came within the *notion* of *Knowledge*, nothing being yet presented to their *imaginations* but what was already arrived within the circuit of their *senses*. The *first Man* appearing to me, no better furnished with *Knowledge* than an *Infant* in his *Primum Innocency*; but that his *Organs* being made perfect, he was capable to apprehend all things, with the same

Dexterity,

Dexterity, his ſenſes were able to ſeed his *Fanſie*: In which they might take ſo much *pleaſure*, (ſince *nothing* is more *taſteful* to *Humanity*, than *Underſtanding*) that to make this *Spring* of *Knowledge* more fluent, he ſwallowed the *Apple*, the *Fountain* of his *Infelicity*; which inſtead of gratifying his *Taſte* and *Deſire*, depraved both. If he gave *Names* to the *Creatures* ſuitable to the *ſinful Uſe*, was after to be made of them; he did not only *propheſie their* future *miſerie*, but *his own*. And if *foreſeen*, why did he not *prevent* it? Wherefore the *fault* muſt lie, either upon his *Ignorance* or *Will*. For till his *Fall*, he ſeems, to have as little *need* of the *Elephants* Docility, or the *Oxes* Induſtry, as it is improbable, but that *they* were both made for *Imployment*: which had been *quite loſt*, together with all *the Trades*, the *Bleſſing* [of *Encreaſe* and *Multiply*] is ſuſtained by, had not *Adam* fallen from his *Original Integrity*. This makes me wonder, to find *Eve* willing, or at *leiſure* to *chat* and *goſſip* it with the *Serpent*; *the moſt remote in Symmetry*, from her own glorious *Form*, if not in *Nature*, from her *temper* and *compleXion*; eſpecially having ſo much the more *excellent* and adapted *Companion*, as her *Husband* near her to *converſe with*. Which might give credit to their *Opinion*, that the *Fall* was *long after* the *Tranſgreſſion*: but that the *impoſſibility* of her *conceiving* a *contaminated Iſſue*, whilſt *pure* in *themſelves* offers more than a probable *confutation*. It not being likely *they* ſhould *forget*, for any *conſiderable time*, to neglect one of their principal *Errands* which lay in performing the *Bleſſing* of *Diffuſing* his *Like*: The moſt *Rational Cauſe* ſuch can produce, as attribute their *Prevarication*, to an *exceſs* in *Concupiſcence*; through which the *Tree* growing in the midſt of the *Garden*, became *contaminated*. But to *bury* this *Conjecture*, (no leſs than the Opinion of *Joſephus*, "*That the Serpent had, to-*

"gether with all Creatures elſe, before the Fall, an arti-
"culate voice) in the more certain *Relation* of *Moſes*;
(though in nothing more *conciſe* and *abſtruſe*, than
about the beginning; not unpoſſibly, that he might
preſerve *Truth*, at the leaſt prejudice to *Tradition*, in
the *preſervation* of which, the *People of God* were ex-
tream, if not ſuperſtitiouſly tender.) I ſhall modeſtly
propoſe, that if the *Serpent* was really *active* in the *ſedu-
cing* of *Man*: (as may ſeem to appear, by the *Curſe*
laid upon him no leſs *diffuſive*, in reference to *this World*,
than ours, it reaching the *whole ſpecies*; obſerved
at this day, to *crawl* upon the *ground*) whether we
may not infer, that this *now diſpicable Creature*, was the
firſt that went about to infringe the *Ordinance* of *God*:
ſince thoſe that make the *Serpent* only *inſtrumental* to
the *Devils activity*, borrow it from *Conjecture* not
Reaſon, which was never obſerved to puniſh the *Sword*,
but the *Hand* that did *manage* it to *deſtruction*. Where-
fore, if it was the *Devils ſin*, nothing but the *Serpents
conſent* in making it ſelf inſtrumental, could procure a
puniſhment; no more than to the *Winds* that through
his incitation, deſtroyed the children of *Job*. Which
put together, may *crowd* a room for this *Conjecture*,
that the *Devil poſſeſſed* the *Serpent* with *Envy firſt*, at ſo
glorious a Creature as *Man* was; and after gained its
conſent to be *inſtrumental* in our *deſtruction*, and ſo a
Co-operator with Satan, and a *Fellow* in his *Sin*. For if it
be thought unpoſſible the *Serpent* ſhould do ſo ungrate-
ful a ſervice to *human nature* upon *its own* inſtigation,
it appears as unreaſonable, why it ſhould bear all the
Penalty, the *Devil* having augmented, if not *begun* his
Rebellion againſt his *Maker*, by ſeeking to deſtroy this
his *Handy work*.

Theſe ſeeming *contradictions*, together with the *Ap-
pellation* of an *Evening* and a *Morning* before the *Lu-
minaries* (the only *Dividers* of *Time*) were made, might
tempt

tempt *Philo* the *Jew*, to dreſs in the *Life* of *Moſes*, the *Story* of the *Creation* in an *Allegory* or *Fable*: who ſtanding neareſt thoſe Times, and in a *better light*, may be thought by ſuch as love to be *Sceptical*, moſt *probable*. But ſince the *Antient* and *Apoſtolical Church* (to whoſe *Creed*, ſo far as my *darker Infidelity* will give me leave, I ſhall ſubmit my *Judgement* in all *Humility*) hath *accommodated* it to *another ſenſe*, I think it, as far from *Prudence* as *Chriſtianity* to oppoſe, or in the leaſt *contradict* it.

Though apt to conſent, that the *lapſed Angels* might entertain more commerce upon *Earth* before the Promiſe of our *Saviour*, and whilſt *Man* ſtood upon his *own Legs*, than after *God* had taken him into his *Protection*; as not thinking it meet to truſt ſuch *Frailty* with ſo *potent an Enemy*. Wherefore he confined the *Devil* into *holes* and obſcure *places*, out of which upon his own *inſtigation* or *imitation* of the *Prophets* of the *Lord*, he gave his *ambiguous Oracles*, till by the brighter *apparition* of the *Star of Jacob*, they were ſtruck as irrecoverably *dumb*, as they were *blind* before: averred by *Plutarch* in his *Morals* in the *Genius* or *Ghoſt of Socrates*. And he that would find a *reaſon* why our *firſt Parents* were *aſhamed* of their *nakedneſs*, muſt not ſeek it in the *Nature* they conveyed to us, where *baſhfulneſs* is a *reſult* of *Cuſtom*, but from the *contemplation* of ſome *creature* then in *ſight really*, or *ſeemingly* more *beautiful* than *themſelves*: there being no *occaſion* for *ſhame*, but in reſpect of a more *tranſcendent perfection*. It remaining indubitable, *that Children* with *us*, and *Men* and *Women* amongſt the *Indians*, (not to be denied the *exalteſt followers* of the *primitive Dictates* of *pure Nature*,) are no more ſenſible of *ſhame*, in relation to thoſe *Parts Adam* and *Eve* are ſaid to have *covered*, than the *Europeans* expreſs, when found *barefaced*. *Bluſhing* being a *ſilent confeſſion* of a *fault*, not to be *found* amongſt the

Works of God: nor any where, till the *Law* had ſtamped the *Figures* of *Reward* and *Puniſhment* upon ſuch *Humane actions* as do *advance* or *depreſs* the general *Felicity*. *Cuſtom* being ſo exact a Diſpoſer of the *Conveniency*, if not *Conſent* of *Mankind*, as to make *divers Wives* in *Turkey* lie quietly under one and the ſame *Covering*. So as it requires more than an *Ordinary Intelligence* to diſtinguiſh between the *Free Government of Nature*, and the *Imperious Tyranny*, if I may not call it *Anarchy* (for it is not in *all places* alike) of *Education*. But leſt I ſhould appear rather a Diſciple of *Plato* than *Moſes*, I ſhall paſs by the *Rabbies* no leſs than the *Modern Philoſophers*, that conſume more time in hunting after the *Original* of the *Diſeaſe*, than the *means* to *cure* it, not to be found but in *Jeſus Chriſt*. Yet, as I ſaid before, ſince no *Heart* is empty of the *humour of Curioſity*, the *Beggar* being as attentive in his *Station* to an improvement of *Knowledge*, as the *Prince*; it is not unlikely to have been the *Primary* and *Cardinal Sin*; *from whence* the *Lines of all humane Vanities* are *drawn*, and to *which* they are *faſtned*: For if our *later Artiſts* think it no ill Argument to prove the *Baſis* of the *Earth Magnetical*, becauſe the *Loadſtone* is in all Climates found: Why may it not be concluded from as great a *Diffuſion*, that a *too Dilated deſire of Inſpection* into things, was *Original Sin*? ſince not only obſervable in *Solomon* himſelf, but in the *Poſture* of the *Fool* he draws, who ran after *Variety*: Which is only *New Knowledge* of a *Strange Woman*. And if I am not deluded by thoſe *more Learned*, one *Word* in the *Original* is taken for *Both*. But to proceed: When *Eve* ſaw the *Fruit*, ſhe did *covet*; and *concupiſcence* is enough *now* to condemn *us*, though not *then*. The *Text* placing the *Tranſgreſſion* in *Eating*, not *Deſiring*: That remaining impoſſible to be *prevented*, *all things* till *contaminated* by *Sin*, being in ſo high

high a *degree* of *perfection*, as they did *enforce* a *coveting* in *all* did behold them: " *It appearing too low a Sacrament* " *of Duty in Man, the Supreme Vice-gerent of the Al-* " *mighty, to have for a Testimony of Obedience, only abstain-* " *ed from what was in it self but meerly indifferently Good.*

It is not likely he covered his *Nakedness* with Leaves of the *same Tree* from whence he gathered his *Destruction*: As those imagine who suppose the *Indian Fig* to be the *Forbidden Fruit*: For how should he *dare* to *touch* that a *second time*, had wounded him at *first*, *quite through himself* and his *Posterity*? though confessed, a perfect *Representation* of *Guilt*. One *Root* being so *Diffusive*, as by a *Gum* that distils from the *Boughs*, to dilate it self into the *vast shade* of a *Desart*, sufficient to *cover* an *Host of men*.

Nor is *Curiosity* and a *Liquorish Desire* of enjoying *that we never tried*, (though known to be the *cloud*, in which all the Storms impending Life are engendred,) yet Cured in us. " Who by Retail drop into the same " *Error* we consider in him, as the *highest* and *most im-* " *pertinent folly*. The *Apple* of a *wandring Eye*, not be- " ing seldom found able to *overballance the wisdom of* " *Solomon*, and the *Piety* of *David*.

Wherefore it is time to give over upbraiding those Names of *Adam* and *Eve*: all things we never saw or knew, being *empty sounds*, and *impertinent Appellations*. Not seldom loaden out of *Ignorance* in the Contents of their Story, (as a number of other *dead voices* are,) with *insignificant Praise* or *Blame*. Especially since *Moses* and the *Prophets* are not heard to *condemn* them; as *conscious to themselves*, they either would or could not but have done the *like*. Yet we may safely say, that between the *suspension* of the *Promise* and the *Fall*, (which might possibly answer the time *Christ* remained on the *Cross*) *Adam* endured *greater Agonies* than ere was matched, but by *God and Man*: Who only knew

knew the *way* to *untread* the *Maze* in which *Man* had loſt himſelf, and *All* that ſhould ſucceed, If ſo wicked as to harbour a deſire of *dilating himſelf*, and bringing an Off ſpring into a like *Dilemma*, in which he ſaw nothing for the preſent, but horror joyned with a fearful *expectation of worſe* to come. Not having ſo much as the *weak twig of Hope* to ſuſtain him from falling into *deſpair*. Which could not *ſpring* but from the *Root* of an *Experience*, ariſing from a *former experimented Mercy*, the Garden having not yet produced any *Fruit* ſo *lateward*. There being as little marks of *forgiveneſs* as there was a *diſmal example* of *Juſtice* ſtamped upon the *diſobedient Angels*. Whoſe *condition* was yet ſo far *better* than *Mans*, as an *already determined Judgment* is more *tolerable* than *one* that remains ſtill *Arbitrary*, at the *Will* of an *omnipotent Power*: and in this "*miſera-*"*ble anxiety*, *God* ſaves *Adam*, whom nothing *elſe* was "ſo *merciful* as to *kill*.

Now I can do no leſs than *predicate* here a more *charitable opinion* than theirs that conclude, the *greateſt proportion of men lie under the Kingdom of Satan*: by which, the *Promiſe of Redemption* comes to be *reſtrained*, and ſo the *Truth* of its *performance obſtructed*. It being no where obſervable in the dignity of *Reaſon*, that a *ſuperlative Power* ſhould go leſs, or *beneath* in *word* in relation to *Good*. It exceeding the *reach* of the moſt *rigid diſtinction*, or *ſtrideſt interpretation* to find a *parity* or *equal proportion* between the *Head* and the *Heel*: If any were diſcoverable, between *cruſhing* and *biting*. 'This make me *tremble* at their *preſumption*, 'who carry *breath* in their *noſtrils*, yet are not afraid 'to affirm, that *all things ſo dear to our Maker*, *as to be* 'capable of a future happineſs, are not to be found out of the 'Pale of Chriſtendom, this or that Church, or rather 'Chappel. No ſingle Profeſſion extant, carrying a greater *proportion* with the *whole World* than a *peculiar*

Parſh

Parish doth to a *Province*. As if the Fountains of *Gods mercy* were not as *ingenious*, and his *seven Spirits* as *diffusive* as those of *Nilus*; by which the *want* not the *necessity* of *Rain* is supplied in *Egypt*. Nor can it be imagined with any *salvo*, to the *Dignity*, *Pity*, *Wisdom*, *Omnipotency*, and the *Promise of God* first made, and therefore likely to be most *inviolably* kept, (*he* not being as *man*, that he should *repent*) for, *that the Earth is the Lords, and all that therein is, the Fulness thereof*, cannot be *true*, if *Hell* swallow up the *major part*. And that *Christ* his *Son* should be found at the last *Assizes*, with a smaller *Train* (let their *Glory* be never so *Great*) than *his*, shall march in the *head* of those *miserable souls*, doathed with the *wrath of God*. Can any in *Prudence*, or in *Equity*, think that the *malice* of his *Enemy* should be more *diffusive* in relation to *particulars*, than the *mercy* of our *blessed Saviour*? who did not like the *Devil Fall* for our *Destruction*, but *Rise* for our *Justification*. There now lives not a greater *Infidel* than S *Thomas* was: yet the *Apostles* do not *excommunicate* him, nor *Christ rejett* him, but *cure* him through a *palpable manifestation* of those *wounds*, the *Greatest* part of the *World have not*, nor *ever had* any *Knowledge* of: Nor those most *reserved*, any *inspection* into; but what they make through so *small a Faith* as doth not answer the *proportion* of a *grain of mustard-seed*; else they would remove those *mountains* that shadow *Truth*. And if so *single* an *attestation* as *mine*, might be allowed the *boldness* to appear against such a *cloud* of *Witnesses*, as have found the *Turk* and *Pope* guilty in *person* of the *Title* of *Anti-christ*, I should *reverse* the *Sentence*; and *pronounce* it rather against that *order* of *Men*, or *Discipline*, *that put the forgiveness of God under a Bushel*, (which according to his *Dignity* and *Promise*, ought to *diffuse* it self over all the *Nations* of the *World*) rendring by this means, the *inexhaustible Treasure of Mercy*,

cy, like the *Philosophers Stone*: (of which some have made *the Gospel of Jesus Christ* but an *Allegory*) only attainable by a *People* thus *situated, instructed* and *qualified*: Whereas *none* that *call upon the name of God* (a *custom* appears by *Genesis* not to have begun *till after Adam*) are exempted out of the *primitive Grant*. The *fault* of the *Angels*, if compared with that of *Man*, will not be found upon a true *Survey*, much *different*.

The *first* endeavouring to *equal* their *Maker* in his *Power*; the *latter* in his *Wisdom*.

It is harder to find a Reason for the *Angels sin* against *God*, than their *malice* to *Man*: It being usual for *Malefactors* to hate their *Judge*, and after *sentence*, to endeavour the *hindrance* of its *Execution*, and to bring others (at least those they know he *favours*) into a *like Condemnation*; having *themselves* no better *condition* to *hope* for, nor *worse* to *fear*. Like the *wicked* of this *World*, which seek that *Ease* amongst *Company*, they are not able to *find alone*. Wherefore the preventing Satans further *Triumph*, may not improbably be numbred amongst *the causes why God shewed mercy to men*; in the *salvation* of whom, had he been so *sparing* as some imagine, *his Justice* would appear more prevalent than his *mercy*. And so run out into such a *dishonourable extream*, as cannot be *matched* in the *Practice* of the *greatest Tyrants* that ever were: Which are not found to make *temporal punishment* to extend to a *major part*, much less one *eternal*.

Whatever the *Text* may seem to import to our dull Capacities, *there* was no *likelihood* that *Adam* would have in this *condition* (if he rightly understood Himself) *Eat* of the *Tree of Life*: but rather have swallowed *Poison* (had that place afforded it.) Who by catching at the *shadow of Divinity*, lost the *real substance* of *Humanity*, at the *suggestion* of the *Devil*: who seeing *God* form a *Governour* out of the *Dust*, the most *despicable* part of

of his *Government*, yet a more *honourable* beginning than *his*, (*any thing* being better than *nothing*) he might look upon it with *disdain*, as *unworthy* the *sentence* of *Goodness*. Neither might this *humour* of *Pride* be provoked, if he be admitted so much *inspection* into *future Successe*, as to see the *Creature* he despised, should not only inherit the *Glory* he was fallen from, but *exceed* the *Angels* that *continued* in *integrity*. Thus the *Serpent* growing *fruitful* in *presumption*, endeavours to frustrate his *Makers Intention*, by labouring to *deface* his *Image* in *Man*.

But *Omnipotence* struck Light out of *Darkness*, by making the *Prince* of it *instrumental* to the *production* of his *Son*. And these *Joyful Tidings*, That *the seed of the Woman should prevail against the gates of Hell*, God brings *himself* as a *token* that he meant to perform it in his *own person*. Neither is it to be passed without *notice*, that he saith, *the seed of the Woman* only. For by that, might be prefigured the *miraculous conception* of our *blessed Saviour* without a *Man*; no less, than the *perverseness* of *depraved Nature*. For though *Adam* had thus offended and felt an *effect* of the *punishment* in his present *Apprehension*, yet he was *not able to lay* hold on the *weak Vertues* of *Repentance* and *Acknowledgment*; the *lawful Daughters* of *Hope*, with whom yet he had *no acquaintance*, much less *interest*, before the *Promise* of *Christ*. But in stead of these *tokens* of *Grace*, he wanted not the *impudence* to lay the *fault* on *God*; as if the *woman* had been *made* and *given* him for his *destruction*. And in this *Eves sin* was *less*, and her *manners* more; "For though *she* would "not take it to *her self*, but cast it on the *Serpent*, yet "she doth not *upbraid* God with the *making* of it.

Now by Gods *mild Answer* in this no less than in his *Colloquie* held with *Cain* after the murther of his *Brother*, we may find, *he* is not *angry* according to the *mode of men*, or as some *represent* him with *thunder* continually

in

in his *hand*. As if our *prevarications* and *miseries* had *created passions* in our *Maker*, and taught him to be *angry* or *merciful*. Since if ever he had been capable of *Fury*, it had *now* appeared, when he found *Malice*, *Ingratitude*, *Folly*, and *Pride* laid all in the *way* to interrupt his *Work*, which his *Justice* must have ruined, had it not been quenced by *Love*: A *Vertue* taken out of the hidden Fountain of his *Goodness*, which till then he was not pleased to *reveal*.

And here his passing by all *notice* of the *Devils* operation in *Adams Transgression* may colour *their Opinion*, that think, " *Sin did then, and now doth proceed from us* " *selves*.

Conjectur

Conjectural
QUERIES;
OR,
Problematical Paradoxes
CONCERNING
Reaſon, Speech, Learning,
EXPERIMENTS,
and other
Philoſophical Matters.

By FRANCIS OSBORN, Eſq;.

LONDON,
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To his very worthy Friend,

Mr. Ro. Wo.

Of Linc. Coll. *in* Oxon.

SIR,

DID I own the Wiſdom *and* Wealth *of* Seneca, *as truly as I do the higheſt* Affection *he pretends to in his* Epiſtles; *this had contained Matter no leſs ſuitable to the* Greatneſs *of your* Judgmennt, *than the* Obligation *I muſt ever acknowledge I owe to your* Goodneſs.

But ſince I am reſtrained from the firſt by Birth, *as I am from the latter by* Fortune; *you may yet be wooed to a more charitable acceptance upon this conſideration, that though the* Preſent *be ſmall, it was not* filched *from* Epicurus, *or any Magazine of* Knowledge, *than what lies included within my own* Invention. *Which proves* this *I ſend you, as abſolutely* mine, *as ever it was* theirs (*if any ſuch be*) *that may have* diſcovered *it before I was born. For being acquitted by my Conſcience of all* Theft *in this kind, I take the* Recitements *of* others Opinions, *as relating to no greater a* ſhame *in me, than thoſe are* obnoxious *to, who enriched us with* Guns *and* Printing, *be-*

cauſe ſome maintain they were uſed in China *many thouſand years before. The vanconter being no leſs* happy *than his that ſtumbled on it at firſt.*

I confeſs I have been ſo baſely abuſed by Books, *as that I entertain none but upon high* Commendations: *and thoſe rather* New *than* Old, *however the World is pleaſed to look a ſquint upon them as leſs deſerving, though ſome have appeared of Late to* admiration, *and ſo far* tranicendent *as I fear our* Period *is near.* Ignorance *and* Barbarism, *being commonly the laſt ſubdued before a general Deſtruction.*

Knowledge *hath been ever taken for an infallible* portent *of* Ruine, *found* ſo buſie a Companion, *as ſhe leaves nothing unpried into, in* Heaven *or* Earth, *towards the* Heights *and* Depths *of which ſhe is ſtill continually rolling her* Conjectures *and caſting her Darts; tenable through no* Opinions *long, but what ſhe remains fettered to with the ſtrong* Chains *of the* Mathematicks. *A Study no leſs* natural *than* neceſſary. *The employment of* Children *in their exacteſt* innocency, *being to make* Houſes *and* raiſe Pies *of* Dirt. *So as if this inclination were encouraged and ſupported through the direction of diſcreet* Teachers, *theſe* Buds *might come in future to yield* (*without tormenting and ſubduing their Spirits*) *more* wholſome Fruit *than the crueller Culture of the* School *was ever found yet able to produce.*

But I hold it no Prudence here to give a ſecond blow, by which the Idolaters *of* former Cuſtoms *may be tempted to a like* ſeverity, *in caſe I ſhould miſtake; as 'tis very poſſible I may. The* Land-skip *I endeavour to draw being darkened through* Ignorance, Superſtition, *and what is more dreadful, a thick and obſcure cloud of* different Judgements *ſo long imbraced for the* Goddeſs *of* Truth, *as none can proſecute the contrary though never ſo far off, under hope of a milder penalty, than to be ſent away* naked, *and* wounded, *which cannot but be thought an* uncivil *kind of* Juſtice, *and unſuitable to the* Primitive *and* richer Ages

of

of the World: *Where then as few were denied to ſearch as we find now able to* determine. *Every Sect of* Philoſophers *domineering in his Station.*

Yet rather than betray Natural Reaſon *into their hands who deſire to cut off all farther* Traffick *with the Land of* Knowledge, *I ſhall leave theſe* Paradoxes, Problems, Queries, Conjectures, *or what you pleaſe to call them, wholly to your Diſpoſure. Being reſolved neither to be* dejected, nor elated *through their* Deſtruction *or* Preſervation. *Only I am confident if they can paſs with the ſmalleſt degree of* your approbation, *it may prove a ſafe conduct in Juſtice againſt the ſevereſt Cenſures of others, no leſs than a perpetual teſtimony that I am*

Your faithful Friend

and Servant.

Conjectural *Paradoxes*

Concerning

Reaſon, Speech, Learning, Experiments, &c.

MOſt *Philoſophy* lies clouded by *Diſputes*, and the *Magiſterial Determinations* of the *Schools*, from whence it hath till of late, been thought preſumption to appeal; though *manifeſt Errors* do appear in what they have already judged: and many as material things paſſed by under *ſilence* or *reſtraint*, that cannot be denied as fit to be known. Nor are any ſo likely to *diſcover* new *Truths* as ſuch as march *by themſelves* and out of the *beaten track* of others. *Curious Ideas* being like *Precious Stones*, ſooner *ſtumbled* upon and found in places leaſt looked for, than *ſtarted* by the *Direction* of any that went before; who have left only *diſcouragement*, or at leaſt but a *negative*, or ſuch a *perplexed knowledge*, as renders their *underſtanding* that reſt in it, more *effuſcated* and *gloomy* than the moſt ſtupid *ignorance* it ſelf.

Which together affords me cauſe enough to think our rare '*Inventions* and *pregnant wits ſtifle their own* '*natural fertility through a too long and frequent commerce*

'*with Books*; *not ſeldom of a contrary complexion and* '*ſtile to the Readers*: *yet forced out of Cuſtom to be con-* '*verſant in them.* By which he is brought to *ſtammer* and become ſo *diffident* of himſelf (ſuch *Learning* lying in *Memory* the moſt *pedantical* part of *Knowledge*) as he dares not deliver his own *Opinion* out of *reverence* to *Antiquity* or any *Authors* elſe, but in the *ſame words* he finds it written. The *doting* upon *Foreign Authority* keeping us ſtill at a *ſtand*: like the *Body* of *Joabs* Brother, beyond which the *Iſraelites* would not paſs, out of a vain reverence to their *General.*

And thus all further *proſecution of Knowledge* and *Conqueſt over Ignorance* is obſtructed, and *Scholars* tied to *cultivate* and confine their *Travels* within the Circuit of a barren *Wilderneſs*, ſtocked with *inſignificant terms*, and ſuch *crabbed alluſions* and *improbable concluſions*, that have no better Plea for their *Authority* than the exorbitant veneration which *Tradition* rather than *Merit*, hath awarded *Antiquity* above the *equal*, if not *better Judgments* found in *our Age.* Nor is there hope of any further or more happy *Progreſs* till theſe *rotten Carcaſſes* be *removed* out of the way, or *covered* from their Eyes that want not Hearts and abilities to *jog* on better without them.

The *firſt Man* could have at the beginning but this advantage of a *Child*, that his *Organs* were immediately *fited* and *prepared* to *receive*, no leſs than *retain Knowledge.* Which in an *Infant* are *obſtructed* through want of *room*, or too great a *redundancy* of *phlegm* or *moiſture.*

For if *Adam* was furniſhed with more, it muſt be *ſupernatural*, and ſo far above humane apprehenſion, as it is to imagine how he ſhould *know his Goods*, or the *uſe* of what he never had ſeen or *tried*, unleſs we conceive he brought an *Inventory* or *Herbal* into the World with him.

Wherefore

Wherefore according to humane understanding, *Reason* like *Fire* was at the begining but a *Spark*, till through a confluence of all *events* happenable to Man, it received *augmentation*, as the other did from the supplement of *Matter*; and having once *caught Paper*, did *illuminate* the *World*.

Now though so much *Knowledge* is not unlikely to be found in the *Creature*, as that with the same *advantages* to increase it, they might become more intelligent than still to remain *Slaves*: Yet I find room for a *Querie*, 'Whether *this defect* (if capable of that Title) 'doth *not proceed rather from the want of Speech, than* 'perception? Or *whether Humanity that arrogates so* 'high, *as to proclaim it self Lord over all, may not be* 'found *in some Persons and Places* (as it might not 'impossibly have been in the rest) *little more ratio-* 'nal, *had it not greater stock of Experiments, to traffick* 'with *than every respective individual is able to glean up of* 'himself? Our advantages proceeding from *Commerce*, whose Wheel once set a work did quickly manifest on which side *Gain* or *Loss* lay, the *primitive Knowledge* of *Good* and *Evil*, and before whose door *Sin* was first found.

And this *inspection into things* at the beginning dim and modest, became by handing from one generation to another, so *huge* a *Mountain* in their estimation who presumed to have made a full and exact *Survey* of the Land of *Knowledge*; that with the *Gyants* of old, they did not only rant it over mens *Persons* and *Consciences*, by proportioning what extent of *Worship* befitted the *Gods*, but erected their *Pillars* upon the borders of *Philosophy* under such an *imperious injunction*, as none till of late have ventured to discover any thing beyond them; though found in other *descriptions* and *relations* very *false*, by *multiplying* such poor *advantages* as *man* hath acquired, and *depressing* greater which do naturally

belong to the *Creature*, who is inſpired with the ſame *breath*, inhabits the ſame Earth, is more *healthful* and *ſtrong*; only he ſeems to come ſhort in *Reaſon*. The *Original* of which I ſhall make my further endeavour to *diſcover*. And if it prove in the *abſtract* more *adventitious* than *natural*, and *leſs beneficial* than the *Senſes*, upon whoſe *ruine* ſhe hath built her foundation, I hope it may hold forth an *Uſe* of *humility* unto us, if not move *pity* towards the *Creature*, who the *Apoſtle* juſtly ſaith, *groans* for its *Deliverance*.

It is on all hands confeſſed without the leaſt whiſper of Contradiction, that 'luxurious, idle and vitious Nations are moſt pregnant and happy in the richeſt Endowments of the mind. And that it is ordinary with divers 'in Ecſtaſies, Feavers, acute Diſeaſes, and during the 'ſtorms of Love, Fear, &c. to have their Inventions ſoar 'higher than in a more entire Health they have been found 'after able to reach. From whence it is deducible, that *Reaſon* (for ought we know) may be but the *effect* of thoſe *corporeal infirmities* from which without queſtion it receives *Augmentation*. Since *Wiſdom* is not found frequently mingled with *ſtrength* and *beauty*. The richeſt endowments *unſophiſticated Nature* appears to own in all things living beſides; whereas ſome, if not the generality of men outwardly *crooked* and *deformed* utter *Inventions* moſt *neatly compoſed*. The *loſs* and *defect* in one external *Senſe* or *Part* making a treble *compenſation* in the *mind*: contrary to *Beaſts*, amongſt whom thoſe of the *exacteſt Features* are moſt *uſeful* and *docile*.

Nor is it probable but ſuch *variety* of *Food* ſeparated from the blood by *Fire*, and compounded with *Sugar*, *Spices*, *Salt*, *Sawces*, *Perfumes*, with all ſorts of *Viands* relating to the *high taſte*, which eaten are convertible into our own *Bodies*, ſhould alter and add to the Faculties of the *Mind*, and fill us in the *Day* with ſome of thoſe *rational Raptures* we apprehend from the *vapours*

they

they raiſe ſo palpably during *ſleep*: Not to be denied the effects of a *Diſtempered Brain*, and ſtrangers to ſuch *Creatures* and *Perſons* as are of more *natural dyets*, or make their *repaſt* on *Herbs* and *leſs ſophiſticated meats* through which *flegm* is increaſed, to known a *retarder* of *underſtanding* as to protract the *maturity* of *children*, till by a *drier aliment* and *unnatural heat* they are expoſed to (eſpecially their *heads*) it is conſumed; a *concurrent cauſe* of this *rational advantage* we pretend to have over *Beaſts*, that wanting the uſe of *Fire*, are neceſſarily more repleniſhed with *fluid humours*, and ſo by conſequence *leſs wiſe*, though far more *agil*, *healthful and ſtrong*. Whereas thoſe to whom we allow the largeſt proportion of *underſtanding*, are *weak*, *meager*, and ſtill under ſome *courſe* of *Phyſick*, which may paſs for another *cauſe of knowledge*; the *operations* of the *mind* being moſt *prevalent* in *decrepit bodies*.

The ſame is incident to *Wine*, that doth not ſeldom *inſpire* a *Clown* with *civility*, a *Coward* with *valour*, the moſt ſordidly *Coveteous* with *liberality*; and (what is moſt conducible to the Aſſertion in hand) a *Fool* with a larger proportion of *Wit* than he had, though unable to reduce it into a *habit*, by reaſon of ſome *obſtruction* or *leakage* in his *Organs*. From whence it is as apparent, that *fancy* and *conceit* may be gratified at the prejudice of the *Senſes*, no leſs than by the uſual practice of *Students*, *Poets*, and *Accomptants* that uſe all endeavours to exclude and ſtifle the *Ideas* both of their *Eyes* and *Ears*, whoſe *Diverſions* they can by no means admit without hazarding the happy ſucceſs of all they are in labour to bring about. Whereas *Beaſts*, by reaſon of their continual *fears* find leiſure to be attentive to nothing but *ſenſe*. Like a *Town beſieged* wherein all other Arts ceaſe, but what may contribute to *Relief* and *Preſervation*, becauſe *Hearing* & *Smelling* are their chiefeſt *Out-Gards*, & without which they cannot in ſafety gather their *food*. Nor doth

doth their care extend beyond this for want of that Spur of *Necessity* (formed through the mediation of their own *Arts* and *Nature*) with which *men* are pricked on to *new inventions*. Being at better *leisure* and more *security*. Able (standing in little awe but of their own *species*) to consume those Spirits in *internal contemplations*, through which both themselves and their Fellow-Creatures are rendred more *miserable* than by Nature, without this improvement (of what they call *Wisdom*) they needed to have been; whilst the other *animals* are forced to dissipate them amongst their *Senses* only to purchase *food* and *safety*. Yet the *knowledge* so much boasted of, is no more *ours* than *Hony* is the *Bees*, before picked up out of the *less erring practices* of the more *innocent Creatures*, from whence they have deduced their best *principles* to the very *Arts* used by themselves in the *preservation* or *destruction* of their own *kind*. And these hoarded up in *Memory*, *the Magazine of by-past Events*, though possibly at first no more retentive in *mans in...* than *beasts*, till by the fumes of the former mentioned *excess*, urs become so oyly like a *Pot lid*, and apt for *receipt*, as nothing worthy observation could escape without leaving an *impression* behind it. And in this *mold* with the help of *Fire*, and a continual *refining* through Time, the *pure...* *reason*, so much relied on by *Statists* and *Politicians* came at first to be cast.

And that this is not obtruded upon belief under a single testimony, it may be found the Opinion of the *French Nation*, where they have not a more apposite expression for a *Fool*, than that *his Head is ill made*. No weak argument of an universal Belief, that Mad-wives skill doth highly conduce to an *advancement* or *depression* of *Wisdom* in a *Child*. And from hence I have been led to this wish, that the like office might be performed on the behalf of a young *Ape* (of the *Kingdom of Congo*,

of

of which ſome years ſince I ſaw one in *England*, that bare a Symmetry, if not throughout, yet very little differing from a *childs*) whoſe *skull* being kept from a too ſudden cloſing by *heat*, *ſwathing*, and the reſt of the *ligations* uſed by *Nurſes* to *Infants*, might not unpoſſibly acquire reaſon, which once attained, the *impediments* to *ſpeech*, (whoſe principal cunning lies in a *muſical Diviſion*, or *mincing a continued ſound into articulate Notes*) would be no ſooner diſcovered than removed: We enjoying many things under the favour and endeavours of *Reaſon*, far more difficult and remote from the Confines of Nature, than the *Coinage of Languages* rendred apparent through the *multitude* of them met with in the World. And this once acquired, though by *chance* and not altogether conſonant to the exact pattern of *Nature*, *Cuſtom*, aſſiſted by *Imagination* might render diffuſive for the future. As I believe not only many of our new purchaſed *qualities*, but divers of thoſe, *mans curioſity* hath imprinted upon his *own Kind* or *others*, are already become manifeſt in a *ſucceſſion of Dogs whelped without tails*. To which *mutilation* (at firſt no queſtion purely humane, or meerly accidental) Nature hath been ſo indulgent already, as inſtead of an unſightly *Bob*, to form a ſharp comely *Bone*, like the *Scut* of a *Deer*.

Now ſince we are able to *add* to, or *diminiſh* from *Natures* work, both in reference to *body* and *mind*, it cannot appear improbable, that many *alterations* (perhaps greater than we are able to imagine, or ready to believe) have had their *Flux* and *Reflux* often repeated, or changed ſince the beginning. Which may render it no *improbable Opinion*, (but as *true* as formerly it hath been *common*) that *Apes were of the ſeed of Cham*, or elſe the *by-blows of ſome wild ſtock of humanity*: the *Characters* of whoſe kind remaining no leſs manifeſt in their *Bodies*, than *affections* to *Women*: of which there are ſo many

ny living Witneſſes, as it were ſuperfluous to endeavour to prove it. Only this may be added as a further teſtimony: that *my ſelf* have ſeen *two Monkies* that for many years did not fail to have duly a *Lunary Purgation.*

Nor is this any rare *Diſcovery*, but cited as a Report by the Lord *Mountaign* in his *Eſſays*, no leſs than we find it in the uſual practice of the *Almighty* in the *Scriptures*, '*To puniſh a ſin in the ſucceſſion of a Family*, as he did ſome with *ſhort life*, others with *Leproſie*, &c. The recital of which I will fully omit, it being my *task* rather to *propoſe* than *determine.*

And if any underſtand what is ſaid here in a more *poſitive* ſenſe, they abuſe themſelves no leſs than wrong me; who have no ſtronger Aſſertions to juſtifie this than my weak Conjecture, which is, that *if God laid the Deprivation of Reaſon upon theſe Monſters* (for other they cannot appear to be, bearing a *ſhape* and owning *Geſtures* as various from the reſt of *Animals*, as their Conceptions are remote from the *prudence* of a *man*) '*for any peculiar offence*, or that *humane Luſt did cauſe it*, '*by caſting ſeed into an irrational and improper ſoil*, there '*lies no cure for this beſtiality*, *if not in heat. Cold* being a heavy Enemy to *activity* of the *mind*, though a tryed Friend to *ſtrength*, and a continuer of *perfection.* As *heat* on the contrary melts and refines the *Spirits* into a *more rational temper.* The firſt of which is exemplified in *Sheep* and *Kine*, which though uſeful, cannot be excluded the *Catalogue* of the moſt *ſimple*: For expoſing their *new fallen Young* to the injury of the Weather, their *Pores* become ſealed up ſo cloſe as the *Groſs* and *Flegmatick* ſtrangle the *purer Spirits*, only capable of that *vivacity* and *cunning* found in thoſe *Creatures* forced to uſe *Stratagems* in the gaining of their Food, whoſe *Whelps* are *houſed* in *Dens* and *Thickets.* Nor are the *foggy humours* in thoſe *Creatures* rarified by

by *Sweat*, moſt proper to the *heads* of *men*, that in *Horſes* being rather *ſqueezed* out by *Labour*, than diſtilled gently by *Drops*, through which *Nature* obtains an opportunity to *pick* and *chooſe*, who uncompelled will part with nothing but what is *bad* or *ſuperfluous*.

Now if the *head* be capable of molding into one *Figure* more apt for the production of *Reaſon*, than another (as it is on the ſide of common experience confeſſed) then can as little doubt be made but that it muſt needs have been litt upon in a far leſs revolution of Time than the *World* hath already paſſed over, if certain of her own *Chronologie*, which ſome have extended *many thouſand of years* beyond what by *Faith* we are obliged to believe. And *Wiſdom* once attained could never be loſt; ſince (as it is reported of the *Elixar*) ſhe receives *augmentation* and *improvement* from every *event*. And becauſe our greater *ſecurity* and *variety* of *Food* hath ſuffocated and abated ſo much of our *ſenſe*, as it is in no proportion able to find imployment for our *fancy*, (againſt whoſe Nature it is to be *idle*) as *that* more *entire* may do in the *Creature*: *Man* is continually *ruminating* of what is *paſt*, or *attentive* on what is *preſent*, and by *comparing* of theſe, is in ſome Mediocrity taught to determine of the *Future*. Having *Wiſdom* or *Folly* objected to him, according as the *Conjecture* doth quadrate with *Truth*, and the concurrence of a *happy ſucceſs*. Whereas the reſt of Animals not being able to eſtate their *Young*, and ſuch as ſucceed in their dear-bought *experiences*, (if not for want of *memory* the *mint of Knowledge*, yet out of an *incapacity* for *Diſcourſe*, and diſability to imploy ſuch *Arts* as are only proper to *Societies* limited by *Laws*) become *ſtunted* in their *Knowledge*; and without *improvement*, not owning a larger *Stock* than the *Brevity* of a *turbulent life* is able to accumulate,

accumulate, for want of *Words*, which coined into *Questions* and *Answers*, are only able to *Barter* our own, and *purchase* the *Wisdom* belonging to *others*.

Now if any think people were born *Wise* at the *first*, (I mean in relation to the *understanding* now *current*) they cannot but alter their Opinion upon *contemplation* of the vast *improvement* one *Age* makes of what went before, and how many *new* and more *useful Arts* are not as it were daily *invented*.

And as the *want of Words* is a total *Eclipse* of any nearer *dawn* or further *progress* in the *Creature* towards *Reason*; so we find the *confusion of Languages* no small *Impediment* to the enlargement of *Mans*: The which (as is observable in some *Plagues* else) though immediately poured on us by God for *Sin*, have their radical *cause* yet extant in *Nature* it self: so a *variety* in *Dialects* may by such probabilities as these seem to be occasioned, *Speech* being but an *appellation* of *things* of which *Providence* hath bestowed many in *one place*, denied to *others*, a *diversity of Languages* must needs attend as a necessary consequence. Made yet more various and less intelligible from *moisture* and *drouth*; through whose mediocrity or excess, *sound* is rendred either *liquid* or *mute* proportionate to the *contraction* or *extension* of their *Organs* who do, or may hereafter inhabit the place. That cannot but naturally own the Causes of such Effects. Some *pumping* their *Words* out of their *Throats*, others *lower*. As I knew a tall *Scotchman* allowed a Pension from King *James*, that could frame a *Voice* at the *mouth* of his *Lungs*, seeming to be remote from the Ears of the nearest By-stander. A *Fallacy* no less likely to be in practice with the *Priests* of *Apollo*, than the *Original* of many *miraculous narrations* of *old*. And through this *variety of Tone* and *Pronunciation*, it often comes to pass, that an *Englishman* is not able readily to converse with a *Stranger* in one and the

the same *Latine*. From whence we may modestly observe that *Nature* had the *Confusion of Tongues in Babylon*, before God reduced it into an *actual Plague*. Who did not then create it a new, no more than he did the *Rain-bow*. But did only accommodate this Punishment to his present purpose.

Now though the *multiplicity* of *Idioms* may in some part Cloud our *Knowledge* from the *Experiences* to be gained by *Strangers*, yet the *Time* usually spent, and the *hardship* endured at *School* to dissipate these *mediums*, and to learn to see through them, may not unpossibly be heavier and more tedious than the *curse* it self.

It being likelier to have been the voice of *Custom* than *Reason* that *fanted* a bare *Knowledge* in *Tongues* with the *title* of *Learning*. In the prosecution of which the *Spirits* of *Children* are blunted, and *Wit* exchanged for *insignificant Terms*, and a *stupid* ignorance of all things else, under the tyrannical Regiment of an ignorant *Pedagogue*. Who if good for any thing, that *he* must needs go so averse to the grain of his Understanding, as he cannot but be a meer *Emperick* in it. Apparent in the most, because seldom undertaken, but as a *last Reserve*, and after more easie and thriving *Professions* have been tried. Where if the *salary* prove not more *necessary* to his *Fortune*, than so unmanly an *Erudition* doth to the miserable *child*, 'tis easie to guess who drove the Bargain. And this *Plague* past some to hail themselves out of the *Deserts* of *Want*, and the Sons of others less needy to attain an insight into such *Tongues* as our Ancestors *Folly*, not *Reason*, prompted them to prefer before *Experience*, the *Dialect* of the *World*, and with which you may travel further, and in more security than with all the *Learning* in *Europe*.

The *child* now in his most *Docile age* to *study men*, and *softest temper* to take the *impression* of *patience* and *compliance*, is by a learned Tutor and brazen-faced *impudence*

pudence gained in the *Schools* ſwept and garniſhed to receive a *ſeven fold* more *wilful* and *indomitable ignorance* in relation to what is convenient and becoming a *Citizen of the World.* A falſe Opinion of what he *has not* covering from his apprehenſion ſuch *defects* as really he hath.

Such as make *Learning* a full imployment have their *Judgement* ſo over-awed by *Antiquity*, that like *Players* they dare preſent nothing in publick, but what their *Poets* have left them written. And if any exception can be made againſt that general *Rule*, which concludes *a too long continuance at the Univerſity no great advance of parts*, it will be found amongſt ſuch as paſſed under the notion of *Raſcals* and *Libertines.* It being obvious to proof (if I were willing to regiſter thoſe *glorious Names* under ſuch a *monſtrous head*) that none have graced *Learning* more than ſome the *Univerſity* hath exploded. *Invention* being an *Art* of too noble a nature, to be learned under an *Apprentiſhip*, or the great reſtraint of the *Schools*, that ſpoil and dead the freſh and *piquant* taſte of later and *new Wits* by putting them into *old forms*, patched up with *Sentences*, which doth unavoidably make a *rent* in the *Authors ſtile.* It being impoſſible for one to write or behave himſelf ſuitable to the guſto of all, or of the major part that hath not ſpent his time in a more *univerſal commerce* than the guize of an *Academy* is able to afford. And if any doubt of this *Truth*, ſhew the *Infidel* a *meer Scholar* in the *company of Ladies*; or (that failing to convert him,) a *managing* his *Horſe* or *Eſtate* after the old *Idolater* his *Father* or *Uncle* is dead; who thought no other *Calves* deſerved to be *Worſhipful* that had not learned to bleat after the *mode* of *Dan* or *Bethel.*

The ancient, and indeed moſt *natural Tryal* for *Land* in this Nation (ſince *Strength* and *Valour* meaſures out the livelyhood and Place of abode to every Creature)

Creature) was by *Combat*: At this day reduced into the *Art of Fencing*, whose exactest Professors are not seldom confounded and beaten out of their *play*, by an *allive Country-man*, that owns no more *Cunning* than a *robust arm*, and a *quick eye* is able to inform a *Cudgel* withal, easily found in every Wood: because managed contrary to a *premised method*. The practice of the *Science*, (far easier called *Noble*, than proved so) had only acquainted the *Fencer* with, who becomes further to seek, and is put in a greater Disarray through this more *natural*, but less *methodical* way, than another possibly might have been, that deals his Blows by a less Artificial Direction. The *Faculties* of *Soul* and *Body* being observed at long running to receive seldom amendment, often *Detriment* from the Restrictions of *Art*: unless in things like *Painting* meerly *delusive*, or *Grafting* and *Planting* wholly laborious. These being Imbellishers, if not Restorers of *Nature*, whereas the *Liberal Sciences* (as the *Schools* call them) labour to confine *Experience* within *General Rules*, though found to be as diffusive and numberless as the Accidents and *Events* depending upon *Motion*. And through whose mediation alone, Reason is capable of a further *improvement*.

As Mans refusing no *nourishment* hath already been owned (and I doubt not but under the favour of some seeming probability at least) for an *Advancer* of that *Wisdom*, we transcend the rest of *Gods Creatures* in. So, I presume it may as rationally be proposed for an *occasion* of long Life: (since through so various a *change* of *meats* the several *humours* of our *Bodies* are in a continual vicissitude so stimulated and held in such an equal contest, as neither *Heat* nor *Cold*, *Drouth* nor *Moisture* are suffered to exceed that just proportion Nature hath assigned to maintain all things in Being: few *Creatures* attaining to so *long a continuance* as *Ele-*

phants, *Horſes*, *&c.* moſt Domeſtical with men, which by reaſon of the great *variety* of *Herbs* they feed on in Summer, and their *dry Diet* in *Winter* (noted by *the honourable Reſtorer of Philoſophy* for a great *prolonger of Life*) do not ſeldom reach the moſt ordinary Ages of Men. And amongſt *Birds*, thoſe of *Prey*, *Parrots* and *Geeſe*; the *firſt* feeding on all ſorts of *Fleſh*, nor will they refuſe *Fiſh* upon occaſion; As the *ſecond* of every thing eatable by us; The *third* upon what is held *venemous* to humane *Nature*, beſides *Graſs* and *Corn*. Whereas *Doves*, *Sparrows*, &c. are of ſhort *continuance*. To which I ſhall only add, in favour of my former Aſſertion, that the *Fowls* firſt mentioned come ſhort in *underſtanding* of nothing that hath *Wings*.

I heard it firſt affirmed by a *French Student* in *Phyſick*, and known it verified by my own *experience* in relation to many, that all *Fowl may be eaten*, (if not for *Delight*) in a *Siege*, or time of *neceſſity*, without danger. *Opinion* rather than *Nature* having cauſed a *diſguſt* generally ariſing againſt ſome (of themſelves) *delicate meats*, as my ſelf can atteſt for *Young bald Buzzard*, *Sparrow hawks*, *Owls*, &c. Together with a number of things more an effeminate niceneſs hath exploded our *Tables*. Yet in the mean time *Muſhrooms*, *Frogs*, *Wheles*, *Snails*, *&c.* have crawled into the *Diſhes of Princes*, and are daily eaten in their Courts for *Dainties*, which amongſt other *Viands* not in uſe amongſt our *Anceſtors* are not unlikely to occaſion other Vapours than their more unſophiſticated *food* did Alembeck the heads of ſuch orderly Perſons withal, whoſe *Dreams* if not *waking imaginations* muſt needs differ from ours. As I can inſtance from a repeated *Experiment* of my own, who encouraged through the former mentioned *Frenchmans* confidence, did eat at Supper a conſiderable quantity of the *Green wood ſpite* with the *Long Tongue*. After which I found my *Sleep* taken up with a

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truth, and (as I then apprehended) no *impertinent Fancies*, the cause I made a second *Experiment*, with the like success From whence may be deduced, that if our *nourishment* or any outward or inward *application* or *digestion* may be of force to inspire *Sleep* with various *Dreams*, which remembred waking, seem not unworthy our own most serious *meditations*, no less than the attention of others more wise. *Man* alone that hath extended his *food* over all things eatable cannot but participate of every Effect they are either in gross or respectively liable unto, and so capable of a more diffusive *knowledge* than the *Creatures*, not able to digest that *variety Custom* hath rendred the *stomachs of men* familiar withal. *Theirs* being commonly of *one temper*, and without mixture. *Ours hot* and *cold*, *dry* and *moist*, bordering upon the next Confines of *Poison*; and not seldom a *Composition* of all *Contrarieties* together. Now if our *Bodies* (as Dr. *Brown* no less wittily than truly saith) '*are in a 'small revolution of time licked from our Trenchers*, why may not what we eat, work as effectually upon our *spirits* as *flesh*, and as well waking as asleep?

Upon the first view of *Cornelius Agrippa's Vanity of Sciences*, I did applaud his *diligence*, in becoming so versed in every *Profession*, no less than his resolute detection of their Abuses: By which he confirms me in the *opinion*, that what we esteem *Wisdom*, is of no more signal *advantage* (as I have often said) than what is deducible out of the weakness of others. Yet upon inspection into the Bottom of his *reprehensions*, I find the world is held up and kept in plight meerly by *cheating*: so as those *Trades* he hath reduced under a numeration are not only guilty, but *himself*, and all such as make it their *Pastime* if not their business to be *sceptical* in what is generally looked upon as *certain*; and to fish for more probable *Truths* in the *Depths* of Nature. Where nothing is found pure without mix-

ture, (if we may not with reverence say *Sophistication*) to her very products of *life and death*. Since the one would be as far to seek of any *content* in the absence of *Hope*, as the other of *Bitterness* out of the presence of *Fear*. Now since the *Mother of all things* useth such slights to flatter her children into the act of *Generation*, for her own sake of *continuance*, and for the same hath represented *Death* in the most odious aspect, to *terrifie* us out of the *desire of the Grave*, (which though opposite to her present intention, cannot but be as necessary to a future, and that which *Religion* teacheth, is only capable to make us in the least measure happy) how should her Creature *Man* produce more useful, or gather more lasting *Fruit* than those of *Sodom*, that vanish upon the offer of *Fruition*, since the most beneficial *Calling* or *Imployment* is uncapable of affording a more *honourable salary* than *Industry* can worm out of the *wants* of *others*? From whence we may safely affirm, that *sin* is the chiefest *Task-master*, since the most are busied about what is *destructive*, *superfluous*, or *uncertain*. And to remove this from *vulgar understandings*, the best and readiest Chapman for all things adulterated in reference to *Honour*, *Profit*, and *universal Good and Tranquillity*, the preservation of which hath diminished much of the Natural Stock belonging to particulars. Such ranting *Terms* as *Agrippa* mentions, are stuffed into all *Sciences*. Through which the most familiar things are rendred *unintelligible* without a *Lexicon*. And in no other respect useful, than like *Gawdy Shells*, and Glistering Stones to adorn the *Fountain of Learning* towards the gratification of their Eyes, who led by the *Ocean* of *Books* that daily issue out, come to visit them like the *Heads* of *Nile*. Though such *Caving* cannot but be destructive to nearer *Relations*, by which every Profession is furnished

nished with an opportunity of *Deceit*, to the end of the Chapter of *Trade*. The continuance of which, renders the *Buyer* oftentimes further to seek in the knowledge of the *Name*, than the *Thing*. An inconvenience so visible and *Epidemical*, as it could never have come under my Pen, had it continued within the Circle of *Man* obnoxious to the like fault, and not fallen so heavy upon *Children*, whose misery no less than *loss of Time*, I have not yet forgot; indured and spent upon *forms* little different from those of a *Gally*, to no more thriving an intention in reference to the *Publick*, than *Apothecaries* paint and adorn their *Shops*, which is to delude the *ignorant*, and hide from *inspection* such Arts as lie more in *Parade* than *Substance*. The occasion not only of a greater expence of *years* in this *Limbo*, to the loss of the more useful *vision* of *Experience*, but a smaller proficiency in *Learning*, such being held so long viewing the *Superscription*, as small leisure (if any desire) is left to consider the *contents*. Nor doth the *universality* of this abuse render it more tolerable than the *multitude*, as well as *variety of Company* can the *pains of Hell*. *Learning* running in this course so contrary to what she professes, which is to render *Reason more plain*, that she brings, like *Eve*, a *tattered Apron* to cover it.

Though *Chalk-stones* may appear of too weak and soft a temper to perfect a *Fabrick*, yet they become useful and necessary to mark and delineate the *first Grounds* for the greatest and most exact *Designs*: So *Idea's* the Embryo's of Knowledge, are not seldom found in *heads* apter for *Conception* than *Production*. It being a labour proper and peculiar to *Jupiter* alone to be at once delivered of so exact a *Minerva*, and so strongly armed as may be proof against *Detraction* and *Emendation*.

Yet *rambling Wits* ought (in my poor Judgment) to be indulged, because by crumbling their *Conjectures* on all Subjects, they have in every Age further inriched the World, than *solider understandings* are known to have done. Which may appear upon *Trial* fitter for *Nurses* than *Mothers*, whom in a short time they teach their *Children* to forget, and *call that by their own names*, never cost them more pains than to *educate* and *cloath* suitably to the apprehensions of men. A *truth* so manifest, that if all the *Arts* (not to mention the *Altars*) were forced to restore what hath been primitively borrowed from the *Poets*, they would (if not be *naked*) want many of their richest *Ornaments*. And if we call to account who first did embellish our *Language*, we shall not find them amongst the *greatest Clerks*, but such as were more conversant with *Men* than *Books*. For though the first, like flegmatick *Cattle*, hanging their *Noses* still over their *Tablets*, may appear more *plump* and *voluminous*, yet such as with the *Eagle* survey the *World*, cannot but be more *active* and *Exemplary*.

Nature holds out proof against all *constraint*. For if violated in one *sense*, it is still for a gratification of some other *passion* or *affection*, at the present most prevalent, *Cats*, *Ferrets*, *&c.* do not seldom devour their *young*, but 'tis always for want of Water or Meat. Nor are *Women* (out of Fear and Shame of what *Law* hath rather forged than found in the *Records* of Nature) less cruel to their *Children*, when squeezed between the Bark of *Reproach*, and the dreadful *Tree* of *Destruction*, they make them away.

For though *Nature* hath placed *Mother* and *Child* in a relation next *in blood*; She hath removed them many Degrees off in that of *Affection*, ever most prevalent in reference to *Themselves*; Especially when *all hope* determines as it doth here.

To

To conclude, *Self-Murther* (as we call it, though reckoned amongst the highest results of *Valour*) being still to avoid a *present*, or put to silence all expectation of *Future Misery*, esteemed more than *Death*, may no more than the rest be contrary to the award of this *universal Mistress*, whose highest intention is *Well-being*, no more than it is against Reason, *Of two Evils to make choice of the Least*.

No *Element* is found lyable to a more general *Diminution* than it is subject to an universal *Excess*. Manifest in the *Sea*, that receives not any Augmentation from the greatest Confluence of *Land-Floods*. The Reason is, That her *Comings-in* are Mathematically adjusted to her *Layings out*. All possible Abatements in one place being re-imburs'd in another, by a continual *Bartering* and *Exchange*. From whence through a Natural *Chymistry* so much is *Commuted* or Caicin'd as only makes good the *Principal Stock* without incroachment upon Superfluity or Want.

Such as seek further after their own *Original*, or are in Quest of a remoter Cause than *God*, prosecute a no less impertinent Study, and from whence no more certain Solution can be expected than Conjecture is able to return their Curiosity, who endeavour to find out what Mutations may succeed after Death hath determined their Speculation shall cease. It being equally impossible to discover our first *Prædiction*, as for a *Child*, without Direction, to know the *Midwife* that brought him into the World, or the precise part of it whereon he was born. Wherefore out of the power of any thing but *Omniscience* to extend a *Pedigree* beyond the Line of ordinary *Generation*. That related by *Moses* pointing more to *Obedience*, and an exact Observation of the *Sabbath* (not till long after the Creation indulged through any reveal'd Practice) than the fomenting of *Understanding* not improperly alledged for the *Discovery* if

not the *Occaſion* of *Infelicity*; Man remaining in a more entire *Tranquillity* under a Calm *Ignorance* than ſuch a turbulent and indeterminable *Knowledge*. Which like the *Aprons* it firſt produced, is patched up with ſo many *Leaves* of *Contrary Operations*, *Ends*, and *Applications*, that under pretence of a *Covering* for our *Shame*, it doth daily *reveal* more *Miſchief*, and is by reaſon of a *Subtilty* learn'd from the *Serpent*, able to Conceal greater *Malice*, *Sin and Wickedneſs* (The Original of Infelicity) than *Naked mankind* had ever been Capable of without it. So as no thanks remains due to it, but what may reſult from the *Abreviation* of *Life*. It being an undeniable Truth, That the production of every *Child* is, if not an Advancer of the *Monarchy of Reaſon* in its own Perſon, the doubted *Subject* of others *Deceit*, and *Oppreſſion*. Humane *Wiſdom* being of little larger *Extent*, than what it is able to purchaſe and find room for through an *Incroachment* and Advantage made and taken of others *Folly* and *Defects*. And from this the *whole World* comes to be ſo univerſally *Inhabited*, Every *Family* ſeeking reſt by *Evaſion*. It being as Natural for *Strife* to abound where *Want* is, as for *Strength* to prevail. Wherefore *Sin* muſt needs be an Effect if not of *Eating*, of *Exceſs*: Through which *man* out of *Love*, for *Himſelf*, came to *Rob* others, And to obviate the *Differences*, could not but ariſe from *Inequality* in *ſtrength*, *Appetite*, and *Deſires*, *Government* was inſtituted. Towards whoſe Favour all *Laws* both *Civil and Divine* are either taught, or do naturally incline. Yet if any in *Curioſity* deſire to make *ſcrutiny* into their own *Original*, I cannot but with *Solomon* ſend them to the *Inſects* for their further Satisfaction, and perſwade them to be more ſtudious after the *Cauſes* of ſuch *Animals* as the *Sun* doth yearly *Create* or *regenerate*.

And

And to enquire whether *matter* may not be ſo *prepared* and adapted by us as it ſhall be capable of *Animation* through a propenſity to that regular and even proportion of *Weight and Meaſure*, naturally required by the *Firſt Agents of Life*. Nor can any Cauſe of Diſcouragement be well apprehended in the Proſecution of *Lifes Original*, through a more curious Inſpection into the *Production of Inſects*, which once perfectly ſurvey'd and found out, cannot but open a Window towards the proſpect of *Our own beginning*. Since he that hath diſcovered the *Spring* by which a ſmall *Watch* is inlived, not to be denyed the neater workmanſhip, cannot in reaſon be far to ſeek what cauſeth and continues the Operations of a *Church-Clock*; Their *Motions* being one and the ſame, no leſs than their *Engines*, though bound up in a ſmaller Volume, and ſupported by more *Leggs* and *Feet*. Nor are there found above one or two conſiderable *Obſtructions* lying in the way of this endeavour. And thoſe no further binding than a Commiſſion received from *Cuſtome* hath power to oblige. Of which the Firſt is an *Implicite* and blind adhering to the *Votes* and *Precedents* derived to us from *Antiquity*, not conſidering, There may not unpoſſibly lye as vaſt a *World* of *Truth* beyond this rotten *Bar*, as *Experience* hath ſhewn us of *Land* and *Nations*, which never fell within the Compaſs of the *Old Maps*, or theſe *Writers* Cognizance. And as this renders the further Indeavour after knowledge, a *Loſt labour* in the Conceit of *Dunces*; So our Torrify'd-brain'd *Zealots*, through as great a *Miſtake* in *Scripture* apprehend it as *Damnable*. Yet the *Reaſon* of the Firſt, no leſs than the *Conſciences* of the Latter might receive Satisfaction from Dr. *Hackwells Apology*, were they capable of it. To which may be added, That ſince many *Words* and *Actions* recited of the *Patriarchs*, do in all Judgements de-

viate

viate from the exacter Lines of *Morality* (The Principal, if not the only End of their Manifestation.) What Caution can be given, or Assurance taken for their *Infallibility* in *Philosophy*? the inculcation of which was never *intended*, what is found said in Relation to it, rather *accommodated* to the *vulgar Opinion*, than any *Imperative Truth*. From whence may be gathered, That *Joshua's Bidding the Sun stand still*, is no more Argument for the *Motion* of it, Than *Jacob's deluding his Brother* may be pleaded in the Justification of *Mine*. Wherefore He that out of a venerable Esteem of the *Sacred Text*, gives Credit to a *Prolongation* of the *Day*, and so a full performance of all the End and Purposes for which the request was made, it matters not in relation to *Faith*, whether it resulted from the *Sun's* or the *Earth's Motion*. *Joshua* being the *General* of an *Army* not a professed *Philosopher*. So no less uncapable of a *Mistake* in the *Mathematicks* than *Elijah* was in the Calculation of Gods *Servants* whom he summed up in his peculiar Person, till his *Arithmetick* was better regulated by the Essence of *Number*, &c. Nor did our *Saviour* discountenance this Opinion, when He according to the usual *Mode* of the Place, did lift up his *Eyes towards Heaven*, Though he did know, and Teach us That the *Father* was not only resident in *Himself*, but together with all Things *In* and *Under* the *Earth*. As for *Other Rubbs* lying in the Way of a further *Inquisition after Knowledge* (all being readier to cast *Reproach* and *Ink* in the *Face* of a *Projector*, than to assist for the present, or help in the Future, unless after *Death*) To *Improve* to the best Advantage what perhaps he has not strength alone to *produce*. I look upon them in *Some* as a Design to *guard* their *Callings* from *Inspection*: And in *Others* as an *Obstinate Ignorance* engendered out of *Shame* to Confess *Themselves* no less than

than their *Teachers*, to have for ſo many Ages, been Promoters *Of*, and ſatisfied *With* what now doth plainly appear to be meer *Figments*, &c.

Fancy is the *Mould* and *Pencil* that ſhapes the *Form*, and caſts the *Colour* upon *Man* and *Beaſt*, according to the Pattern preſented to it by the *Senſes*. Though it may be look'd upon in the *Schools*, under an inferiour *Notion*, where the *Cuſtome* is, to be moſt *Fruitful* in *Terms* when they are moſt *Barren* of *Underſtanding*, Tying Knot upon Knot, when ſhe finds her *Nails* too *ſhort*, for the *unravelling* of the Firſt; Eſpecially upon his Endeavours to enlarge *The Excellencies of Man* (whom in a high *Rant* ſhe ſtiles a *Little World*) above his *Fellow-Creatures*. And to make this good, places in one part of his *Head*, a receptacle for *Memory*, and others for *Invention*, *Reaſon*, &c. Beſides a Number of *Manſions* more, Situated in the *Heart* for *Vertues*, *Paſſions*, and *Affections*. Though upon a ſtrict *Scrutiny*, *the ſame Goods* may be found in the *Beaſt*, and far more uſeful, and leſs Contaminated through a *Greaſie-Diet*, and Exorbitant Purſuit after *Pleaſure*, by which *Men* become *worſe* than *Beaſts*, gratifying their *Taſte* at the Prejudice of all the reſt of the *Senſes*, the Natural *Guards* of *Safety*, yet manifeſt amongſt the more temperate *Indians*, reported (Like our *Engliſh Crows*) to Smell *Gunpowder* at a great Diſtance, gaining nothing by the Change but an *Imperfect Reaſon*, which with That *Inchanted Horn* blown by the *Satyre*, doth terrifie more than Confirm or reſolve, ſuch as own and make uſe of it. Yet we paſs over in the *Creature*, greater and more certain *Advantages*, without Notice or under Contempt. Forgetting, That if we allow them *Fancy*, which like a *Looking-Glaſs* doth not only retain the Outward *Figures* Senſe preſents us with; But doth reverberate thoſe *Cenſures* upon it, as are obſerved to

to perplex or quiet the *Paſſions* in both, What huge Advantage is left *Man* to boaſt of, more, than that it may be Better *Situated*, or is of a *Greater Circumference* in *Us* than *Them*? Growing like the *Cryſtalline Humour* in the *Eyes*, quicker from a *Variation of Objects*. And hence cannot be denyed to reſult all the *Wiſdom* diſcernable in both, with which by reaſon of *Diſcourſe*, We are able to make the *Louder Noiſe*, though *They* are not found *Quite ſilent*, and no leſs ready than able in caſe of *Danger*, *to adviſe one the other*, as every *Fowler* can upon his Knowledge atteſt. Yet the whole Extent of both our *Capacities* lyes in no larger a *Circle*, than that of *Others* Follies. Only in Things not yet fallen within the Compaſs of *Experience* and in relation to *Prognoſtication*, or *Prediction*, the *Creature* hath the *Prehominence*, out of a more accurate *Vivacity* in *Senſe*.

The *World* labours of a *Double Quartane*, wherein the Number of *Good days* (if any be) are far exceeded by the *Bad*. The *Serenity* of the *Spring* being overvoted through the *Scorching Heat* in *Summer*, and the *Cold* in *Winter*. Beſides the interruptions met with ariſing from her own private *Diſtempers*. The ſame diſmal *Fatality* attends *Youth* and *Age*. In which *Sickneſs* and other *Calamities* ſuitable to both Seaſons cauſeth in all not only a *Neceſſity*, but in ſome a *Deſire* to put themſelves upon The *Tryal of Death*, And return again into the *Lapp* of that *Earth*, to and from whence all Things do in a Certain Viciſſitude Go, and Come; Which may authorize a Belief, "*That all things were* "*not Created for their Own ſakes, but the meer Intereſt of* "*Nature, which abhors to be Idle, or to leave any in* "*Impregnant Condition*. And from hence may ariſe another *Conjecture*; That the *Moon* no leſs than the *Stars* may be as well repleniſhed with *Inhabitants* as the *Earth*, and ſubject to the ſame *Changes*, in relation

to

to What it produceth Though *Stable* and ſo long permanent it *Self*, as *God* in his Eternal Decree hath determined they ſhall remain, Being ſubject to no *Diſſolution*, but from the Force of that *Command* did at firſt eſtabliſh them, together with all things extant. Among which, though ſome are obſerved to *Wear out and periſh*, they are as it were but The *External Ornaments* and *Houſhold ſtuff* which within a ſhort Revolution of Time do receive a freſh *Renovation* from the *Sun*, The higheſt and moſt ſplendid reſult of *God's Beauty* our Mortal Eyes (unſupported by *Faith*) are able to Diſcern.

Which may afford Cauſe of *Pity* for ſome of the *Heathen* that made It the Object of Their *Worſhip*, who finding it the *Cauſe* of ſuch viſible *Reſurrections* preſumed it might be the *Original* of all *Things*. Imagining the *Power* of *Continuance* and *Preſervation* equal to that of *Creation*, not being able to ſee higher, for want of the light of *The Word* of *God*.

It may be no Improbable *Paradox*, That where the *Earths magnetical Effects* ceaſe, There ſome other no leſs *Active* power begins to operate with a like Motion another way. Which granted, it can be no Prodigious Conjecture, That ſuch *Birds* as are obſerved to *Inn* or *Board* in this *Clime* only for ſome certain *months*, maintain a like Temporary *Commerce* with other *Planets*, as they are found to do amongſt us, according to the reſpective *Advantages* Nature hath taught them to make of *Times* and *Seaſons*. And that their Paſſage is without much *Difficulty*, may be aſſerted from the *Punctual Dayes* they keep yearly to *Come* and *Go* in. Not poſſibly to be obſerved, were they obnoxious to any Oſtruction from *Wind* and *Weather*, or the leaſt other Contingency lying in their *Road*: which the revolution of a ſhorter Space than Men are found to live, could not chuſe but diſcover. And that

that the *Place they come from* relates to the *Earth* admits the moſt probable Tryal from *us*, which being an *Iſland* may beſt obſerve whether they do appear firſt by the *Seaſide* or in the *Midland*: and if the latter (as I have heard it often affirmed the *Cuckow* is univerſally ſeen the Second of *April*) The Aſſertion may be allowed, in reaſon, the Sentence of Probability, if not of an unqueſtionable *Truth*, That *Woodcocks* are ſome Years in great plenty by the *Shore* in *Norfolk*, cannot be denyed: But yet it is as manifeſt, That at the ſame time their Appearance is as numerous in the moſt *In-Land Counties*. Nor is it Neceſſary that they ſhould all deſcend in a *Line*. Though Thouſands of *Feldefers* and *Throſhes* have been ſeen within the Compaſs of a *mile* and none round about. Nor doth *Wearineſs* appear about any but ſuch as come off from the *Sea*) (which may not unpoſſibly have miſtaken their Way) or any Signs of a New *Reſurrection*, their *Plumage* being Smooth, and *Bodies plump*; So that I my Self have ſeen both *Swallows* and *Hobbies build* and *tread* upon their firſt Appearance, as if they had no other buſineſs in this *World* than to *Lye in*, and produce their *Young*; as *Fiſhes* are noted to change their *Coaſt* upon the like Errand, *&c.*

I Believe it poſſible for *Birds* not of the ſame *Kind* and *Plume* to Engender with Succeſs to an huge *Imbelliſhing of Nature*, and as great an *Improvement* of her *ſtore*. And this was by ſome Acquaintance of mine put under Experiment before theſe Wars, that had *Large Cages of Wyer*, wherein were put together only *Hens* of *ſome ſorts*, and *Cocks* of another. How it did anſwer Expectation I know not, yet am Confident it might ſucceed, eſpecially in reference to thoſe nouriſhed through a like Suſtenance, ſince my Self ſaw an *Hawk* owned the *Plume and ſhape* between a *Hobby* and a *Taſſel-Gentle*. Nor is it contrary to the grain of Probability to endeavour a Breed betwixt *Hares* and *Coneys*, an *Ordinary Cat* and a *Civet*;

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The Head of which *species* is by the resemblance of the *muscles* no less than all *signs and gestures* of the *Lyon*. And between whom there remains less Difference in proportion than an *Irish Grey Hound* compared with a *Lap-Dog*. *Animals* no less than *Plants* receiving notorious Changes from the *Climates* out of which they were at first transported, proving for the most part *Largest* towards the *Sun*. Nor is it doubted but a *Dog Fox* and an *Ordinary Bitch* will generate. As I heard the *Last Marquess* of *Hamleton's Father* verifie he saw in *Scotland*. Nor did those *Huge* and *strange-Headed Deer* sent for Presents to *King James*, fail to *Cohabit* with *Ours* and *have young*. Now he that would observe the *Affinity* in the *Food* and *Bigness* of *Beasts* and *Birds*, and put none but them together, I doubt not but in the Absence of their own kind they might easily be drawn to joyn.

One Day ruminating upon *Pride*, and the dismal Effects it draws upon *Mankind*, I had all the *Postures* and *Evidences* brought in against those arraigned for this *Diabolical Passion* acted before me by a *Turkey-Cock*; Who stood priding himself no less in the *Sun* and prosperities of the *Spring* than *Nebuchadnezzar* did on the Battlements of his Palace. From whence I began to Conclude it *Natural*, and so not radically Evil, no more than *Anger* or *Love*. Therefore under the *Notion* of an Enquiry into the Advantages *God* hath given us above Others; A perfect *Knowledge* of our *own good Parts* is so far remote from *Pride*, that it is rather a *Spur* to *Vertue*, And so only Depraved not Invented by the *Devil*, Who with all his *Chymistry* is not able to Convert the *seeds* of a Natural Effect into the *Root* of *Evil*; Though he hath perverted This, as Many things else into *Malignity against God*. The least of whose *Beauty* is sufficient to advance our Thoughts above *our selves*, in which Case, *It is* rather a *Rapture*, than a *sin*.

Characters

CHARACTERS AND LETTERS, &c.

A Character of *Honour*.

HOnour is one of the grand *Impoſtures* of the Earth; through whoſe falſe Splendour, *unadviſed Ambition* is, as it were, *Trepan'd* out of its *Life*, *Liberty*, &c. No *Folly* tranſcending theirs, eſteem themſelves only *Happy* in a vain *Title*, or *Syllable*; at the beginning pronounced by the *Prince*, and after reverberated by the *Meager*, empty, and hollow *Echo*, of the *inſignificant Rabble*; no leſs ready, upon the *Change* of *Fortune*, to *Murther*, than *Father* all *Marks* of *Deſert*; to thoſe very *Particular* ones, their own Indulgence had informed. *Opinion* being for the moſt

moſt part printed in ſuch *blind Ink*, as it hardly remains legible to the *Second Generation*. The Merit of the firſt *Proprietor* becoming mortified by *Oblivion*, or quite diſſipated, and loſt in the *Wilder Fields* of a no leſs *Numerous*, than *Vitious* Poſterity. So remote from improving any *Talents* left them by their *Anceſtors*, as like the improvident Uſurer in the *Goſpel*, they do not only expoſe them to *Ruſt*, and *Cankers*, but waſte the Eſtate, with all other glorious Endowments in which they were wrapped.

The *Promoter* of their *Family*, becoming by this means, an Occaſion of the *Ruine* of it. It lying in the *Nature*, no leſs than the *Cuſtom* of *Honour*, to put as unreaſonable an *Exciſe* on the *Vices*, as the *Vertues* of its *Owners*. I never thought it *Prudence* or *Diſcretion*, to articulate over-ſeverely on the worſt of *Modes* I have had the *Good*, or *Ill Fortune* to be *Born* and *Bred* under; yet it ſeems to Croſs the Grain of *Wiſdom*, if not of *Candid Charity*, to *arraign as guilty of Abſurdity*, all we find in ordinary Practice *abroad*, though on the other ſide the *Pale* of *Chriſtianity*. And for a particular inſtance; That, uſed amongſt the *Turks*: where no *Title* but what belongs to the *Emperour*, is made *Hereditary*.

" *Honour being hardly managable within the Compaſs of* " *Decency, by any are not perfect in the Steps that lead to it.* Splendid *Epithets*, where there reſides no real *Ability* in the Party to deſerve them, Cheating the *Beholders* by an Expectation of *more Vertue*, and the *Poſſeſſour* with *leſs*, than his *Paraſities* (a Vermine *Capital Fortunes* are infeſted withall) may have poſſibly inſinuated into his formerly *Suborned imagination*. But todeſcend to a more exact *Definition* of *Honour*: It is a meer *Ray* or *Beam* darted from the *Favour* of a *Prince*, who in one body contains the *Abſtract* of all *Delated Dignities*. And the Reward of every Deſert is either *Real*, or by him ſuppoſed, in the *Nature* or *Affions* of thoſe he thinks fit to advance:

Amongſt which none are more glorious, than they in *Turky*, where *Worth* is always found the *Antecedent* to every *Reward*. Thoſe in *Chriſtendom*, that relate wholly to the *Paſſions*, and *Affections* of the *Donor*, not appearing *ſo Natural*, but *further remote* from the purer and *unſophiſticated* Elements of *Majeſty*, than what is found inherent in the Party. The true Cauſe of *Advancement* among us, being commonly ſo *trivial*, and *foul*, as for Shame, they forbore to recite it in their *Patent*. From whence, ſome may Conclude, thoſe *Diſparities* amongſt Men proceeded at firſt, like *Hills* and *Dales*, from the *Deluge of Pride*, So long, a *Succeſſion* of *Government*, hath poured upon the *Face* of the *Earth*. *Courts* by ſuch *Canting Terms* advancing their particular *intereſt*, which would be abated, were the *Devourers*, in an equal *Parallel* with thoſe they *feed on*. The *Rabble*, for want of a more *elated Prudence*, imagining their *Governours* to proceed like the *Gyants of old*, from ſome *Diviner extraction* than their *Own*. Not *wiſe* enough to apprehend, That *Honour* hath no advantage, *really*, in it Self, but what it is able to deduce from the *Lower Condition*, and *baſeneſs* of *Others*. All *Titles*, to *Thoſe* relating to *God himſelf*, as they were *abſent*, before the *Creation*; So Reaſon informs us, they could not be *Preſent* now, were there no Creatures, endued with ſo much underſtanding, as to be able to pronounce them. The moſt reluctent *Honour* being *Offuſcated*, and *blinded* in the *Shades* of *Solitude*. Wherefore, if it had a *Name*, it wanted an *Owner*, till ſomething was made willing to promote it. No *Age*, ever repreſented it more *Naked* to the *World*, than *This* we live in. Where as the *Jews* do in *Italy*, by the *Antient Roman Coynes*, So, the *Grave Viſages* of 25 *Biſhops* have been ſtruck off, and put upon many *Thouſand Presbyterians*; whereupon the *Image*, and *Superſcription* of the *Primitive Church*, is quite defaced, and *Obliterated*,

Obliterated, through the *Impreſs* they are exchanged for: which owns no worth, but from the *Gravity* of the *Firſt*. Being it ſelf, of no greater *Antiquity*, than *John Calvin*, who did not but with ſome Difficulty, as *Boys* do *Giggs*, whip this *Younger Government* out of a *Word*, taught for many *Ages* to ſignifie *Epiſcopacy* only; making it currant in *Geneva*. Now, if it be no leſs frequent in the *Practice* of Men, than in the *Dialect* of the *Scriptures*, to *rob God of his Honour*; why ſhould any, but meerly *Mortal*, place *Stability* in it? Eſpecially, ſince the *Traſh* theſe Earthly *Tumours* ſwell withall, is by the Baſeſt of, *&c.* render'd *ſo perſpicious*.

Valour and *Cowardice*.

I Should much wonder how *Valour* and *Cowardice*, both ſtrangers, if not contrary to the Practice of *undiſtracted Nature*, could paſs ſo long without the *Errata*, in the *Place-Book* of *virtue* and *vice*: But that I find it, *The Deſign* of *Policy*, to *advance*, or *abate* the Credit of all things found *Uſeful* or *Deſtructive* to her *own*, or the *General* utility: And, where ſhe can bring in the leaſt Colour for *it to paint*, what is neceſſary to Commerce, with the *grateful Approbation* of Religion; And to render the Contrary in the *Dark Senſe*, and *Black Characters* of *Hell*. Allowing all Supports as *Decent* and *quadrating* with the *Beauty* of Holineſs, though *Above* or *Againſt the Lights of Reaſon*, if found, any way requiſite, to ſuſtain *Government*. Of ſuch force is *Cuſtome*, that it is able, through the Aſſiſtance of *Credulity*, to *ſtifle*, and *trample* upon the *Senſes* themſelves.

Now, though it may be no *Indiſcretion* in a *Patient*, to ſuffer himſelf for his *Recovery*, to be deluded by his *Phyſician*; yet out of a *Panick* Fear, or effeminate

Nicety, to ſwallow more *Drugs*, and in greater *Quantities* than is unavoidably neceſſary, may appear a *Madneſs*, ariſing from the more *Dreadful*, than *Dangerous Phantaſms* muſtered up by the *Fumes* of a formerly-ſuborned *Melancholy*; rather than the *Subſtantial Dictates* of an *unſophiſticated Judgement*, which a *Wiſe man* may *retain, and feaſt himſelf with*, though for *Manners ſake*, and to avoid the Danger, no leſs than Shame, impending *Singularity*, *he may ſeem* to own the moſt *univerſal Opinion*.

Now to ſhew, how *Policy*, no leſs than *Religion*, impoſeth upon frail *Humanity*, in both the fore-mentioned particulars (Though *to the apprehenſion of Senſe*, abſolutely *repugnant* one to the other) they are ſituated as *near Damnation*, that appear *over-daring* in the proſecution of *private Revenge*; as ſuch who out of *Remiſneſs*, and *Fear*, *betray the Cauſe of their Country*; in defence of which, is placed, under all *Profeſſions* extant, the *Higheſt ſtep of our Duty to God and our Neighbour*. Which cannot be denyed to ſtand *further remote in Nature*, than what really Concerns *Our ſelves*: found *recorded* in *Job*, by the *Devil*; a far *Antienter Philoſopher* than the *ſo much venerated Ariſtotle*. From whence we may conclude, 'That *Reſolution and Dread* 'inſtituted by *Nature at firſt*, *for the Vindication and ſafety* 'of *every reſpective Individual*, *are ſince Tyranny and* 'Propriety *have forced us into Communalties*, *reduced* 'by *Common Conſent of Law*, *and Conveniency into* 'a *publick ſtock*, *for the Preſervation of All*. So *as* 'we *are ſuffered*, *to own no more in reference to our* 'ſelves, *than Prudence is able to filch out of the Treaſury of* 'the *State*: and that upon no ſlighter a Penalty, than *Law* doth inflict: which found too dimſighted to penetrate further, than *External Evidence* can reach; *Religion*, whoſe *Reſults*, (and thoſe no weak ones) lye in *Conſcience*, ſupplies the place of a *Divine Guard*;

Guard; Brandiſhing like the Angel in *Paradiſe*, the *flaming ſword of Hell*: Which operates more or leſs, upon the *Affections*, proportional to the *Tincture*, received from *Education*. Not ſeldome *Proof* (as we find in *Hereticks*) againſt the *Dictates of Reaſon* herſelf, *Nothing being harder* to be *loſt*, or *convinced* of *Falſhood* than *Opinions* ſucked in with the Nurſes *Milk*. And this may raiſe an *Uſe* of *Caution*, in relation to what we call *Puſillanimity*, and *Valour*. Which in a *Natural* and primitive *ſenſe*, ſignifie only *Evaſion*. And where that will not ſerve in order to our own Preſervation, a *vigorous and ſtout Reſiſtance* to the *loſs* of *Life* it ſelf, as is manifeſt in every *Creature*, in the abſence of hope; and therefore impoſſible to be found Wanting, in the pure and *unſuborned Nature of Man*. And ſo in the *primitive Conſtruction* uncapable of any *Foreigner Interpretation*, than what is deducible from our *judgment*, without reference to *Fame*, or *Reward*. Terms *unintelligible*, during the *Original Felicity*: And before the *Thirſt* after *Generation* had ſwelled the *World*, into ſuch an *Ocean* of *Inhabitants*, as could not be kept within the Compaſs of *Moderation*, but by *Mounds* and *Banks*; in the making of which all things are employed that own the power *to Terrifie* or *Flatter* the *Rabble* into *Obedience*, without bearing any *Nicer Reſpect*, to ſingle *Individuals*, than through *Evading*, or *Over ruling* the *Law*, *Power* or *Prudence* is able to purchaſe to themſelves, by *Maſtering*, *Flattering*, or *Contemning publick Fame*. After which, it may be ſometimes leſs policy to run, than not to be too greedy, to give it welcome when it courts us: *Opinion* being a Bird oftner catcht by *Chance*, than *Endeavour*. Nor ſhall any one that carries her on his *Fiſt*, ever want *envy*, or *ſcratching* by others. And he that hath but the Patience, to attend *good* or *bad report* to the end of the *race*, ſhall obſerve them like

Cocks to change their *Odds*: one *unlucky blow* being able to *depreſs* more, and draw a greater *concourſe* of *Abettors* to the *other ſide*, than *Twenty* as ſtrong and *probable Endeavours*, without *Succeſs*, can poſſibly advance. Or, if this fail, the *Gameſters* together with what they ſtrove for, will by the hand of *Time*, be laid in *Oblivion*. Whereas the real *Wounds*, and ſenſible *Inconveniences* accruing from a too ſerious *Attention*, and exact obſervance of the various *Cadences* of the *Trumpet of Fame*, ſubject to be put out of *Tune*, by the change of every *Blaſt*, do not only exceed the *Cure* of the *Chirurgeon*, but all endeavours to that of *Wiſdom* it ſelf. Nor hath *Policy* any cheaper *traſh* to load the oppoſite *Scale* withal, than *Honour* and *Titles*; which like *Horſe Bells*, only affect the *Ear*, as *Diamonds* do the *Eyes*; increaſing, rather than leſſening the *Burthen* of *Life*: which, with its Concomitants, *Envy*, *Danger*, and *Jealouſie*, ſignifies nothing, *proportionable* at leaſt, to what the *Purchaſe* requires; Seldome enjoy'd of the *Owner* long, without *Controverſie*; unleſs by dying in *poſſeſſion* he cuts off all contrary *Claims*. Wherefore ſuch as have the *Dexterity*, to paſs their Dayes, at the leaſt Expence of *Trouble* and *Conveniency*, may be truly ſaid to *husband Diſcretion* beſt. Nor are they likely to be miſled in ſuch a *vaſt number of Fools* and *Madmen*, as are daily obſerv'd, to ſacrifice their own *Eaſe* and content to promote the *Ambition* and ſmall *Plots* of Others: Grounding their Hopes upon thoſe that have no Aſſurance Themſelves. But this runs ſo contrary to the grain of *Practice*, as it may not unpoſſibly, ſet ſuch *Teeth* on *Edge*, as are able through *Detraction*, or *Power*, to blaſt the *Author* of this *Advice*.

A

A Letter writ to diſſwade Mr.———from a Duell.

Sir,

I Shall at this time conceal, what I apprehend of your *Quarrel*, and the *Circumſtances* that did at firſt produce it: Leſt I ſhould fall into a *Phyſicians indiſcretion*, who coming to one labouring of a *Fever*, did conſume the time, in telling the *Patient*, the *Cauſes* of his *Diſtemper* were *Drink* and *Evil Company*: which though poſſibly true, could not but carry the Figure of a *Meager Impertinency*, before the *party* had his *Cure*; ſince no place is now left for *prevention*. And as *Phyſick* is oppoſed to the Defects incident to *bad Dyet*, and *Diſorder*: So *Counſel* hath been obſerved, to *Moderate* and palliate, though not *Cure* thoſe of *Indiſcretion*; ariſing for the moſt part from an *Inexperience* in the *exact knowledge* of our *own fame*, no leſs than that of *others*: And *where it may be, or is ſituated*, with the ſmalleſt prejudice to *Conſcience*, or giving the leaſt interruption to the *Proſpect* of *Self-preſervation*, the *Firſt Reſult* in the *Intention* of *Nature*, and leſt as of *greateſt Intendment*, to the Care of *Prudence*. From whence I have been taught, that it is poſſible, for *Phyſick* to be *welcome*, though *Diſtaſteful*; but that *Counſel* ſeldom meets any more favourable Conſtruction than *Scorn*, from the *Receiver*, and an Opinion of *Preſumption in Him* that ventures *to give it*, eſpecially, if it meets not with a *candid Nature*; Which hoping to find in *You*, I ſhall ſo much tranſgreſs the *voice* of *Diſcretion*, as to ſuffer my ſelf *in Love* to become an *Arbitrator*, betwen the *Honour* and *prudence* of a *Friend*, ſo far, as to maintain, *That ſuch* as *animate you* to a *Formal Revenge*, do out of *forgetfulneſs*, or *Want of Religion*, for-

bear to calculate the *Danger*, no leſs than *Impiety*, that *for ever* cleaves to ſuch *hands*, as are found *once polluted in Blood*: And, That thoſe violate the *Dictates* of *Piety* and *Diſcretion*, (by *Wiſdom* eſteemed the moſt conſiderable part of *Manhood*) that contradict it. For to uſe their own *canting*, (no where to be found in the *Dialect* of *Antiquity*) He hath *given* you an *Affront*; and ſuch an one, as may not *decently* be paſſed by, without a *Formal ſatisfaction*; which is but the *ſingle* and *wild Opinion* of ſome *Under-graduates* in the *Arts* of *Living*. Yet, admit it a *Debt*, due in the *Court* of *Honour*, may it not as well be diſcharged by your *friend* or *ſervant*, as *your ſelf*? Parties leſs agitated by *Intereſt* and *Paſſion*, and therefore the likelier, to deal a *Revenge* ſo evenly, as he ſhall have as little cauſe to *brag* as *you* to *repent*. A thing you can never promiſe *your ſelf*, if contrary to the *Injunctions* of *God* and the *Examples* of the moſt *prudent people* you proportion out your *Satisfaction* in the *Field*. Where you cannot but deliver into the cuſtody of *blind Fortune*, not only your *Life* but *Eſtate*: As juſtly belonging to *poſterity*, as ever your *Anceſtors* made it *yours*. Which by this *Mad Knight-Errantry* you hazard to *Undo*. I am ſure all *wiſe minds* will quadrate with this. And if the *Fools* of the *preſent Age*, pretend to any *Diſcoveries* of Ways to Honour, New and Untrod, by the Antients, Let 'um follow them, to the furtheſt *Extent* of their *Lives* or *Lunacy*. Whilſt you harken, to the *Graver advice* of *reaſon*. Which may *inform you*, He hath offer'd an *Abuſe* already, and will you hazard upon *equal Terms* the receiving a *Greater*? Indeed if a *Requital* had been endeavoured at the *Inſtant* it might have rendred you more excuſable before *God* and *Man*: But that *opportunity* omitted; it were more *wrong* to your *Charity*, than *Vindication* of *Valour in cold Blood* to call back *Revenge*: As if a worſe *Chriſtian* upon *Meditation*,

tion, than when irritated by *Fury* and *Paſſion*. Neither is *Honour* to be purchaſed, in *ſingle* and ſelf-perſwading Combats, becauſe no *Marks* of them appear in *Antiquity*; where many are found Dead, but not one, to my remembrance, upon ſo impertinent a Quarrel, as *Words*. Yet we may conclude from the foul *Expreſſions* in *Orators*, That the *Mouths* of the *Gentry* were then none of the *Cleaneſt*. He that conſults former *Hiſtories*, may find, *That ſome* have gained more repute from a *Retreat*, than *others* could obtain by a *Won-field*. And what is a *Retreat*, I pray you, but a *fine word* for *Running away*? Fierceneſs being proper to *Beaſts*, whereas *neat Evaſion* belongs peculiarly to Men. Of which I ſhall inſtance this, as now freſh in my *memory*. A *Gentleman* lying, like you, under the repute of an *Injury*, did meet his *Enemy*, and ſhot him with a *Piſtol* ſtopped full of *Dung*, whereupon he cryed *He was ſlain*, which ſet him *further* back in the *Opinion* of the *world*, than his former *Vapouring* had *advanced him*, when the *Excrement* the *Dagge* was loaden with, appeared to the *Senſes* of the ſtanders-by. And for this, the *Wit* of it's *Deviſer* was highly commended. Another return'd this *Anſwer*, with a like Succeſs, to a *younger* Brothers *Challenge*; That if he could prove his *loſs* as great as His, ſhould he *kill* or be *killed*, he would gladly accept it; Otherwiſe he did not think it *reaſon*, to venture his Life, againſt one did want *Neceſſaries*, and ſo might ſeek *Death*, no leſs out of *Diſcontent*, than *Gallantry*: which *himſelf*, that wanted nothing, had no cauſe to do. All that remains, is but your Pardon for this *Boldneſs*, which I moſt ſeriouſly Deſire. Remaining in the mean time, no leſs your *faithful friend*, than,

Sir,

Your, &c.

A

A Letter to Mr. ——— *in hope to dissuade Him from going a* Colonel *under* Count Mansfield.

Sir,

I Cannot but own it, for a high *Presumption*, to offer *sudden* and *crude Conceptions* in a *business* where I presume, you have employed, not only your *own*, but the most *serious Advice* of *your friends*. To the *Abilities* and *Dignity* of whom, though I am forced to give place, I may not justly be accounted behind them in affection to your *self*, or *affairs*. Wherefore having received so great an encouragement from your Commands, no less than *Stimulation* from my particular Desire to *serve* you, I shall according to my *small Experience*, and the *meaner Abilities* I have found in me, to employ it to the *best Labour*, to inform you: *These corrupt Times* have rendred many things *necessary* to the *German Wars*, are no wayes *suitable* to your *Complexion*, or *Fortune*, which your *Genius*, being a *Stranger*, cannot in probability *advance* without *offending* his own, and *sinning* against an *Article of Policy*, and *Nature*. Nor shall you, though loaden with the highest *Merit*, render your *Return* more grateful to your *Natural Prince*: *King James* having alwayes numbered *Souldiers* amongst those, he esteems the *worst of men*, and most *formidable* to His *Person*. The Expedition being by *Him* rather *Connived* at, than *Approved*, out of hope, by this means, to facilitate the two *Treaties* of a *Match* with *Spain*, and the *Restitution* of the *Palatinate*: which obtained, (according to the *Mode* of *Pusillanimous Princes*) all endeavours will be used to discharge the State of *You* and *Your Companions*, as a *Society* most superfluous *during*

Peace

Peace; the only Thing *our King* doth ſtudy to promote: To whoſe *Ears* a *Drum* is more terrible than *Thunder*, and the *Report* of a *Canon*, than the *voice of God himſelf*. Which, (if *our Church men* may be credited) doth at this Day cry for *vengeance*, againſt the Cruelty, exerciſed upon *Chriſtians*; eſpecially from *England* by an *unanimous* Conſent choſen the Head of the *Proteſtant League*, till his *Majeſty* had forfeited that *Honour* to the *briſker Aſſiſtance* given by the *French*. Now, can you think he ſhould indulge *valour* as a *vertue* in *another*, when nothing is more manifeſt, than that he labours to expunge all *Marks*, or *Occaſions* for it in *himſelf*, or any about *Him*, ſo far, as to *Anſwer* my *Lo.*——when he came from the *Wars*, and deſired to *kiſs* his *Hand*, That he feared he would *bite* it, and therefore bad he ſhould be *muſled*? Nor is it our *Kings mode* alone, (that never made uſe of *Souldiers* unleſs to ſlight them) But that of *Spain*; under whom the moſt deſerving have dyed in *Diſgrace*, if not by *Poyſon*. And amongſt the *Catalogue of thoſe* ſtand *written with great Characters* in the *Calendar* of *Fame*, few or *none*, are regiſtred for *Saints*, or *Happy*. It being paſt *Controverſie*, That, no *War* can be *called Juſt*, bears not a *real Tincture* of *Defenſative*. And whoſoever hath, or ſhall have enterprized the contrary, though his *Name* be never ſo richly enamelled on the Ring of *Fortune*, and Himſelf placed at the *Top* of her *Wheel*, yet he is but the *Scourge* of *God*: and doth for the moſt part fall, when he thinks himſelf moſt capable of ſtanding, Like *Charles*, the 5th, that was by the Duke of *Saxony*, (a Family of his own raiſing) beaten over the *Alps*, by *Torchlight*, and himſelf like the *Sword of Goliah*, wound up into a *High Contempt* of this *World*, and laid in a *Monaſtery*. The *Sins* and *Overſights* of *Gods Children* are ſeverely puniſhed. But it is as as true, That nothing coſts dearer,

dearer, than the blood of his *Saints*. As may appear by ſuch *Horſe-Leaches*, as have been applyed to his *Church*; from whence a double quantity hath been drawn, by ſome unexpected means. But if theſe Reaſons ſavour too much of *Theology*, Conſider how unpoſſible it is to do any thing, without the *Love* of the *Common Souldier*, *abroad* and how *unſafe* He muſt needs be at *home* that enjoyes it; There being nothing more uſual with *Princes*, than to be jealous of their *Liberators*. Manifeſt in *Byron*; who, after he had ſet the Crown upon *Henry* the fourths head, loſt his *own*, out of a no more pious reaſon, than that upon a *contrary provocation*, he might have removed it to *another*. And to ſhew of what vile eſteem *Souldiers* are in the days of Peace; I will not ſay (though I have heard it) that the *Judges*, after the *Iriſh Wars*, were given it in *Charge*: yet can aſſure you, they hanged *Souldiers* for *faults*, which, *others* (thought of more uſe in Peace) did *ſcape*, or obtained *pardon* for. If ſo *unhappy*, as to receive a *wound* in your *perſon* or *credit*, it remains *yours*, without the leaſt *Diminution*. If *Honour*, Cuſtom ſhares it between your *Country*, and he that *commands* in *Chief*. Who, being a *foreigner*, is not unlikely to rob you of your due; or by imploying you on *deſperate* ſervice, to *conclude Fame and your Life together*. I know, your *Reſolution* is too well lined by *Philoſophy* againſt the ſtorms of Danger, to admit a parley with any *force* but that of *Reaſon*: wherefore I forbear to *pain* them, leſt I ſhould ſeem to ſcare *you with fears*, are for many years left to be terrible to *my ſelf*. Who have long ſince thought it *Ridiculous*, to *Court ſleep* by *Opiums*, and *protract* Death by *Cordials*; which is but the *Head* of the ſame Species, being the effect of an *unavoidable Laſſitude*. Yet though *Life* is impoſed upon Mortals *without*, if not *againſt* their *Conſent*, it cannot be denyed the ſtrongeſt Reſult of the Higheſt

Wiſdom,

Wisdom, to *situate your self so*, as it may consume *at the most ease* and with the least *Perturbation*; which is not to be expected from such a *Flaring* and intemperate a Course, as that of a *Souldier*: that can make *choice* of no Friend or *Enemy*, but what the *State* assigns him; or proportion his *Pity* or *Justice*, to his own Morality, but their *Ambition* and *Jealousie*, that command in Chief. To whom in all things you are bound to obey, though contrary to the grain of *Prudence* it self. That *arbitrary Government* you so much complain of *at home*, being the best you can in *reason*, expect to find in an *Army abroad*; Where, the *Stress* of *Discipline* lies more upon the Administration of *Severity*, than *Justice*. Such as are reported to list themselves under the Black *Prince of Darkness*, draw Articles before they consign their blood; and have a Circle enchanted, with a *Power to protect them*: whereas a *Souldier* hath nothing to plead for, against actual obedience, but the narrow Circumference of Protection, that lies in the will of a *General*. To whom, the *Vertue* and *Valour* of his *Officers* is no less *formidable*, in relation to his *particular Jealousies*, than the *Vices* and *Cowardice* of his meaner *Souldiers*, are thought *pernicious to Success* in the Field. Wherefore no *Prince* deserves such *Honourable Attendance* as those that Head their *Armies* themselves. *Generalissimo's* like *Step-fathers*, carrying no other *Natural affection*, but for the *Advancement* of their own *Glory*. So as they esteem, all *inferiour Merit*, as an *Intrusion* upon *Theirs*: It being ordinary with Custome, to award *Fame* to such as have least deserved it; and *asperse* with *Infamy*, those of more *Glorious* Merit. I confess *Necessity* cannot only abate the *Edge* of these *Reasons*; but turn their points against the Urger. Yet, since it is not impossible, but that the *Elector* may have miscarried in his *Allegiance* towards the *Emperour*, *it*

cannot

cannot be indiſcreet or *impertinent* to mind you of the *Hazard* and ſmall *reward* they commonly are capable of, that render themſelves *Arbitrators* of a *Foreign Difference*; I *do comply with you*, in all the *Pity*, *Prayers*, and *Contributions* can be offered for the Reſtitution of the *Vertuous Lady Elizabeth*: yet ſhall reſerve *my Perſon* to beſtow upon the *Preſervation* of my *Country*, in the quarrel of which, I can only juſtifie the ſpilling of my *own blood*, or that of others. The univerſal imployment of a *Souldier*, *not being yet legally made out to me*, by any *Injunction*, either *Moral*, or *Divine*. The Practice of the *Switzers* in relation to Foreign *Quarrels*, appearing as remote from *Chriſtian Charity*, as *Natural Prudence*. It cannot be denyed, but that *Souldiers* are neceſſary, during the Diſtracted times of *Invaſion*: So it is as true, That few *Calling* are looked upon with more *Diſdain*, when a *Nation* enjoys an abſolute *Tranquillity*. Wherefore it can be no Act of *Diſcretion*, to inrol your *ſelf*, under a *Profeſſion*, only in eſteem, during the *worſer Ages*, and not the *beſt*. Wherein *maims* are conſidered rather as *marks* of an *inconſiderate* and brutiſh *Valour*, than a temperate and *adviſed Prudence*. Were You thrown upon it, by the *Iron Horns* of an unavoidable *Compulſion*, or flattered into it, out of a more than probable *Aſſurance* of an *Honourable Advantage*; Something might be objected to the Prayers of your *Friends*, and contrary Deſires of your *Enemies*: who may not unpoſſibly tempt you into this *uncertain Hope*, out of a Deſign, to rob you of all you *really enjoy*.

Conſider your *Education*, how much a Stranger it hath been, to the *incommodious Treatment* the *Field* doth afford: Out of whoſe *Verge*, it is more decent and ſafe, ſtill to preſerve your ſelf, than, at any time to retire, though upon the higheſt *Provocation*; of whoſe legitimacy, your Enemies from whom

you

ma part, will be the *Arbitrators*, and not your *Friends*, to whom *you return*. *War* being a *turbulent* and *deſtructive Calling*, with more *Credit* and *Safety* always neglected, than at any time *forſaken*. He that never fought, receiving a fairer *Encomium* from *Charity*, than a *Captain* that hath deſerted his *Poſte*. Nor doth a *Colonel* ſtand for more, than a ſingle *Wheel*, in the Frame of an *Army*, where the *General* remains *Heir* to all *Deſert*.——The reſt is loſt

A Letter to Mr. W. P.

THe continuance of your *Acquaintance*, is the higheſt Pinnacle of my Ambition. And from whence I am not only tempted, but do willingly ſubmit to the loweſt of your *Commands*. In the purſuance of which, I came on purpoſe, to meet you at B—— loaden with the ſtrongeſt *Advice*, ſo weak a judgment is able to man out. But I find, Your own *Wiſdom* hath given me the *Opportunity*, to ſpare my *Engliſh*; By diſcovering to you, without the help of a Proſpective, or the dearer *prejudice* of a *Tryal*, what I found verified through many years *Experience*, *viz.* That *Honourable Perſons*, like *too great Fires*, may *warm* and *comfort* ſuch as are content only to *ſerve* them at a *Diſtance*: But *blaſt* the *Parts*, and *conſume* the *Fortunes* of thoſe are found to *attend* them in any *nearer relations*. Who gain, for the moſt part like the *Birds* that follow the *Crocodile*, no richer *Reward*, than the *Reverſions* of *their Teeth*. It being uſual with theſe *Monſters* in *Nature*, to eſteem none capable of *Deſert*, but ſuch as *Fortune*, or *Baſeneſs* hath made neceſſary to their *Vices*, or *Power*. The *Firſt* of which, is as much below *the Breeding*, as the *other*, is the *Candour of a Gentleman*: To whom, it

is

is *incongruous*, to *leave* the *Honour he* was born to, at the foot of that *Ladder*, he hopes *to ascend* by, to a *greater*. Neither have they that are *instrumental* to their *Rapine*, a more *noble* imployment, than *those Beasts* reported of in the *Indies*: who hunt the prey for the *Lyons*, and after by his strength they are subdued, must rest *satisfied* with what the *Covetousness* of their *Master* shall leave undevoured.

For my *self*, as none can with Affection, look upon the *Gulph*, hath swallowed up his *Felicity*: So I remain in so high a *feud* with *Greatness*, as if I did not find [*Lord*] in my *Daily Prayers*, I should not *name* it (in relation to *Servant*) without *Detestation*. The *which Lord*, had I served as I ought, the *other* would have been no more known to me, than *Leopards*, *Wolves*, and *Tygers*, seldome, if ever, seen by us, but in *Grates* and *Pictures*. Yet how manifest soever this *Truth* is, I am not so *foolish* my self, or think others so *wise*, as to esteem any *Precept*, or *Example* strong enough to restrain the *unsupported Ignorance* of *young men* from falling into this *Trap*, baited with more *Ease*, though far less *Assurance*, than *Law*, *Physick*, *&c.* For *this course* often neglected, in which *Hundreds* perish for *one* that *thrives*; who is yet found to be more *imperious* than the *Master* himself. Since the powerful *Word of God* assisted by the Rhetorick of *Divines*, is not of Efficacy sufficient to keep them from following *Pride*, *Lust* and *Drunkenness*, though *Hell* be assigned for the *Conclusion*. But if you desire a more full, and elegant prosecution of this *Theam*, I refer you to *Lucian*: Having already exceeded my first intention, which was only to *Kiss your Hands*, and in fewer words, to assure you that I am,

Sir, *Your Servant.*

Another

Another to the Same.

Sir,

HAd you not assur'd me you were not *well*, I should easily have guessed it my self, from the *Commendation your* Letter gave to *mine*.

Which cannot but be rather the effect of a *Fever*, than your *Judgement*. To which, though I am so highly obliged for the present, as to gain a more honourable esteem in your *fancy*, than, without the like *mediation*, I could possibly have attained: Yet I do not only abhor this, but all *Advantages else*, that own the least semblance of a *Prejudice* to you. So as I could not have been thus *Romantick*, but that the *last Line*, prov'd a *Cordial* to the *first*; By expunging all fear of *future Danger*, in respect of your *health*. And for *Prudence*, I find it by the Elegancy of your *style*, and the *solidity of matter*, so far rather increased, than diminished, as I am confident your opinion is, by this time, alter'd in reference to my *Desert*: though I am willing to flatter my self, That your *Love* continues. But whether the *Horse* follows the *Chariot*, or the *Chariot* the *Horse*, Persons of *Parts* are found to make so great a *Descent*, which submit themselves to this *course of Servitude*, That they waken the *Admiration of Lookers-on*, much more, than the *apprehensions* of those, that like me, have so apparently suffered in their particular Interests: It being impossible to imagine a greater *Lunacy*, than to cast away *Time*, *Freedom*, and *Fortune after such*, as so little regard it, that they esteem it *Reward* sufficient for the most of their *Services*, if they have an *opportunity* to observe the *Baseness* of their *Natures*. For what is gotten by them, belongs rather to their own *Impudence*, or

Importunity, [illegible] *Coldneſs* of their *Maſters*: Since he that refuſes [illegible]ve, in one of theſe *Two Court-vertues*, ſhall be compell'd to make a *Third* of *pure Neceſſity*. Let a man conſume a *Prenticeſhip* with a *Citizen*: At the end of the *Time*, it is his own fault, if he be not able to *Live*. But when a *Tradeſman* (like one of his Majeſties *Antique Statues*) is taken out of a baſe *Cellar* or *Vault*, (no Prodigy in our days) and ſet up at *Court*; It is his leaſt care to provide for his *Servants*, unleſs neceſſary to his *Vices*, or the *Infirmities* that proceed from them. Such being able to *Ride* him *where* they pleaſe; either over their *Fellows*, or *Strangers*, by way of *Terrour*, or *Diſdain*: Or *Covet*, and *prance* with his *Complements*, in token of *Reſpect*. They reſembling for the moſt part, *Oranges*, that yield nothing but upon ſqueezing. I confeſs, the Dependance on a *Monſter* of this kind, may be of excellent uſe for *Protection*, in theſe *Fatal Times*, where *Innocency* is found too weak for *Deceit*: Could it be obtain'd without a greater Loſs. But as in a *Contract* with the *Devil*, the Firſt thing parted with, is Hope of *future felicity*: So a *Secretary* muſt quit his *Freedom*, or *Imployment*; being tyed to ſo ſtrict an *Attendance*, as his *Lord* is no more able to ſpare him, than his own *Brains*, or *Thumbs*. By which, the *ſlavery* becomes ſo great, as it can receive no *Compenſation* from *Preſt*. Wherefore ſuch as are *wiſeſt*, retain only the *Acquaintance* of *Great men*: whom I have obſerved to thrive better than their *Menial Servants*. It being uſual with them, to beſtow benefits on thoſe that leaſt deſerve: And to him, they have *injured* by denying a *juſt Reward*, it is their *mode*, to become an *Enemy*. As I have found moſt certainly true, who am,

Sir,
Your Servant.

POST.

POSTSCRIPT.

I Have ſent you *this* to ſerve as a *Black patch* or *Foyl*, to ſet out the *Beauty of your Virgil*. And therein you may obſerve the ſtrength of *Affection*: which for your ſake is able to raiſe in me the *Enthuſiaſms* of a Poet; from whoſe *Inſpiration*, this *Oracle* is pronounced.

THis Work is finiſh'd ſo, as no Supply
Can be expected from Poſterity.
Nor could thy Author's Laurel *match thy Bays,*
Hadſt thou appear'd with him, in Cæſar's *days.*
Yet, he that this Tranſlation *dares to ſlight,*
Muſt not admire to ſee a Moor *waſh'd white,*
And chang'd to Engliſh Beauty: *loſing none*
Of what was Hers, *But adding of* his own.

If that our Northern Paint *be not ſo good,*
'Tis not thy Fault: *whoſe* Pencil *underſtood*
No leſs than any Roman's. *And this ſhall*
Struggle for Fame *with the* Original:
And waſte more Blood *and* Ink, *than in the ſtrife*
Between thoſe States who firſt gave Homer *Life,*
Which will be Juſtice. *For* he *did undo*
By writing them, what Wit *employ'd* thee to.
Like to an Elder Brother that is curſt
In all things elſe; yet priz'd *for* coming Firſt.

But to Conclude the wiſhes of my Heart,
Oh that my Praiſe *could equal thy* Deſert.

A Letter perſwading——to marry.

THough your Contexture makes me confident, you will not hazard the Dancing *Curanto*'s with *Apes* in *Hell*: yet it is none of the leaſt Modern Miracles, why you ſtay ſo long unmarried. As if you had an Antidote to repel Age, and were proof againſt the *Weapons* of Time; or had a *Receipt* to recover his *locks* worn off, by ſuch as neglect to lay hold on the preſent *occaſion*: which you would never do, had you ſeriouſly conſider'd the preſent Condition of your *Mother*; (whoſe youth is ſaid, ſo blaſphemous is Tradition, rather to have exceeded, than come ſhort of your preſent *Beauty*:) How a few years hath changed *Alabaſter* into *Wainſcot*, and ruffled her *Neck* like a walking *Buskin*: So that ſuch as would once have croſſed Seas, but for an *apparition* of her, cannot but now think it *Ominous* to meet her *faſting*. If you reſolve upon none, till you pattern the *Character* your Fancy preſented me, (when I had laſt the Honour to kiſs your *hands*, and heard the Scorn wherewith you received the Offer of——I muſt be bold to tell you, I took it rather as a copy of your Countenance, than any thought could take its *Original* from the *Diſcretion* I ever own'd you Lady of) you may as well expect a *New Creation*. Since, ſo much perfection, as your Language did then paint, is not to be found out of a *Romance*; or the ſhort Entertainment during a Lovers Paſſion; which once throughly cured by *fruition*, is not found rarely to *recoil* into as great a contrary Extream. I confeſs, *wife*, *conſtant* and *compleat Servants* may be had; but few ſuch *Husbands*, whoſe minds are no leſs altered by Marriage, than Drunken Men are by Sleep; but become like them, *weary* and *ſick*

ſick of what they formerly took delight in; upon the *apprehenſion*, That he which *yokes* himſelf to a *Woman*, forfeits *his Prudence*, no leſs, than *ſhe* doth hazard *her* Repute, who incircles a man in her Armsbefore Enchanted by the *Prieſt*, through *cuſtome* and *ſhame* made far more neceſſary to you, than Men. Wherefore finding that Time is unceſſantly nibbling at youth, and *Beauty* the *bait* of your Trap: and that it is unlikely with no ſtronger *Engines*, to catch one that is Wiſe: Be nimble, and lay hold on *this* that is Rich. Who is conſeſs'd none of the *ſeven wiſe Maſters*; and therefore with more *eaſe* to be *governed*. The *felicities* of *Marriage*, periſhing in the *conflict* ariſing between Man and Wife of equal Spirits and underſtanding. It being impoſſible there ſhould want Conteſts, where both lay claim to a *capacity* fit only to be obeyed. Which, if you have him, will by all be conceded on your ſide. So that, inſtead of being a *Ward*, (a Tenure every *Married Woman* holds from the *award* of her *Maker*) you ſhall be *Guardian* of the *Perſon* and *Eſtate* of your *Husband*. Now, in relation to other things, upon the *ſcore* of which you may reckon *ſtrong felicities*; They will be found, after enjoyment, to vaniſh into *Cyphers*. *Learning* becoming as unſociable for *Ladies*; as *half-witted men* are *wilful* and *Jealous*; Rocks that the ſoftneſs of his *Head* gives ſufficient *caution* for, ſo that, under this Conjunction, you may, without interruption, follow what *Inclinations* you pleaſe. Wherefore, if you reſolve to *marry*, no *Husband* is more proper; whoſe *folly* you may exchange for *Wiſdom*, when you pleaſe. And to renounce it quite, were, beſides burying your *Talent* in the Ground, and robbing of the *world*, which you ought to leave as *Rich* as you found it: You *ſhould* fall into the *condition* of *an old Maid*, than which nothing is more *Deſpicable*: who is acceptable in

no *company*. Not daring to come amongſt *Women*, for fear of declaring more Knowledge than ſhe can, with reference to *Honeſty own*: Or approach men out of the danger of Contempt. The Moral of *Andromeda*, is a *Hiſtory* of your *preſent* Condition. Where, the *Barren Rock* ſhe was tyed to, is *Virginity*. The *Monſter* that came to devour her, *Time*. And he reported to *deliver* her, ſome *witty ſpark*, that perſwaded her, to take a *Rich*——*&c.* to her *Husband*, might warrant the Acceſs of one more *acceptable*. Oh, let him have this *Honour*, *Fair Lady*, who is,

Madam,

Your Servant.

On a Looking-Glaſs.

DEar Glaſs, *tell me, by what Art,*
Thou bear'ſt her Image *without* breaking?
When the ſame do's crack *my* Heart,
Juſt as I am now a ſpeaking.

On another which ſhe ſaid did *Flatter*.

BLame not your Glaſs, *that doth her* Duty,
Nor can it Flatter *ſo much* Beauty.
But for the reſt, in Policy,
It ſhews them Fairer *than they be.*
Since if they ſaw their Faces true,
This, would be broke; *and* envy'd *you.*

Another.

DEar Glaſs, *joyn with her* Eyes; *and both concur*
To Note *more worth* in me, *and leſs* in Her.

A Song.

THe Graces *are, by* Cuſtome, *bound*
Once in an Age, All to be found
In One Creature: *There to ſhew*
All the Beauties *they do owe*;
And now having fix'd on Thee,
Be not Proud: *Since, you may ſee,*
Time allows them not to ſtay,
But to meet, and go away.
Yet though whil'ſt theſe Gueſts be here,
You do rate their Lodging *dear:*
If you ſuffer me to take *it,*
I'll not break, *when they* forſake *it,*
The terms, of Fair *and* Good, *do not expreſs*
Thy Worth, *no more, than theirs, call* Princes fine,
When deck'd in Diamonds, *like the Stars they ſhine*:
Nay, I'll maintain their folly to be leſs;
Since ſuch a ſight hath oft before been ſeen:
Whil'ſt he that would inform a ſhape like thine,
Prometheus-*like, muſt filch from things* Divine.

On a Picture.

THough *this be drawn exactly forth,*
It doth no more retain her Worth,
Than the Shadow *of a* Roſe
Can the Scent *of one that* grows.

Ano-

Another.

BEtween this, *and her* Mind, *there is that odds*,
As is in Man's *frail-workmanship and* God's.

A Letter to two Sisters, the one Black, *the other* Fair.

Ladies,

IT is Design, and I hope, no Presumption in me, to joyn you in one: That, besides the opportunity of presenting the highest of my Respects, I might comprize in a single Letter, the total summ of all the perfection extant in Woman-kind. *Black* and *White* being the unquestioned *Original*, of that infinite Variety of *Beauty*, (the *mint* of *Nature*) through which is maintained her Necessary Commerce of Generation. And, in this equal *Distribution*, *Fortune* hath shewn no small *Ingenuity*, (who is more *Wanton*, and *Inexorable*, than *Blind* or *Careless*) in assigning, that of least *Duration*, the Fewest Years. For if you did not *Wither* alike, *Art* and *Opinion* (the *Limners* and *Carvers* of all *Excellency*,) would have tempted, if not constrained every one to serve and adore that *Sister* only, whose beauty had survived. By which, sweet Variety had been lost; and Perfection reduced into one *Monarchy*, which now march in your Two glorious *Regiments*. To both which I remain an Equal Captive: Being,

Ladies, &c.

Beauty

Beauty is writ in ſeveral Characters;
None but are skill'd in ſome: who finds out All?
Which votes them mad, *do ſay, that this man errs,*
Becauſe his choice is Black, *or* Low, *or* Tall;
Nature would have all pleas'd: And ſuch as fall
On Ordinary Features, *are leſs learn'd:*
The Indian *Beauties are as plain diſcern'd*
By thoſe do know their Figure, as the White.
Nor can Expreſſion render it ſo right,

As may force others to approve the Text.
Reaſon with Taſte, *and* Love, *ſhould not be* vext.

A Letter to—— after the Death of his Lady.

Sir,

I Know, I need not mind you, That all Sublunary things are Tranſitory: Dancing, like the Atoms (the ancient Philoſophers imagined the *World* not only to be made of, but ſtuffed withal) between one Condition, and another. Life ſeeming to be lent, to keep Death in employment. And Generation, to ſerve only for the production of Bodies; that the *fatal Siſters* might not weave in vain, or want Creatures to vail with their *Garments* of *Mortality*. But it is time to give over, at leaſt to turn down a *Leaf*; and reſet the *Inculcation* of this *Morality*, till ſome fitter time; For fear of falling into their Indiſcretion, are found to wake a ſick Friend, by an Impertinent *Inquiſition* after his Condition, or the unſeaſonable Adminiſtration of a Direction which way to diſpoſe of his

his Body. Since none can Calculate his *Ease* better, than the *Patient*: "*Sorrow it self not being deſtitute of* "*its Voluptuouſneſs*. Which, hoping you will not too far exceed: Give me leave to Conclude, That *Manners* exacted this: and *Diſcretion* no more but to aſſure you,

I am, &c.

An EPITAPH.

STone, *ſo long as thou doſt laſt*,
Let the Reader know thou haſt
The Droſs of Her, once own'd a Mind
Contain'd the worth of Woman-kind.
But no more: *Who ſpeaks her* Glory,
Muſt have for every Duſt *a* Story.

The Authors EPITAPH upon Himſelf.

I *Envy not ſuch* Graves *as take up room*,
Meerly with Jet *and* Porphyry; *ſince a Tomb*
Adds no Deſert: Wiſdom, *thou* thing divine!
Convert my humble Soul *into thy* Shrine.

And then this Body, *though it want a* Stone,
Shall dignifie all places *where 'tis thrown.*

A Letter to diſſwade—— from Marrying *a* Rich, *but* ugly *and* deformed, *&c.*

WHen I heard at firſt, you went a *Wooing* to—— I thought it a *Trick* put upon you by *Friends*, but finding it *ſeconded*, and ſeeing the fearful Examples of *Thoſe*, who out of *Diſcontent*, and a *Deſire* to *Change* their preſent *Condition*, are found to *caſt away themſelves*: I begin to take your *Danger* to Heart: And do here, in the *Sincerity* of *Affection*, offer my Hand, to ſtay the *Tying* of that *Knot*, with which you go about to *ſtrangle* your future *Felicity*. For, though I confeſs the *Party* may not unpoſſibly be very *Rich*, yet it is as likely, *The things* required to *Dead* the Apprehenſion of ſuch a *loathſome companion*, will prove *ſo chargeable*, as in a *ſhort* time, *Her Gold* will be ſpent, and *nothing* left, but *the Foul Beaſt* that brought it.

Yet ſuppoſe you find ſo much, as may bear the *Expence* of *Mad Company*, *Whores* and *Drink*, (*Wicked Cordials*, though *generally uſed* to *correct* ſuch *Poyſon*) Can you *Diveſt Humanity* ſo far, as to make her *Partner* in a *Bed*, is able to render you *ſo much* an *enemy* to *Womankind*, as to exchange it for *Sodomy?* if not *Beſtiality* it ſelf? For though you may not be puniſhed by *Law*, the *Act* will be ſeverely condemned, and eſteemed *Bruitiſh*, by all the *Rational part of the world*; It not lying in the *Gender* or *Kind*, but *Form*, to render a *Creature Monſtrous* and *Abominable* to the Nature of *Commerce*.——I am ſo *Charitable*, (yet in confidence of *Others Vertue*, rather than *Her own*) as to believe *She* is a *Virgin*, in *reference* to *Man*: Who in that *Action*, might with more *Juſtice*, be puniſhed for a *Deflowrer* of *Himſelf*, than *Her*. Wherefore you will have

have no more reaſon to *brag* of this *Priviledge*, than *He* that *firſt deſcended into Hell*. Of whoſe *Superlative Uglineſs* (though her Body be ſo compoſed, as the *Devil* need not alter the *beſt* of her *Features*, to make her reſemble the *fouleſt* of his *Fiends*; yet) it may be Numbered amongſt the *Queſtions*, leaſt capable of *Deciſion*: Whether *That*, or *Her Mind*, be moſt *Crooked*? And to cover this, (yet none of the *worſt* of her Imperfections,) She is ſupported, like *Tyranny*, by *Steel*. From whence, her *Breath* is become ſo *Noyſome*, as no *Venomous* thing can live in her *Preſence*: Nor any *Perſon* ſick of the *Mother*, miſcarry. Now what *effects* her *Embraces* will work upon your *ſelf*, may be gueſs'd by *Grooms*: ——who in a ſmall time, come to *out-ſtink the very Beaſts* they are *converſant* with—— And what is ſaid, is ſo far from *Hyperbolical*, as it reſembles Truth more than ſhe does a Woman. Yet all this is but a *ſlender Security*, to warrant *Poſterity* upon, ſhould ſuch a *Monſter* confute *Philoſophy*, in producing her *Like*. For,

If *Money* be ſo prevalent, as to make you ſell your *Liberty*, why may it not *hire* another, to become ſo much a *Slave*, as to do *your Drudgery*? Who cannot be, upon ſerious thoughts, thus *Singular*, as to prefer *The abſolute Poſſeſſion* of a *Dung-boat*, before *the having a Partner* in a *Tall Ship*. But if ſo *fond* of *Wealth*, as to break through theſe Conſiderations, teach her to cover her *Face*, and not *Salute* your *Friends*: Or, if ſhe muſt be *Kiſs'd*, (The Strongeſt Complement was ever uſed) let her diſrobe her—— not poſſible to be more *noyſome* than her *Mouth*. If *Proſe* be not *Tart* enough to wean you from ſo *Childiſh* a Reſolution, for the fear of *Poetry* deſiſt: which may make you the Subject of a *Comedy*. And gueſs by theſe *Verſes* of a *Friend*, what *Enemies* may ſay.

Can

CAn you but think the ancient Blindneſs Great,
When Men made Gods *of that which we make* Meat?
Or wonder thoſe by Nile, *could offer* Fat
And goodly Oxen, *to an ugly* Cat?
Yet you (no leſs adviſed) *to* a Witch
Will ſell your Fate, *in hope for to be* Rich.
Who like the Idols *in a* Pagan *Feaſt,*
Carries a Monkeys Face, *upon her* Breaſt,
Shadow'd with Shoulders: *under which doth ſtay*
A Bonnet crouching, *like* a Hill at Sea.
Nor may her Boſome *fail of a* Device,
To hatch an Egg *into a* Cockatrice.
Or turn Men Atheiſts, *who believe no* Elves
Can now be found, but what we make our ſelves.
Were She in India, *where they ſerve the* Devil,
Not out of Hope *of* Good, *but* Fear of Evil,
They would adore Her: *Leſt her* Sun-like-Noſe
Should Burn, *and* Smoke Tobaco, *as it grows.*
Or, leſt the Venome of her loathſome Breath,
Might blow ſome foul Contagion *o're the Earth.*
Or, That the Spaniards, *by her malice taught,*
Might learn more Cruelty, *than e're they thought.*
Yet amongſt all the People, worſt miſled,
None ever took a Fiend into his Bed.
Which proves, that Nature *doth abhor your Deed*
In offering to a Dæmon, Humane Seed.
And what will be your Iſſue, joyn'd with Her,
None can reſolve you, but a Conjurer.
For while She is in Labour, *You may hear*
The Good-Wives *ſkreak; and ſome* Phyſician *ſwear*
It is a Child. *And that he finds in* writ,
Such Births; *Before the* Prieſt *dares* Chriſten *it,*

Now if this *cannot* Move *you, may your* Task,
Be to beget a Compleat Anti-Mask.

A Letter in Reference to a Coy Lady.

THough I confeſs, The *Lady* you recommended, may prove a *Pleaſure* to *Others*, are at *leiſure* wholly to intend *Making Love*: (No *Hare* being better provided of *Muces* and *Shifts* to put off *Followers* than *She*) yet, ſo *Dull* a *Soul* as *mine*, in the *Apprehenſion* of the *Difference* between *One Individual beauty*, and *another*, is ſtill *ready*, with the *Mayor* of *London*, to loſe all the *Pleaſure* of *Hunting*, in the *inſignificant* (though perhaps to *others ears* pleaſant) Cry of the *Hounds*. Catching of *Larks* and *Sparrows* leſs chargeable and troubleſome, being more *acceptable* and *grateful* to ſome *Complexions*, than *Hawking* at the *Heron*. The latter being too full of *Splendour*, *Noiſe*, *Delays*, and impertinent *Complements* for a *Perſon*, that *like me*, is not born with the *Patience*, to run after a *flying beauty*; Or ſpend time in *beating* for that, another will *find to my hand*, for a *ſmaller ſumm*, than may compence the tearing my Repute, or burthening my *Conſcience* with *Vain* and *Fallacious Oaths* and *Covenants*. In the Adminiſtration of which, *She* is as *punctual*, as the *Calydonian Commiſſioners*.

Yet I cannot deny, but that She is richly *worth* the *purchaſe* of any that own the Knack of ſuch *Amorous Zealots*, as have *the Patience*, to continue ſtill *whining*, where they know, through the *Conſciouſneſs* of their own *Unworthineſs*, That they are not *likely* to be *Heard*. Making a *ſincere* profeſſion of *Love* and *Reſpect*, when their chiefeſt *Intent* is only to *plunder*. What I fear *this Lady* is to *ſeek* of already, or elſe foully bely'd. None keeping their *Avenues* more *ſtrictly barred*, than *ſuch* as have been *Robb'd* already *in this kind*. Wherefore having caſt up *by my ſelf* the whole *Value* of the *Ad-*

Adventure; I find it no more than I can truck for, nearer home, and with greater *eaſe*, and *conveniency* to *my ſelf*.

Yet, before I break out into an *Open Rebellion* againſt ſo *Soveraign* and *Abſolute* a *beauty*, I will *preſent* her with *this incloſed Petition*. To which, if ſhe gives not a *ſatisfactory* and *full Anſwer*, I am reſolved to break off all further *Addreſs*: And to proclaim Her a *Tyrant*; And her *Subjects abſolved* from their *Oaths* and *Obedience*. So, as for the *Future* it may be *lawful* for them, to inroll *Themſelves* under the *Red* and *White Colours* of any other *Miſtreſs* they eſteem more *Debonaire*.

The Petition.

I *Pray* Diſpatch *my Suit*, *or elſe* Deny *it*;
For if I ſpend more Time, *I dearly* Buy *it*.
If you diſtruſt my Truth, *I do proteſt*,
By that which binds Men *moſt*, *I* Love *you beſt*.
——*It is not out of* Fear, *That I ſhould* Tell.
You never heard me Brag, *when I did well*.
Or is't t' engage me more, *that you delay it*?
None better knows the Grant, *nor how to pay it*.
Is it the Sin *you fear*, *which none can* Gueſs?
Cutting off Oaths, *and* Time, *you make it* Leſs.
Nay 'tis no Fault *in you to leſſen* Mine.
Better once Drunk, *than ſtill* to thirſt *for Wine*.
——*Hath* Nature *made a* Blot *below your* Zone?
My Love *would cover it*, *and count it* None.
Have you a Servant, *that you think is true*?
I have a Miſtreſs *too*: *And yet* Love you.

If you can add to theſe Objections *more*,
Pay me for what is paſt, *and I'll give o're*.

A Character on a Deboſhed Souldier.

HE carries no Sign of *Reputation* but in his *Mouth*; and that he ſuffers to run over, with tedious *Stories* of his own *Valour*: to juſtifie which, he hath wiſhed his *Damnation* ſo often, as it is now *ſure*; rendring him uncapable of any other *Peace of Conſcience*, but what he finds in *Drink*, or the operation of no *Diviner Spirit*, than that incites to *Luſt* and *Revenge*; his *Religion* being ſo far of his *own making*, as he imagines *God*, like his old *Hoſt*, beſt pleaſed, by the *Largeſt Reckonings*. With his *Tongue* he deſires Wars, but is in *Heart* at *peace* with *all* but his *Maker*. He had rather be thought *behind-hand* for *Money* than *Word*: and will ſooner ſatisfie an *Enemy* than a *Friend*, being readier to requite what he receives in *Anger*, than *Love*; *Injuries* than *Good turns*. Rendring himſelf a *Slave* to *Martial and Arbitrary Juſtice* for a ſmall *Salary*, under the improbable pretence of *freeing others*. Nor dares this *Gladiator*, that rants ſo high in *Taverns*, and on the *Ale-bench*, oppoſe any thing but *Patience*, to the higheſt *Affront*, a ſuperiour *Officer* is pleaſed to put upon him. Though no *Papiſt*, he abhors the *Church*. And like ſome of our *Reformiſts*, carries no more *marks* of a *Proteſtant*, than what are legible in *Perjury*, *&c.* yet brags more of his *Whoring and Drinking*, than any *Catholick* doth of his *Good*

Good Works. Who is thus far *Happy*, that though he wants *Faith* to make him a *True Saint*, he owns not so much *Hypocriſie*, as to *appear ſo*. And therefore more capable of *Repentance*, than thoſe that *Plunder* and *murder* others, under a ſecret *pretence* of honouring that God, *he openly prophanes*. He brags much of his *Scars*, which truly examined, prove rather the Effects of *Intemperance*, than *marks* of *Valour*: his *face* bearing the *hideous Impreſs* of *Pots* and *Glaſſes*, received not in the *Fields* of *Mars*, but the eaſier-entred *Sconces* of *Bacchus*. Whoſe *Diſcourſe*, though it traveli'd ſtill betwixt one *beſieged place*, or *Leaguer*, to another, yet it was always *Tedious*. And if you altered the Subject, *his underſtanding* appeared *proof* againſt all *Senſe*. After whom followed this Epitaph,

At the Saracens *Head*, Tom *pour'd in Ale and Wine*,
Until his Face *did repreſent the* Sign.

To Dr. Ch. *Chaplain to* W. E. *of* Pem.

SIR,

WHileſt it pleaſed you to Communicate with me, in a *ſtile* ſuitable to the *frailty* of my *underſtanding*, I took infinite content in the *Converſe*; but ſince you have cloathed your *Letters* in the *Thundering* and *Glorious Ornaments* of Learning, I am not able to cope with you: Wherefore let me implore your favour ſo far as to lay theſe advantages by, and not render your *love terrible* to me, who did never queſtion your *Power*, but own you in the *higheſt ſublimity* the world hath (being prompted by ſo much *deſert*) advanced you to. And on ſuch terms I may enjoy your *Acquaintance*, whereas otherwiſe I ſhall be forced to *take Sanctuary* in a perpetual *ſilence*. Leſt I ſhould loſe that little Reaſon I have, in ſeeking to comprehend the infiniteneſs of yours. And to avoid any miſ-information of the Quarrel at——— between my Lo—— and the E. of C——— It was really thus. The K—— having though againſt his will, prevailed with my L. to go into the Weſt, by reaſon of his intereſt in thoſe parts, with the other Councellours of State, in hope to facilitate the payment of the five Subſidies voted, but not given by *Parliament*, and now Chriſtened a *Royal Loan*; the Commiſſioners being by the fire, a diſpute aroſe between the two former Lords, whether it was poſſible for one had never been upon the place, to ſpeak and underſtand *French* perfectly. The L—— of—— who

you

you know never set foot out of *England*, maintained the Affirmative with so much eagerness, that the other who had not only more Reason on his side, but the approbation of the Company, said my L—— best Argument was *noise*; a speech my L. replyed was undecent for an *E. of Complements*. And upon this, the other returned the *lye*. To which my L—— made such a Manual Answer, as the L. *C*. being penned up in his clothes, fell down, whereupon they were parted, and reconciled; *shame*, and the title of his Majesties graveſt *Privy Counsellours* facilitating the Composition. It is already arrived at the *Spanish Embassadours*, who according to his facetious mode, put it upon the score of our English Valour, which the graveſt relations cannot make them to forget. I am still haunted for Verses from our *French Curioſ*, who is resolved to print his Book in English: Those I made are these,

WHat dost thou mean, my friend, in this bad time,
To write of Vertue, *when 'tis thought a* Crime
Not to be Vicious? *such a* Book *would* sell,
Could prove all Damn'd, *did offer to* do well:
Or find that Pimping *is a* lawful Trade,
Because that Sarah *brought her* Lord *a* Maid:
Or vindicate what Origen *hath cast*,
That Court *and* Hell *shall meet in* Heaven *at* last;
Or prove that Incest *is a* Venial Sin,
Because that Lot *defil'd his* neareſt Kin.
O couldst thou maintain this, then thou shouldst be
Rais'd to high place for thy Divinity.

Then lose no time, let Goodness *take her chance;*
Whilst you comply with Sin *and* Ignorance.

On a COOK.

A *Cook* is a *Baud* to the *Mouth*. That *kills* his own *Stomach*, to quicken his *Maſter's*. Who lives like a *Bear* by *licking* his *Fingers*. Before a *Feaſt*, he in his *white Sleeves* and *Apron* reſembles the *Ephod* of a *Prieſt*; and ſeems to be preparing rather a *Sacrifice*, than a *Supper*. In which, the *Grand-Sallet* may juſtly be thought to perſonate an *Idol*. His Office is a repreſentation of *Hell*: where all ſorts of *Creatures* are *tormented* in *Flames*, to ſatisfie the depraved and various Nature of the Taſtes of men. Whoſe Pleaſures, and higheſt Contentments, are no other ways to be compleated, but at the prejudice of their *Fellow-Animals*: Over which, *Reaſon*, not *Strength*, hath purchaſed them the Soveraignty, ſo much abuſed in *this* world, as may render the worſt of puniſhments, juſt, in *the next*. His profeſſion ſomething quadrates with *Heraldry*: Varying no leſs in *Sawces*, than they do in *Colours*, *Bends*, *Feſſes* and *Metals*; and are as much puzled about *marſhalling* the *Diſhes*, and calculating the *precedency* at the Table of a *Wood-Cock*, or *Wigeon*; a *Gull*, or *Goſling*, as the other are in placing *Lords* and *Ladies*. But this, and all the reſt of his Learning and Induſtry, concludes, as I do, in an *excrement*: which I wiſh in his——*&c.* And ſo, leave him to *Blaſpheme* in the *Kitchin*: or *Cooling* his *Tongue* in the *Cellar*.

A

A Character of an Hoſt.

AN *Hoſt* is one who *Thrives* with *Drinking*, and grows *Rich* by *Entertainments*. He is of *vaſt acquaintance*, but can number few *Friends*, beſides Thoſe reſulting from *Travel*, or *Neceſſity*. His *Converſation* is alike to *All men*, that he may gain the more *Money*. Being equally *Hoſpitable* to every *Religion* he can *ſave* by. Giving his *Gueſt* the beſt Content *o're night*, out of hope to pleaſe himſelf *in the morning*. The *Government* of his houſe is *Tyrannical*, all *Taxes* being *Arbitrary*, at the will of his *Wife*, who ſits *Regent* in the *Kitchin*. Yet every one that enters, takes his *Chamber*, for the time he ſtays, as *his own*, with no leſs aſſurance, than *Don Quixot* did the whole *Manſion*, for an *Enchanted Caſtle*. He ventures that *reaſon* he hath, in all Companies. And in *Defiance* of any Drink the weary *Traveller* pleaſeth to call for, which if ſaid to be *mingled*, or adulterate, He calls the Name of *God*, and the *perſon* of the *Drawer* to atteſt the contrary. The *Sign* is the *Scheme*, by *which* you may take the *Aſcendant* of his *Underſtanding*. And his *Half-peck* the Meaſure of his *Conſcience*; of which his *Hoſtler* is *Chancellour*, and keeps the *Key*: Making no more of Cheating a Stranſters *Horſe*, than his *Miſtreſs* doth in over-reaching both. If her *Husband* be grown into his perfect *Symmetry*, his *Belly* bears the exact proportion of th[illegible] *biggeſt Jugg*. And his *Face* of *That*, in the *First Edition of Fryer Bacon's Works*. He ſuits his *Diſcourſe*, as *Fiddlers* do

do their *Songs* to the *ears* of the *Hearers*: chuſing rather to offend *Truth* than his *Company*. And in caſe any *ride double*, he proclaims them Man and Wife, as far more willing to foment Bawdery, than *foul* two pair of *Sheets*. He is ſeldome far out of the *way*, though *Drunk* or *Hang'd*: The firſt being as near the *Road* of his Profeſſion as the latter is that of his Deſert.

Youth, Wit, *and* Beauty, *like a* painted Sign
May ſtay a Stranger: *but 'tis* ſprightful Wine,
And decent Welcome *makes him* 'light *and* Dine:
For who will paſs his time in ſuch a place,
Where nought appears, of moment, but a Face?

Deductions

Deductions from the History of the Earl of Essex, *who was executed for* Treason, *under the Reign of Queen* Elizabeth; *with a modest Answer to Sir* Henry Wotton.

THE *Love* of a *People*, may be observed of no less dangerous a consequence for a *Subject* to *trust* to, than their *hatred* proves to such *Princes* as are so unwary as to *neglect* it. For after that Sir *Robert Cecil* had prevailed so far upon his own Brother, the *Earl of Exeter* (most else refusing the employment, out of *Love* or *Fear*) as to proclaim *Essex* Traitor: He appeared, deserted by all, but some few unfortunate Gentlemen, whose lives, out of *Gratitude*, or *Want*, depended wholly on his.

Nor is the *Affection* of a *Prince*, less *permanent*, than their *Anger* deadly. And in the first of these the *Queen* was *unconstant*, in the latter *inexorable*. Wherefore, if during so long a reign, no great quantity of blood was spilt, it rather resulted from her *Subjects Innocency*, than any *propensity to forgiveness*, inherent *in her Nature*. Nothing coming so hardly from her, as a Pardon; I mean of such faults as concerned her self. And in this she shewed a rare prudence, in becoming able to raise a *profitable use* out of a *Natural defect*, for (born of that sex, allowed by all as the weakest in

Judgement) she lay more obnoxious to a Censure of insufficiency, than that of Tyranny: the sternness of whose looks, hath in all ages scared away contempt, the inseparable Companion of a cheap and effeminate Nature.

So as neither *Leicester*, *Hatton*, nor any other *Minion*, could ever extract so much favour from her, as might serve their *Lands* or *Heirs*, from refunding what their *Fathers* had mis-spent: Her *favours* keeping no *servant* company, beyond the *land of the living*. The most apparent reason why the Lady *Elizabeth Hatton* cast her self into the contaminated arms of *Attorney Cook*. Nor could her dispostion to *severity* be in any thing more manifest, than the extraordinary means used but to defer the execution of the *E.* of *Southamp.* who had besides pity, the enemies of *Essex* to plead for him: yet she continued inflexible towards mercy, till the same hand that led her into the temptation, did like the *Devils*, shew her the glory she was fallen from already, in her Subjects opinion, by quenching his, and their enmies *malice* with the blood of their *Darling*. Nor was this hard-extracted *Mercy*, unsuitable to the emergency of the present occasion, for (as I have been often told) not only those that did in the peoples opinion, contribute to the murder (as many called it) of the *Earl*: But the *Queen* her self, was exposed to some publick affronts. The spectators she passed through in every Town, (especially in *London*) becoming far thinner and muter than formerly they were.

Some Princes love not that *Child* in order to *succeed* them: but all abominate a *stranger* lyes under that notion; the cause that she, contrary to the well-being of the *Subject*, no less than the priviledge of *Parliament* committed *Pigot* and *Wentworth*, for moving to know the *Man*, and beheaded *Essex*, but for making a small demonstration of offering himself: though the later

Romans

Roman Tyrants took that little security they did enjoy, from a quite contrary course. But this was at a time when the *Blood Royal* lay extinct, and the possession of the *Crown* fell to his share had the *Keenest Sword* and strongest Head-piece: In which case the most probable way to secure the Prince, was the declaring his Successor, who to preserve his own dignity, was likely to take revenge on any that should assassinate him in the Throne before, a thing very ordinary in those depraved times, not so in *England*, where during her Reign, there were no less than fourteen titles, good and bad, which by her Silence were all kept quiet. For till she made a publick declaration, none had a just cause to complain. And in case any endeavoured to have succeeded by force, she had a fair choice out of the rest to make opposition, none being free from some considerable defect or other. The *Parliament* remaining wholly at her devotion, and no ill willers to *Essex*: The *Commons* being as fearful of the *Regiment* of a *Stranger*, as *the Peerage* were jealous of the house of *Hartford*, or any else deducible out of their own Body. Fortune appearing then in all particulars so strong on *Essex* side, as she seemed rather *unable*, than *unwilling* to bear out the charge of his folly, who put her upon such impertinent errands, as the *Dutch* youth do fools on the second of *April*: Through which she became so far tired, as she was forced at last to return him a *Block* and a *Hatchet*. This unconstant Deity, being in the number of such *giddy Auxiliaries*, as none can be sure what side she will take, and therefore not to be trusted by a wise man. The most steady if not signal events, having been brought about without any other mediation of hers, but what is unpossible to be avoided; in which sense she is rather capable of the title of *Providence*, than *Luck*. Fortune resembling a Cane, which no wise man, but in an unavoidable necessity will hazard the weight

weight of his whole reſt upon. Wherefore the *Earl of Eſſex*, if he had not been beſated with a ſtrong Opinion of ſucceſs in all his actions, (though built on the weakeſt foundation) would never have referred his life and future well-being to the ſole arbitration of *Chance*, and the unconſtant guidance of a *Womans Affection*: which being only skin-deep, could not but in a *Court*, furniſh a perſon of far leſs magnitude than a Soveraign power, with choice enough: Eſpecially after his enemies, for their own ſecurity, had ſo far indulged his, as to furniſh him with an Army paid by the *Q.* and choſen by himſelf. Nor were the greateſt families then in rebellion in *Ireland*, (rendred by the moſt probable reports) leſs obedient to him than his reſpective *Officers*: And if theſe advantages had been too little to have ſet the Crown upon his head, after the deceaſe of his Miſtreſs, he might have had any Men or Money from the moſt *Catholick King*; who would have advanced his deſigns, or any natural *Engliſh* Subjects elſe, that had but oppoſed the *Scottiſh* Succeſſion. Which was formerly projected by *Leiceſter*, and the only viſible occaſion he managed the *Engliſh* force in the *Netherlands* with ſo little care, and worſe ſucceſs, who immediately began to proſper upon his remove. But *Eſſex* had *Religion* and *Fidelity*, inherent in his Nature, *Humours* known ſo incompatible with *Ambition*, as it was no leſs *unſafe* for him to court a *Crown*, than it did after prove *Incongruous* and misbecoming, for his more frigid Son to make *Love*, and importune Ladies. Nor is this a conjecture of my own, but what I have often heard averred by the friends of Sir *Charles Danvers*, whoſe youngeſt Siſter married my eldeſt Brother. And that the *Honeſty* of *Eſſex* (never denied to exceed his *Diſcretion*) might for the preſent moderate his *Ambition*: But how he would have behaved himſelf in the company of an *abſolute power*, may

be safer now *disputed* by us, than at that time *experimented* by the *Queen*. *Success* in those that wear it, expunging like *Aqua Fortis* all former marks of *Allegiance* or *Probity*. For though his first thoughts might be of no larger extent, than to remove *Cecil*, and other declared enemies, under the notion of evil Counsellours, that poured into her Ears, such tales as were disadvantagious to the true *Religion*, and *Policy* of the *State*: yet that point gained, he could not from a lower station than a *Throne*, have satisfied so many, wiser men than himself, whose clearer insight into the advantages he was then in possession of, had tempted to be adventurers with him. So as all the favour could have accrued to his Mistress from a more happy success than befel the Earl, exceeded not the Complement of continuing her in his *lap*, (a place not likely to suite long with her Age, or his occasions. Queen *Elizabeths* Reign having been too reserved, quietly to have endured from an *Administrator* (she remaining yet in being) so profuse an expence of honour and riches, as was expedient to be thrown to such a needy party, as had already imbarqued themselves in his service, whose fidelity and strength (the *Nurslings* of *hope, reward and preferment*) was requisite to maintain him on the Stage. For though possibly, *his desires* might terminate in a removal of *his Enemies*; They had no *honester design* than to raise themselves, without much reference had to the means. From whence it is easie to contemplate the prodigious Disparities in Rebellion; which though begun upon never so *just*, *moderate*, or *Religious* pretences, *necessity*, *ambition*, and *Humane frailty* will interject so many new and unexpected pretences, and events, as it rarely concludes, without the ruine of it self, or the Commonwealth; which once suffered to grow intemperate and run over, it doth like a *Pot* consume its own fat, and loseth

seth its former strength and glory, by raising the dross and dregs of her Subjects, uppermost.

One cause of his *presumption* was, The fond *Opinion* he had, that she would not rob her *eyes* of the great *delight* she took in his *Person*. A *fantastical* over-weening of himself, and womens *Affection*, to whom no single mans perfections were ever yet found *continually Grateful*.

Now such as wonder, how she durst bring him to the Scaffold, for *fear* of her own Honour, are not throughly studied in the boldness of Princes (whose faces are continually *steeled* with the varnish of a *gross Flattery*, put upon their *worst Actions*) no more than the compunctions of Dying Men, who desire *rather to clear* themselves *towards God*, and the *World*, than impertinently to *accuse others*: Besides, a hope of *Pardon*, not to be *cut off* but with his Head, was a sufficient Reason to restrain him from breaking out into any intemperate *ravings* against his *Prince*: As *Biron* of *France*, did not long after, most imprudently fall into, in reference to his King, *Henry the Fourth*, Dying in the opinion of the generality, rather like a *mad man*, than a *Christian*. Yet had *Essex* unloaded his bosome of all it did contain, it might possibly not have *swelled* to so great a bulk, as did then appear in the *Opinion* of the most: or that it may afterwards be blown up to by flatulent Posterity (seldome endued with so *even a fortune*, as to have *truth* and *falshood* weighed to it in an *equal Ballance*) manifest in a number of Relations extant at home and abroad. The *Blood* she inherited, no less than her *Fathers humour*, having procured her no good opinion from the *Church*, according to whose *Dialect* the generality did heretofore, out of *Ignorance*, or *reverence*, tune their *belief*.

Had he been true to his *first Principles*, moulded by some more dexterous heads than his own, which was to *spin* out his time, together with the *Irish* war, till a certain

certain report of the *Queens ſickneſs* or *death* had come to him, from ſuch an *unqueſtioned* number of his own *Confidents*, as were able to have *aſſured belief*; It might in reaſon have preſented him with his wiſh, or at worſt ſo much *power*, as would have made him *arbitrator* of the *next ſucceſſion*. But *haſt*, proceeding from a *Natural Impatience* to live out of *England*, and the *contrary advice* received from ſome near about him (*ſuborned* to deſtroy him) rendred all addle: by perſwading his return *without an Army*, upon a *falſe report* raiſed of her *Majeſties Death*, the time aſſigned, wherein to ſhew himſelf. And to this end, the Wars in *Ireland* were prolonged, with no weaker endeavours, than *Mountjoy* uſed after to conclude them, Owner of no other *proje&*, but the reducing of that *Province* unto obedience: *Eſſex* preſuming ſo far upon the peoples affections, that he thought the *ſound* of his coming able to raiſe an Army where-ever he came.

Eſſex, if he had been maſter of parts ſtrong enough to have *mounted* him into the *Saddle* of *Soveraignty*, might have found by the beating of the *Parliament* (a true *pulſe* of the Nation) That there was no probability to raiſe any advantagious diſtemper for him, during the life of the Queen: The people apprehending little other cauſe of diſcontent, but what might ariſe from the thought, that their preſent felicity depended only on the continuance of an *Old Lady*; After whom, they expected more *diſmal days*, than their *Love* could ever have imagined from the Government of *Eſſex*.

Wherefore to lay the *Scene* of any thing carried but the *vizard* of a *Rebellion* in *London* (at that time abounding with *riches* and *felicity*) was an act favouring of ſo great *Imprudence*, as I wonder his *enemies* ſhould *bring him to it*, or his *friends* ſuffer him to *proſecute*: As I have often told ſome, at that time near about him,

him, who made me no other answer, but that he perished between his own *Presumption*, and others *Infidelity*. His *security* might have been more, and *loss* less, had he gone into *Wales*, when he passed through *London*, where he had great love both by *Inheritance* from his *Father* (a *good Landlord*) and his own purchase, always of a *liberal Nature*. Nor did he fail to wear a *Leek* on St. *David*'s day, but besides, would upon all occasions *vindicate* the *Welsh* Inhabitants, and *own* them for his *Countreymen*, as *Q. Elizabeth* usually was wont, upon the first of *March*. And by this the *Earl* grew so *popular* amongst these people (especially such as had *little to lose*,) that without all question, so many would have appeared in his favour, as might have procured him *audience* from her *Majesty*, and not improbably the *removal* of his enemies, under that notion hated by the *generality*, no less than those linked to him, under a more strict friendship. Or if this had been too hard a task, their *strength* and *means* was not likely to want power, to land him again in *Ireland*, from whence he had been drawn by his *own folly*, and the *wisdom* of his *maligners*; where not only the *English*, but the *Natives* (to those in actual *Rebellion*) were his reported *servants*. The *Catholicks*, till they were better *Cajoled* by the *Scottish King*'s Confidents, not obstructing his Designs. And how secure he would have been in that *Province*, may be guessed by *Tyrone* the Capital *Rebel*, who notwithstanding more impartial endeavours than the *Lord Lieutenant Essex* had used, did obtain his *Pardon*, in a manner maugre the *English forces*.

Essex was *too honest* to have removed every Impediment lying in the way to *Soveraignty*, nothing but *death* being able to *gagg* a person *robb'd* of a *Crown*. Yet her *Successor* met with no *opposition*, though bred in an *air* ever *Pestiferous* to this *Nation*; which *wisely* consider'd,

consider'd, might have tempted a people to have *disputed* his entrance, till caution given. But the *riches* and *felicities* enjoyed, during the incomparable Reign of *Q. Eliz.* hung yet like *holy days* at their fingers ends, by which they were become so *effeminate*, and *madvised*, as to chuse rather to fall into an *Incurable Consumption*, than *hazard* a *little* the *shaking* by a few fits of a *Fever*; which if chosen, might not unlikely have proved as *wholsome Physick* for King *James* as *England*: Who wanting a *Legal pretext*, had nothing left him in safety strong enough to refel the *Brazen-faced* Impudence of his *Countrey-mens* Importunity. But the last *Scene* of *Princes*, like the *Catastrophe* of a Play, is so hudled up, and every one so intent upon his own particular Interest, (being mused by *hope* or *fear*) as that is left meerly to the disposition of *Fortune*, which ought only to be intrusted with *Prudence* her self. Nor did the readiness of the *Scots* to Arm, (in hope of so much *plunder*, as this Nation might afford, shrouded under the specious pretence of *Henry* the 7. eldest Daughter) portend less in the ears of the *unresolved*, than a possibility of *Conquest*, the most *ungrateful sound* to the formerly *free People* of *England*. Neither did these conjectures receive small *aggravation* from those formerly suborned, to promote the entrance of the *Stuarts*, who if *Essex* had remained true to his principles, might have been saluted on the *borders*, by an *Army* strong enough to have *moderated* the *Scots* conditions, or *advanced* his *own*. Though it was the universal Opinion, that *Essex*'s *Ambition* did like the great *Earl* of *Warwick*'s, terminate in a desire to bring in *James* on his own score.

It is not probable the *Earl* carried any evil meaning towards the *Common-wealth*, because neither his *enemies*, nor *friends* are found to mention any endeavour in him to call in a *Foreigner*: Wherefore

if

if the *Crown* was his *Miſtreſs*, he uſed the *decent* way of *wooing* her, which was only through the *Mediation* of her *native Subjects*. Yet I doubt whether he had juſtly calculated the weight of this *Circumſtance*, That *Conſcience is as dangerous in an Uſurper, as Cruelty, and exceſs is deadly, and undecent, in him doth Legally ſucceed.*

I have heard it, though looked upon by me as a *Paradox*, that *Eſſex* would have vindicated the *Engliſh freedome*, by reviving ſuch *ancient Priviledges* as had been pretermitted, during the *Tyrannical* Reigns of the two laſt *Henries*; And no ways indulged by *Queen Elizabeth*, which not extending all her time beyond a few particulars, was then leſs diſcernible. No act of hers being regiſtred ſo contrary to the grain of her own people as the death of this man; the *Queen of Scots* being looked upon as a *Catholick*, which in the general dialect of *England* at *that time*, ſignified no leſs than a *ſworn enemy to God and the Prince*, (ſo *zealous*, if I may not ſay *furious*, are *all changes*) that it was paſſed over, without any apprehenſion of *honour*, or *pity*, as juſtified by the cruel *Maſſacre* committed not long before upon the *French Hugenots*, at the inſtigation of that *Kings Mother*. An Act through which the *Integrity* of *Princes* was much *abated*. But whether this Nation by reaſon of her *divers titles*, and *diſparity in eſtates*, was capable of that *abſolute freedom*, hath ſince been fancied by ſome, I leave to the Arbitration of greater *Politicians*.

Only this I am confident of, that no fair capitulation could have diſobliged *K. James*, who lay under too many *doubts*, and ſtrong *deſires*, to have refuſed ſo *peaceable* an *entry* as he found, upon any *lawful limitations*; manifeſt in the advice given to his Son; Wherein are more *Popular Rules*, than himſelf was ever obſerved to *follow*.

By

By the vaſt quantity of tears let fall from the *Multitude* upon his *Grave*, may be noted, how far eaſier it is to find *pity*, than *protection*, though his *friends* if *united*, would have proved the *major part*. Who for want of a *good head piece* to follow, this *univerſal affection*, like *fluting Atoms*, made only a *world of Calamity* for himſelf and his party. But this blow paſt recalling, ſet the peoples teeth ſo much on edge, as all the *Queen* did after, was thought *bitter*, and her Government too *perviſh* and *effeminate* for ſo *warlike* a Nation: Nor did ſhe decline leſs in the opinion of the *Court* it ſelf, no counſel daring after to appear, but what was ſuitable to the *Cecilian guſto*.

Here may be noted, with what *Circumſpection* Princes ought to play their Game, ſince *Counſellors* their *Card holders*, are not ſeldome *Cheaters*, and intend more *particular* Intereſts than their *Maſters*: As appeared in the remove of *Eſſex*, a man thought far more neceſſary to the *Queen's* Service, and *Englands* ſafety, than ſuch as purchaſed his ruine. The banding of two factions, being the moſt probable way to keep this already *ſuperannuated Princeſs* from falling into *contempt*. For ſuch Commands, as under *both parties* would have been readily obeyed, were after *one* had got the *abſolute diſpoſure* of affairs, wholly neglected. *Eſſex's* return (which no queſtion would have been indeavoured, upon the leaſt diſcontent of her Majeſty) *appearing* of ſo diſmal a conſequence to his *enemies*, as nothing might *procure* it, was thought *ſafe*, or what did *obſtruct* it, *dangerous*. Nor was it poſſible for this *planet*, ſo near its *declenſion*, to *Influence* another *party*: None daring to run the *Hazard* of an unavoidable future *Ruine* upon the *contemplation* of a *year* or *two's* power; which was more than her *age*, and *preſent weakneſs* did in any probability promiſe.

This proves, it had been the *Queens* better *policy*, to have conceded the Life of the *Earl* to the *tears*, and *vows* of the *people*, through which their *Love* had not only been *preserved intire*, but (what was next considerable) so great a *restraint* put upon the *contrary Cabal*, as might *contain* them within the compass of *Obedience*; out of *fear* she should have let loose this *Lyon*, who to that end she might have kept in the *Tower*, his *death* not being probable, as her *Subjects* stood affected, to have countervalued the advantage of his *Life*. And this oversight was the more inexcusable, because the Ascestors of the *Earls* chiefest enemies had by the same arts rendred her *ungrateful* to the people of *England*, in a like case of *severity* towards the *Duke* of *Norfolk*.

Nor did she apprehend till it was too late, the wound given her *own Power*, through the mediation of the *Hangman* in the death of *Essex*; Not being able ever after, to moderate the *Insolency* of those, that now did not stick to *slight* her, and story openly in her ears the necessity she lay under, to declare the *Scotch King* her *Successor*, lest the *Parl.* should be (for their own *safety*) compelled to *do it themselves*; which had not been permitted, but (as I have been told) to endear *King James* more to some *particular families*, of which the *most noble* for birth, found afterwards little cause to *applaud* their *Design*. Neither were other *reports* wanting, which being *usual* at the *Death* of all *Princes*, I shall here wilfully omit, as quite unsatisfied of the truth: Nor had I said this, but that there hath been from the beginning of the *uncivil wars* (wherein none were *masters* of what they had) diverse *imperfect Copies* of my own hand left in the custody of one *Dr* Print some of them, under a *nameless Author*, though very false. And might have done this, if not time prevented.

No

Nor did this blow terminate only in the ruine of the *Earls friends*, but extended to the diſadvantage of his *Malignors* themſelves, apparent in Sr. *Walter Raleigh*, who wanting *ſtrength* though not *wit* to be the *Treaſurers Corrivall*, periſhed becauſe not thought to own *humility* enough to be his *Servant*: it being *more ſafe at Court, to have many Enemies of equal power, than one falſe ambitious friend, that hath attained to the abſoluteneſs of Command.* The agitations and tempeſts ariſing from *conſiderable factions* in the houſes of Princes, (reſembling ſome winds at ſea, by which men are driven (though by contrary means, to one and the ſame end) would of neceſſity have *miſcarried*, or *periſhed*, had any *ſingle party* prevailed. The one ſtill thinking it honourable to *preſerve* and *advance* what the other eſteems ſafe to *ſuppreſs* and *deſtroy*. And this *Raleigh* was often heard to ſay, he did not *apprehend*, before his *Genius* had dictated it to him, as he came in a *Boat* from the execution of the *Earl* of *Eſſex*, which was done at the *Tower*, Nor could the wiſeſt of his endeavours free him from the *dire effects* of this *Portent*, or to name it more properly, a neceſſary cauſe of ſuch events, as did after befall him.

The Death of *Eſſex*, like a Melancholy cloud, did ſhade the proſpect of her peoples affection, from being ſo diſcernable at the *ſhutting of her Days*, as it was during the *Dawning* and *Meridian* of her *Reign*. Yet if *Eſſex* had been try'd by a *Peerage* of *Angels*, they would have paſſed a like *Sentence* upon him, or expoſed *Monarchy* to contempt. Wherefore *Prudence* cannot lay the fault at the door of her *Juſtice*, but the *ill management* of her *Mercy*, as not knowing how to imploy it, toward the beſt advantage of her future affairs. But after an *Impartial Reflection* made, in reference to private perſons, averſneſs towards any apprehenſion of *defect*, we may poſſibly learn to wonder, why ſhe made

no better proviſion againſt *contempt*, till *that hour* a meer ſtranger to this *Princeſs*, who had all her ſails continually fill'd with *flattery* or *ſucceſs*.

Now to vindicate her *Majeſty* from the obvious *aſperſion* I have ſo often heard her *prudence* upbraided withal, (for neglecting the *Italian* mode quite, in the removal of *Mary* the *Scottiſh Queen*, and *Dowager* of *France*, ſo much the more *undecent*, as the hand of a *Hangman* is leſs *honourable* than that of a *Phyſician*.) I may ſay, That ſince thoſe, who for their *own ſakes* as well as their *Sovereigns*, thought it not ſafe to be left undone, wanted the skill or ſpirit to do it a *clandeſtine* way, it was more *diſcretion* than *folly* to *refuſe* ejecting one ſo *uncouth* her ſelf; ſuch a *leſſon* being eaſier *learned* than *forgotten*, and might have been afterward *practiſed* to her perſonal diſadvantage.

And if *reports* on all hands were not miſtaken, little thanks is due to thoſe who made the *Nation acceſſary* through this ſolemn Tryal to the *Death* of his *Mother* they meant next to ſet up. Nor can an undoubted deſire in the *Scots* to have her removed, the better to facilitate the *Succeſſion* of their *King* (who did more indulge his *Patience* than *Honour*, in paſſing *unrevenged* thoſe *houſes*, ſprinkled by *her blood*) juſtifie their *diſcretions*, that could not but know all *Obligation* was more likely to be loſt in the *ſhame*, than found in any *grateful acknowledgement* of ſuch *actions* as theſe. And if their *Poſterity* taſte of the like *Juſtice*, they may ſacrifice repentance to ſuch nets, as themſelves ſpread to enſnare this *Queen* firſt, and then *Eſſex*; the fault of the laſt being in reference to the *Innocent* driving on the *deſign*, as far *below ſuch ſeverity*, as the *Majeſty* of the other was *above it*.

Nothing commends the goodneſs of *Queen Elizabeths* Reign more, than that *ſhe* and her *Subjects* ſhould have one & the ſame *Minion*, as happened in *Eſſex*; whereas the

the *hatred* of the people, proved after an undoubted conſequence of her *Succeſſors Love*, remaining no leſs *confident* of the *choice* of the one, than *diffident* of the others. The *Queen* wanting no *medium* to interpoſe between *her* and their *fury*: from whence grew a *confidence*, that ſhe would not countenance an unworthy man. Neither was it a ſmall advancement to this general complyance, that the people appeared not at the coſt to raiſe him. It being the cuſtome of this thrifty Prince, to let her Favourites *taſte*, nor *ſurfet*, on the wealth of the *Nation*, conveying her *Largeſſes* by *Spoons*, not *Buckets*: The names of *Monopolies*, and *extrajudicial Taxes*, not being intelligible to experience all her days. Neither were her ears ſtopped againſt her peoples complaints, ever thought by her *juſt*, and ſo *fit* to receive a preſent *redreſs*; the cauſe her *Parliaments* were no further *inquiſitive* than ſhe was pleaſed to *inform* them.

Had her *Succeſſor* retained the like *Moderation*, the power of our *Repreſentative* had never fallen under the *malleation* of ſo extenſive a diſpute, which hath raiſed mens minds up to ſo impetuous a Billow, as it is queſtionable, whether that which *ſupported* her *power*, may not through a contrary application *utterly ruine* thoſe may ſucceed. Queen *Elizabeth* being not only *fortunate* in her conduct at home, but able to *diffuſe* peace and plenty over ſuch Neighbour-Nations, as ſhe was adviſed by true *Reaſon of State*, to maintain in *ſtrength* and *good plight*. Not ſutable to the late practice of a *Prince* that firſt brake with *Spain*, then *France*, and after was hardly reſtrained from kindling a fire in the *Netherlands*, which lies in a manner in the boſom of *England*.

Now I ſhould conclude here, but that I find Sir *Henry Wootton* (late *Provoſt* of *Eaton*, and a long time before *Ambaſſadour* with the moſt Illuſtrious State of *Venice*) hath publiſhed a Manuſcript amongſt his friends,

and may ſince be made more general; where he offers to compare the *Duke* of *Buckingham* with the *Earl* of *Eſſex*; much to the diſadvantage of the latter, who laying this action by, did never own the doing any thing ſo *ungrateful*, as might make him *fear* the *anger*, or *beg* the *favour* of a *Parliament*, much leſs owe his *Life* to the *diſſolution* of one already called. He is not *charged* with many deeds of *improbity*, unleſs *Wowen* be caſt upon his account, not in *Juſtice* to be done, the *other* ſtanding by. The awe he bare to the *Religion* then profeſſed was diſcernable by his *death*; which in the *opinion* of many reached ſomething below the *Garb* of a *Souldier*; ſo buſie are *Criticks* (that like Flies ſpare nothing ſavours of *Fame* or *Infamy*) to the *Grave* it ſelf. That he was thought no inſtrument of *Tyranny* or *Oppreſſion*, appears manifeſt, in the Monument of *Love*, remains ſtill undemoliſhed in the hearts of moſt *Engliſh-men*: whereas the *Duke* retains the general tincture of, *&c.* Nor can his well known *bounty* to *Friends* and *Servants* expunge it, becauſe *drained* from the *people*, or taken out of the *publick Treaſure*, if not from the *general ſafety* of the Nation. Whereas *Eſſex* obliged his *Confidents* out of his *own Store*, or by other ſo *innocent ways*, as the *Subject* had no juſt cauſe to be ſcandalized at it.

The *Earls* natural parts were as good as the *Dukes*, his *Learning* and *Birth higher*, the one being of an *honourable*, the other at beſt but of a *Gentile extraction*. Nor can ſo *inconſiderate an action*, that in *charity* rather *deſerves* the *title* of a *Riot*, than of a *Treaſon*, come up to ſo great an *ingratitude* and *indignity* to the *Nation* as *Buckinghams* Proceedings at *Rochel*, calculated after the *French account*, the ſum of which I leave for more voluminous *Pens* to caſt up; only I ſhall aſſume the boldneſs to ſay, that the *Duke* ſhewed no leſs *folly* in *accumulating* ſo great a *hatred* of the people, than

Eſſex

Eſſex did in *miſapplying* their *Love*. And if his *ſhadows* were left exact to poſterity, he was not behind him in *handſomneſs*, the ſole and primary cauſe of *Villers* advancement. Only in this *Eſſex* came ſhort, in having a *Miſtreſs* would be attentive to *Reaſon*, from whence ſoever it came, whether through the *Organs* of *Friendſhip* or *Malice*. Whereas the *Dukes* fortune depended on *two Princes*, that in reference to *their own weakneſs* or *his ſtrength*, remained *deaf to all complaints* elſe, but what were preſented through *his own mediation*, or thoſe of his *Creatures*, with which he was ever made firſt acquainted, under no ſlighter a penalty than his diſpleaſure, ſo much *more heavier* than the *Kings*, as his *memory was better*, and *intereſt more*.

Concerning their *Deaths*, I can atteſt, the *Dukes* did occaſion no *leſs joy*, than the other did *ſorrow*, not matched by the ſaddeſt accident did happen in *Queen Elizabeths* reign; no not if her *Death* be caſt in, though *deplorable enough*, as I have often been informed by thoſe did *approve* the *ſentence*, but not the ſo *ſudden execution* of it. Nor was the *Hangman* reported to be willingly hired to do it; whereas *Felton* ſeemed to be *inſpired* by ſome *Damon*, if not the *Genius of our Nation*.

This had not been ſaid, but in vindication of that, I never found cauſe yet to queſtion the truth of, and to unwarp their judgments (if any ſuch be) that may be drawn aſide, by the goodneſs of Sir *Henry Wottons* parts, in knowing mens opinions, much contaminated by his too over-zealous celebration of this Man, as may be eaſily found in the Records of *Parliament*, to which I refer the Reader, together with what I have in this behalf written.

Some Advantages *may be deducible from* Court-Factions.

IT may be thought I hope no leſs *impertinent*, than what went before, if according to my *rambling* Method, I ſhall drop ſome conjectures in reference to a *benefit* may redound to the *Subject* from *Court Factions*: All which *in concluſion* will reach the *Prince*, who cannot be *ſafe* and *happy*, if his *People* live *miſerably*; not likely to be avoided, where *preferments* depend wholly upon the *mediation* of a *ſingle* and *uncontrolable party*. In which caſe the *oppreſſed* have no power for the preſent to appeal to. The cauſe our later *Parliaments* have been peſtered with *clamours* and *complaints*, ſeldom if ever heard of in the *golden days* of Queen *Elizabeth*. And from *whoſe root* ſprung thoſe *branches* of *miſery*, by which the greateſt *felicity* any Nation ever enjoyed, is become over-ſhadowed, ſo that the *detection* of *corruption* in *Officers*, and the *gratification* of the *malice* of ſome, and *ambition* of others, in their *expulſions* and *puniſhments*, gave them at laſt the boldneſs to queſtion the *intregrity* of the *Crown*.

Divers perſons of *equal authority*, though *both wicked*, do in experience *produce more juſtice* than a *greater probity* in a *ſingle Individual*, hath been (at leaſt in theſe *depraved Ages*) *heard* to *pronounce*: For though *Bribery* cannot be denied a *deflowerer of equity*, yet remaining more palpable in reference to *detection*, it may not

not happily be of ſo bad a conſequence, as the effects of the more uneaſily detected propenſities, found to follow the inclinations of *love*, *fear* or *hope*: as it is eaſily deduced from the *practice* uſual in *private Families*, where a *great advantage* accrues to the *firſt Delator*, and *prejudice* to the *party accuſed*; It not lying in the *ſtrength of Vertue*, if in any *agility of defence*, to keep a perſon *immaculate* from the blurs of *Calumny*, for want of *proof*, or an *indifferent ear*, which *ſuperlative Powers* cannot be at *leiſure* to afford. Nor is the advantage to be drawn from two equal *Cabals*, better diſcerned, than by comparing the tempers of K. *James* his *Parliaments* with thoſe holden under the *Queen*; for the firſt, being wholly led by a *ſingle* and *paſſionate affection* to one *Minion*, lived to ſee never a tolerable *Miniſter* relating to the *Crown*, or any in Authority ſo *reſolute* as not to *prefer* the *Favourites command* before his *Maſters*, as eſteeming the *frown* of the laſt more *deadly*. Now the *huge rate* ſet upon *places* of *Judicature*, taught *Judges* to ſell their *Votes*, and *People* to complain: Who by *devouring* of *inſtruments*, came at laſt ſo well *acquainted* with their own *ſtrength*, as not to ſpare the *principal* and *firſt cauſe*. One *conceſſion* ever crouding room for a *greater*, if not a more *unreaſonable* demand. Whereas ſuch inſtruments of State as *Queen Elizabeth* had uſe of, being *ſtrained* through the *double* and *contrary intereſts* of a *divided Party*, no *vertue* was *excluded*, or *vice admitted*, any way *beneficial*, or of *prejudice* to *Prince* or *People*; contrary to the cuſtom of later Times, wherein the moſt *probable deſigns* were *pinched* and *miſcarried*, through the *ſmalneſs* of their *parts* were imployed to *keep* them *on foot*. No more *ſolid Reaſon* appearing in the advancement of the moſt, but *mony* or *favour*; as no queſtion will be found inſtanced in a *prodigious number* of *examples*, when *time* ſhall have *purchaſed impunity* for the *manifeſtation of truth*;

truth; not ſo likely to have proved the *reſult* of a *divided Court*, where the *creatures* of one were the enemies of another, *no leſs powerful*; and ſo they both became liable to *accuſation*, or capable of *defence*. And from the ſparkles of this claſhing, not only perſons and actions, but the *Queens Councils* came to be refined from the ruſt and *Cankers* that after grew through the corruption of *foreign Coin*, no leſs *currant* at *Court* all my time, than pieces of two and twenty ſhillings, *Jacobuſes* themſelves. Now though *Monarchy* may (whether out of *perfection* or *defect*, I ſhall not here diſpute) make uſe of this *Recipe*, it ſeems *dangerous*, if not *mortal*, in reference to a *freer Government*, where the leaſt *fuſing* is a *ſtep* towards *Tyranny*: the *weakeſt part* being as apt to *call*, as a *potent neighbour* may be to *come* and *aſſiſt*, upon ſo *advantagious an errand*. All *diſparities* or *contentions*, but *meerly rational*, and in *reference* to an *univerſal welfare*, tending to *popularity* and *diſunion*, wherefore above all things to be avoided. Nor is any *near dependance* upon a *foreign Prince*, more *mighty* than *themſelves*, *compatible* with *Liberty*: which renders *lending* of vaſt ſums little leſs dangerous than *borrowing*. And through which the *Catholick King* may one day attain *Genoa*; it being natural to all *Creditors* to favour their deſigns that *owe* them *money*, in hope of *payment*; and ſo become *Traitors* to the *generality*, out of the deſire of a *particular reimburſment*. Such folly lies in *many Citizens*, as they prefer *deſtruction in groſs*, before the *hazard* of their *private intereſts*.

But when *Power* is *monopolized* in a *ſingle* perſon, *Faction* can be no more *ſpared* than an *eye* or an *ear*. *Kings* for the generality, out of *ignorance* in the World, if not for *want of wit*, or too much *Flattery*, being unable to value what they *give* or *receive*; or whether they *gratifie* or *depreſs Vertue* or *Vice*, eſpecially if they have no *other* information but what is *deduced* from

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a *Minion*, whose *judgement* is no less clouded through *Pride*, than *his* is by *affection*, and a *supposition* of *worth* and *abilities* not really present; Such *Servants* owning *contrary interests* to *their Masters*, who by *bearing the charges* of those *follies* they daily commit, do not seldom prove *Bankrupts* themselves of all ought to be esteemed dear in *Soveraignty*.

Nor are those *single Trustees* of the *Royal assent*, found by practice so *impartial* in the distribution of *rewards* and *punishments*, but that they *diminish* by the first, no less their *Princes Love*, than they *augment* in the latter the *Peoples hatred*; which an *even debate* would so far *moderate*, as to give such *satisfaction* as might *preserve* the generality in *obedience*, by nothing so soon *forfeited*, as a *continued succession* of *cruel punishments*, and *unjust censures*. I remember after *Felton* had given the *fatal blow* to *George* Duke of *Buckingham*, one *Savil* a lusty Fellow, formerly *burnt* in the shoulder for a *Rogue* (finding how *acceptable* the news was where ever it came) gave out, he was the man that did it: And that though an *honourable persons brother*, he wanted money to *convey* him away; upon which he was apprehended, and though not *worth a groat*, fined a considerable sum in the *Star-Chamber*; to which, the *wisdom*, *equity*, and *justice of that Court*, added (because they wanted power to hang him) this *Corporal punishment*, *viz.* That he should be whipped from the *Fleet* where he lay Prisoner, to the *Pillory* in *Westminster Pallace Yard*, there to be for two hours nailed, and after to lose one ear, have his nose slit, and then to be branded in the forehead; all which, as long as the *bowels of humanity would give me leave*, I looked upon: Nor was this more than half his punishment, as much being to be done to him in *Cheap-side*, but that (as I heard) the *King* more charitable than his *Judges*, did pardon it; though his perpetual residence in *Bridewel* was not remitted,

mitted, till for another thing (some thought unlikely to be done under such a restraint) he was hanged at *Tiburn*. I had not touched upon this, as relating to a time which none can remember without being agitated by *envy* or *grief*: but to acquaint Posterity with the opinion of a *Lord*, looked upon as the wisest for counsel, (however he might have failed in reference to *Execution*) in his time: Who at dinner that day with some of the *Promoters* of the *fore-mentioned Sentence*; said, that though he hoped it would *never* be *executed*, yet it grieved him, a *precedent* of that high nature should remain *upon record*, no less to the *dishonour* of their *Mercy*, than the *Justice* of his *Majesty*, upon *whose score* it might not unpossibly one day *lie heavy*: Nor did it scape the notice of the next *Parliament*, as any may find, can procure a sight of a *Book* written by *Regal authority*, wherein the *Subject* was prohibited so much as to name a *Parliament*, &c. But the conclusion of the fore-mentioned prudent *Lord* was to prove, that of *all* punishments, *death* was *soonest forgotten*; whereas *Whipping* and *Pillory* were *always remembred*: from whence *Governours* may observe, that *the greatest cruelty is exercised by Subjects have had their foundations laid in pity*. Nor can this digression be thought impertinent, by those shall consider that such *exorbitant* and *unnatural* repetitions of *Punishments*, were strangers during the domination of *two equal Factions*. Through the percussion of which, like *Flint* and *Steel*, all things came to light, which these *Pleas* might *advance*, or *eclipse* the glory of the *Prince*.

Nor should I prosecute this *Epidemical* mischief of *Favourites*, at this time common with *France* and *Spain*, but to answer such as plead for it; Whom I have heard so *impudent*, as to alledge the example of our blessed *Saviour*; and no less foolish in citing the *authority* due to the *Prudence* of *Italy*, where no *Pope* lives without

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a *Nephew*: Forgetting the whole management of the *Church* was not left to Saint *John*; nor the wiſe *Conclave* ſwayed by his *Holineſs Kindred*, who being encircled on all ſides with enemies, and deſtitute by reaſon of his *elective honour* of any *hereditary friendſhip*, cannot *in reaſon* provide better for his *ſafety*, againſt the *dangers* have for many Ages waited upon the *Table* and *Cup* of the *Pope*, than by raiſing a perſon to ſo *high a dignity* about him, as may tranſcend any *preferments* likely to be offered by an *enemy*. The cauſe he that is ſtiled his *Nephew*, values *his* preſervation equally with *his own*. And he that ſhall yet ſeek further *ſatisfaction*, may find it in the unhappy management of ſuch *Princes* affairs as have ſuffered themſelves to be ingroſſed by *Minions*, taken only upon the bare *recommendations* of their *private Affections*.

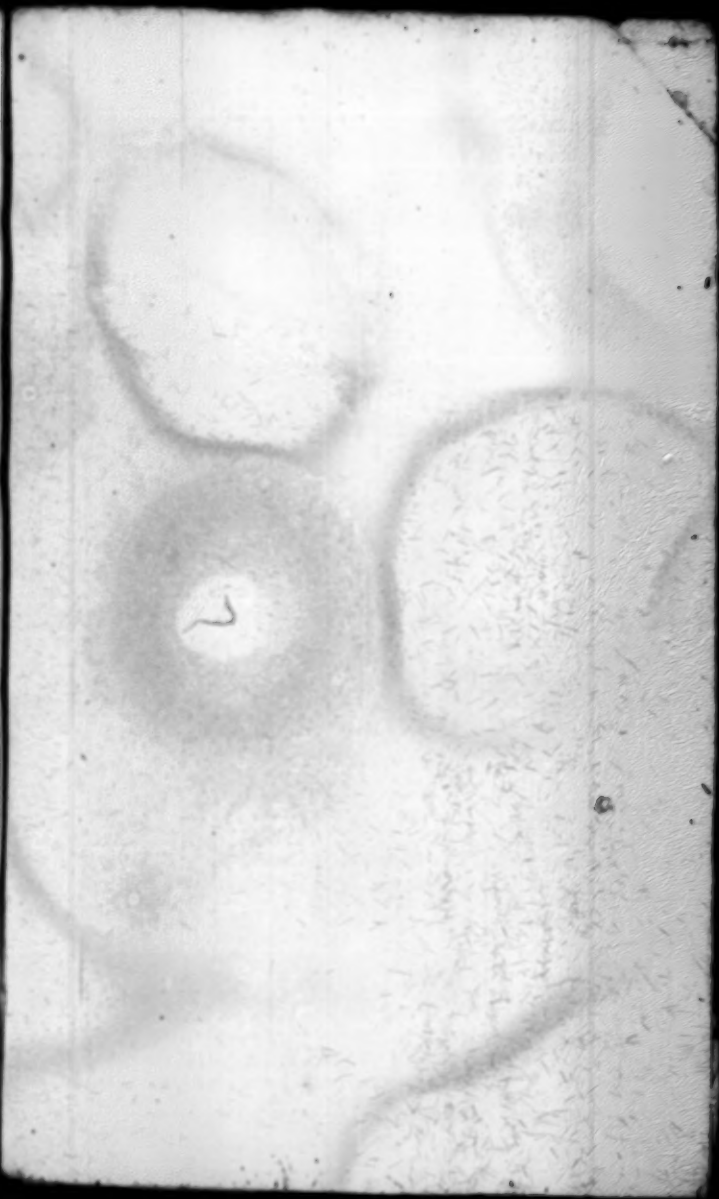
It is the condition of thoſe in Power *to be guided by* Servants.

THey ſay of the *Whale* that ſhe is ſteered in her courſe through the guidance of a far *ſmaller Fiſh*, and a leſſer than that is reported to alter the *Natural* gale of a *Ship*, looked upon as wonders in the deep, though few things are more *uſual* & *familiar* upon *Land*. All our State-*Leviathans* being ſo far guided by their *Servants*, *Wives*, *Miſtreſſes*, or *Favourites*, that in a true ſenſe there is no *Monarchy*, all things for the moſt part ſucceeding according to the *perſwaſions* of others, if not contrary to the will of the *Prince*: A miſchief not to be quite obviated, but at the peril of falling into *obſtinacy*, (as great, if not a more prejudicial extream) nor hath

hath any King under my experience, been able to drive on his *Affairs* without grating upon one of these *excesses*. So as a Nation like that of *Egypt*, is not seldom governed by a *Stranger* or a *Jew*. There being no such thing in an unlimited sense, as an *absolute Government*, or if possible to be found, it must be in that as improperly stiled *Free*. Which proves there is no real *Liberty* or *Power* totally *Arbitrary*, in the nature of *Things*. For though the *incomparable prudence* of the *State of Venice*, hath compounded for most of the errours commited by the Senators of *Carthage*; and Queen *Elizabeth* shunned the greatest *Rocks* of *Tyranny* (though as free from compulsion, as ever any *Prince* stood;) yet the Jurisdiction of either was as remote from being purely or totally *absolute*, as the condition of their Subjects is uncapable of the name of *Freedom*. They being both too inestimable *Jewels* to be intrusted with *passion*, *single*, and without any mediation from *Counsel* or *Law*. I confess the *Grand Signior* can strangle whom he pleases; but it is seldom done at his own suit, no more than any desert is gratified: I my self have known many, so far *Strangers* to what was convenient, as they would scarce concede or deny any thing out of the presence of their *Secretary*. And this proceeded not seldom from a distrust there was no cause for; Manifest in the Earl of *Somerset*, who though himself owner of a competent sufficiency, was so inchanted with an opinion of Sir *Thomas Overburies* parts, that he preferred him from a Servant to such an intimate *friendship*, as he could think nothing well educated for imployment in his *Office*, that had not passed his *Correction*, nor secret safe laid up, but in his *Bosom*: which swelled him to such a *Monstrosity* in Pride, that I have heard (not being my self then near the *English Court*) how he offered to rant at his *Servants*, and did once beat the *Coachman*, for putting his Commands under an inferiour expostulation to his *Masters*. And through this

this intolerable arrogance, in him, and remissness in the *Earl*, the sparks first flew, that kindled the ruine of them both: friendship being no more able to maintain its interest against a *feminine Affection*, than so great a *Pride* was to confine it self within the tedder of *moderation*. The *Minions* of my time (an *epidemical* mischief over all the great Nations of *Christendom* where Monarchy sways) did, during that *Fortune*, so far transcend their *Patrons felicity*, as they could gratifie all the rest of their *passions* (quite exempt from fear or danger) being screened from both by the person of their *Prince*, whom in reason they ought to defend; It having been often averred in my experience, that all the *Kings* I have known, were found to do more for their *Favourites*, than they could be tempted to have done for *themselves*. Which may serve for a proof of this *Assertion*, 'That *the greatest are not free, but led in triumph* 'by the *Affections of others, through the mediation of their* 'own; by which means *Women* come to Govern, and *Children* to dispose of *Common-wealths*. And thus the hand of Providence, though steady in it self, doth out of a desire to appear *various* (and so more *beautiful*) not only remove the great men, but the *Pawns* so occultly, in this huge *Chess*-board of the *World*, as they seem to our giddy apprehensions, to be dandled in the *Lap* of a contingent *success*. Though good or bad luck are meerly *imaginary*, like the *Arctick* and *Antartick* Poles on which the World, as on the two ends of an Axletree, are feigned to depend. Wherefore the apparent *reason* why great men are ruled by more obscure Fools, is want of *judgement* or *sufficiencie*. The hidden Justice of God upon the Nation in general, or persons in particular; who are naturally unworthy through disobedience, or have rendred themselves so, by a male-administration of Affairs: The cause their Power is shared with meaner People, first sought to in all suits incident

incident to their Places. And this Custom hath brought into such credit amongst *men*, as forgetting how much it savours of *weakness*, they labour to make it *necessary* in the *Court of Heaven*. As if God were more *importuned*, or less affected by our immediate Addresses than when we offered our *Prayers* through the intercession of the *blessed Virgin*, or some other *Saint*: consonant to a memorable answer to a *Catholick*, made by King *James*, '*That the Ruler of all things was not subject to dote like him.*

Yet wise men govern in their own persons, as *Joseph* is said to rule *Egypt*; for had not his Servants used to afford more *obedience* than *advice*, so dishoneſt an action in outward appearance, could never have passed without expostulation, as the putting the *Cup* in *Benjamins Sack*. To end this Discourse, nothing *plausible* ought to be referred to a *Servants* dispatch, nor that which is less *Popular* done by a *Master*; since he that is used to rake in *dirt* must imploy an *Instrument*, lest the *filth* should stick too apparently on his fingers. Thus *Princes* juggle by *Confederacy*, whilst meaner men rule in their own persons.

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